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**Ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual education
A case study in Vanuatu**

Willans, Fiona

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Fiona Willans

Ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual education:

A case study in Vanuatu

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a

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Abstract

This study is a discourse-oriented ethnographic investigation of language-in-education policy in Vanuatu. Following a period of joint Anglo-French colonial rule, education currently follows a dual-submersion model, in which children are enrolled in either English-medium or French-medium schools, while the remaining 106 languages are excluded.

A case study of one English-medium school and one French-medium school demonstrates that a single language (either English or French) is constructed as the only appropriate language of each institution, but that this construction is challenged in two ways. It is, firstly, undermined by the heteroglossic reality of daily language practices. Teachers and learners make use of multiple linguistic resources in order to negotiate their school lives, using only just enough English or French to conform to the monolingual ideal. It is, secondly, contradicted by the desire for 'bilingualism' in English and French, as the vestiges of Vanuatu's double colonial heritage have been reimagined in unexpected ways. The dual legacy has been transformed from being a reminder of an oppressive and burdensome past to being both a gateway to double opportunity and a marker of a 'bilingual' national identity that should be celebrated.

The thesis examines the way participants mediate the tension between competing conceptualisations of 'language' and 'languages' in education. It considers whether ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2002) can be found amongst the contestation for the incorporation of alternative or additional linguistic resources. It suggests the need to rethink the notion of media of instruction, and to look for ways to foster the productive use of repertoires of learning and teaching, drawing on whichever resources are available to be used. In so doing, it reorients the problem from an approach to education policy and planning that is driven by language, to an approach to language policy and planning that is driven by learning.

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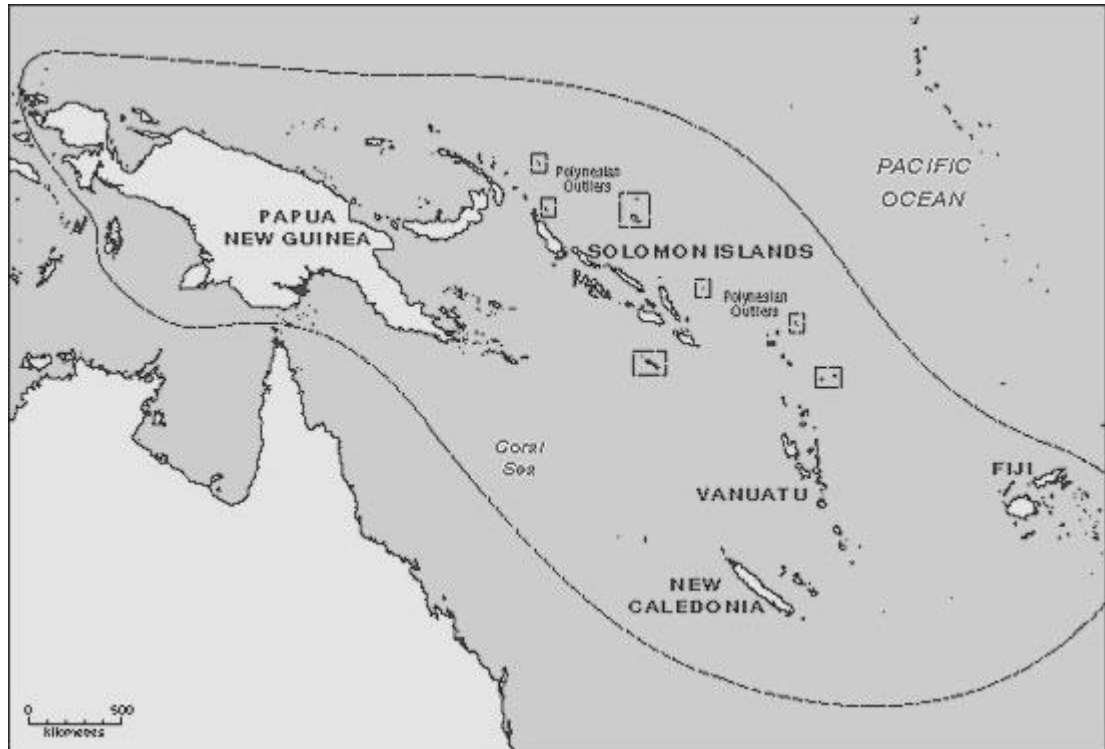
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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

1.1.1 Vanuatu in brief



Map 1.1 Map of Melanesia

Vanuatu is a chain of islands in the Melanesian region of the South Pacific. It has a population of approximately 243,000, of which 75% live in rural areas. It has been an independent country since 1980. Prior to this, the islands were ruled jointly (as the New Hebrides) by Britain and France, following the establishment of an Anglo-French condominium in 1906. This arrangement meant that the two powers ruled the whole chain of islands jointly, but separately: there were two systems for policing, justice, education, health, and so on.

A review of titles of published accounts of colonialism and postcolonialism in Vanuatu reveals a consensus that the condominium was inefficient and chaotic: “The New Hebrides: A doubly-oppressed colony” (Edgell & Kalo, 1974); “The end of an episode of schizophrenic colonialism” (Forster, 1980); “Beyond pandemonium” (Lini, 1980); “Tufala Gavman” (two governments) (Bresnihan &

Woodward, 2002); “To kill a bird with two stones” (MacClancy, 2002); and “Bridging mental boundaries in a postcolonial microcosm” (Miles, 1998).

At Independence in 1980, Vanuatu was left with two separate education systems. One had been set up by the British and used English as the medium of instruction; the other had been set up by the French and used French as the medium of instruction. This dual system continues today, with English-medium and French-medium schools in close proximity to one another. Parents often choose to send some children to each stream of the system, in the hope of ‘getting’ both English and French for the family. Outside school, neither English nor French is widely spoken, particularly in rural areas.

The SIL Ethnologue lists 108 living languages. 105 of these are Austronesian languages of the Oceanic subtype, which are referred to throughout this study as the vernaculars. In the most recent census that included language use (1989), 94% of the population over the age of six reported speaking one of these languages (Lynch, 1996). However, no vernacular is spoken by more than 11,500 people, and there are an estimated 66 languages spoken by fewer than 1,000 (P. Lewis, 2009). The other three languages spoken are Bislama, English and French, which share official language status. Bislama is a dialect of the English-based Melanesian Pidgin, and is spoken by approximately 95% of the population, although by only 2% as a first language (ibid., citing 2001 figures). Despite being a joint official language, and also the sole national language, Bislama has no place in the education system, and students are often punished for speaking it.

1.1.2 Research questions and purpose

Using Vanuatu as a case study, this thesis aims to contribute to the search for new ways of developing education policies that are appropriate in postcolonial, multilingual contexts. Building on critiques of existing approaches to education within such contexts, this entails examining the way different languages tend to be valued, as well as deconstructing the way ‘language’ itself has generally

been conceptualised. It requires taking a different approach to the consideration of what is possible, by examining what spaces exist for alternatives.

The study is problem-oriented, as it is motivated by a number of language-related issues within education policymaking in Vanuatu. These will be described in Chapter 2 but, in brief:

- Education is underpinned by a strictly monolingual frame of reference within each school, despite the linguistic diversity amongst its staff and students, and despite the multilingual reality of Vanuatu.
- Bislama and, to a lesser extent, the vernaculars are banned from many schools.
- Students struggle to learn through the medium of instruction, to which they have limited exposure outside school.
- Some students experience these issues through the medium of English, while others do so through the medium of French. Families are often polarised into 'Anglophones' and 'Francophones'.
- There has been constant debate about these issues since Independence, and yet little has changed.

The study was motivated by very broad questions: Does the situation have to stay like this? Is it possible to challenge the monolingual status quo? What might be stopping change? A construct that provides an overarching focus for the research is therefore Hornberger's (2002, 2005) metaphor of 'ideological and implementational spaces' (see 1.1.3.4) for the use of additional or alternative linguistic resources. The intention is to understand the mechanisms that are closing down (or preventing the opening of) spaces for change in Vanuatu, whilst identifying other potential spaces that could be opened up and exploited.

The final research questions were as follows:

1. How is 'language' constructed within education practices and discourses?
2. Can ideological and implementational spaces be identified amongst the education practices and discourses that indicate opportunities for additional or different linguistic resources to be used?

1.1.3 What this study contributes to the field of multilingual education

Heugh (2011, p.105) refers to the “baffling phenomenon” of the continued use of education programmes in postcolonial contexts that “have succeeded only in providing successful formal education for a small percentage of children, [and] yet ... continue to be used as if they could offer lasting educational success for the majority” (p.106). The common factor that Heugh argues against in such programmes is the use of what is essentially a foreign language for the majority of children, and often their teachers.

This situation stems from a number of common perceptions about education in multilingual contexts. Many commentators (Da Pidgin Coup, 1999; Heugh, 2002; Makalela, 2009; Tucker, 1998) supply lists of such perceptions as ‘myths’ that provide a bank of justifications for the maintenance of the status quo. With reference to South Africa, Heugh (2002, p.177) explains how claims can quickly become treated as facts that then become hard to refute:

If any evidence is offered, it is either weak or it applies only to a small sample of students or informants rather than the majority. Despite evidence which is flimsy at best, it finds its way into texts which support the *status quo* in relation to language use in education. Collectively, because the claims are restated with such frequency, they become mythologised.

Taking the same approach here, I identify ten such claims that have become ‘mythologised’ within Vanuatu’s education debate:

Myth 1: Education operates most effectively through a single medium of teaching and learning.

Myth 2: Any language can be mastered by trying hard enough (and can thus be used successfully as medium of teaching and learning).

Myth 3: Knowledge of certain languages leads automatically to economic opportunity and development.

Myth 4: Certain languages have no instrumental value.

Myth 5: Pidgins and creoles are inferior to other languages.

Myth 6: Corpus planning in a large number of small languages makes multilingual education impractical.

Myth 7: Materials development in multiple languages is too costly and complex.

Myth 8: Teaching or managing a class in which multiple languages are in use is impossible.

Myth 9: Assessment in multiple languages is impractical.

Myth 10: The use/teaching of familiar languages takes up time that could be spent learning additional languages.

These myths can be thought of as a series of recurrent and interconnected arguments that serve to close down space for multilingual education. They are well-documented and can easily be dismissed on linguistic grounds (Heugh, 2002; Siegel, 1999a), and yet they prevail as their logic remains uncontested. This thesis examines the practices and discourses that keep these myths in circulation in Vanuatu, thereby closing down spaces for change. It seeks to examine the foundations on which they are based, and explore potential to open up spaces for additional or alternative linguistic resources.

1.1.3.1 Education within postcolonial, multilingual contexts

Throughout this thesis, I refer to ‘multilingual education’ as an umbrella term for a number of possible ways of incorporating more than one language in education. I do not differentiate between ‘bilingual’ and ‘multilingual’ approaches, although the terms are often used to refer to the use of two, and more than two, languages, respectively (cf. García, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Torres-Guzmán, 2006, p.13). A number of typologies of education models have been suggested (Baker, 2006; Benson, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). The four models documented in postcolonial contexts are summarised in Table 1.1, along with examples from the South Pacific. The terms ‘L1’ and ‘L2’ are common, albeit contested, terms (Brock-Utne, 2009) that stand proxy for children’s first and subsequent languages.

Table 1.1 Multilingual education models

Model	Medium of instruction	Examples from the South Pacific ¹
Submersion	L2 throughout school	Solomon Islands (English-medium); Vanuatu (English- or French-medium)
Early-exit transitional	L1 for between one and three years, before transition to L2	Papua New Guinea (multiple vernaculars used in pre-school and 2 years of primary school before transition to English); Fiji (Fijian or Fiji Hindi used for 3 years of primary school before transition to English)
Late-exit transitional	L1 for between six and eight years, before transition to L2	Tonga; Samoa (Tongan/Samoan used throughout primary school, before transition to English; both L1 and L2 continue to be studied as subjects)
Additive	L1 medium throughout primary school; L1 and L2 dual medium throughout secondary school	Palau (Palauan throughout primary school; Palauan and English throughout secondary school)

Submersion, as Benson (2009, p.64) points out, is neither *multilingual*, since it operates through one language only, nor even *an approach* to education, since it appears to be born out of reluctance to engage with questions of language and pedagogy at all. Children are expected to cope with instruction delivered through the medium of an L2, often in poorly-resourced classrooms with teachers who lack adequate command of the language themselves. This type of education has long been criticised, both internationally (see particularly Benson, 2009; García, 2009; Heugh, 2003; Ouane & Glanz, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 2008) and regionally (Early, 1999; Lotherington, 1996, 1998; Mangubhai, 2002; Tamtam, 2008): on pedagogical grounds (since children struggle to learn through an unfamiliar language); on societal grounds (since school becomes separated from community involvement and education tends to be alien to the local culture); on language maintenance grounds (since indigenous languages are denigrated and can thus become endangered); and on human rights grounds (since children are denied the right to use and learn in their own

¹ The Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and Fiji are in Melanesia, a region of immense linguistic diversity. Tonga and Samoa are in Polynesia. Palau is in Micronesia.

language, as well as the right to effective education). However, this scenario is familiar throughout the linguistically diverse context of Melanesia.

Transitional models refer to programmes in which a more familiar language (whether or not the language a child actually speaks at home) is used as the medium of instruction for a set period of time, before a transition is made to L2. We can differentiate between early-exit and late-exit transitional programmes, according to the stage at which the transition takes place. There has been a convergence on early-exit transitional programmes throughout both Anglophone and Francophone postcolonial contexts (Alidou, 2009; Heugh, 2011), and these are the most common models followed in multilingual education experiments that have been conducted in a wide range of countries. All attempts to incorporate L1 that have been implemented in post-independence Melanesia also fall into this category, including the Vernacular Language Education policy piloted in Vanuatu since 1999 (Nako, 2004; Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999), which will be discussed in 2.2.2.2.

Papua New Guinea has implemented what is globally considered the most ambitious programme to incorporate L1, through a community-driven approach that had established approximately 386 pre-schools by 1991, using 91 different languages (Troolin, 2013, p.288, citing figures from Yeoman & Obi, 1993), and which was then extended under the subsequent Education Reform to incorporate a significantly larger number of languages in pre-school and early primary education. Although this rapid expansion and centralisation of the initiative was extremely problematic (Litteral, 1999; Siegel, 1997a; Troolin, 2013), early evaluations indicated that children were able to make the subsequent transition to English successfully and appeared better adjusted to school life than those who received education only in English (Klaus, 2003; Siegel, 1997b). Perhaps its greatest impact has been to show governments that simple resources can be developed in a large number of languages, and that perceived complexities and costs of implementation in linguistically diverse contexts should not be used as a justification for maintaining the status quo.

Transitional programmes are arguably the most controversial of all approaches. They have been championed for their inclusion of more familiar languages,

thereby attempting to address the problems of submersion education. However, the aim is ultimately to replace these languages with the L2, and they are thus 'subtractive' rather than 'additive' models (Baker, 2011). In most cases, the transition is made before children have gained sufficient grounding in L1, so such programmes merely "delay the 'sink or swim' ritual" of submersion (Chimbutane, 2013, p.316). The question is whether they are a step in the right direction towards an additive approach, or whether they do more harm than good, as Heugh (2002) argues is the case when the transition is made too early. In terms of the efficacy of such programmes, she notes that "there is, by 2010, no internationally-acknowledged second language acquisition expert who suggests that transition to the second language by the end of the third year of primary school will serve most children well" (2011, p.124).

More importantly, the danger is that negative results from early-exit transitional programmes will lead to a return to submersion programmes, rather than an extension of the use of L1. It appears that this may be the case in Papua New Guinea, where the government has recently reinstated English-only education at all levels, in order to "address the concerns of parents, teachers, students, academics and political leaders that vernacular in elementary schools created a poor standard of spoken and written English" (Belden, 2013). For this reason, Heugh (2011, pp.147-8) argues that it is irresponsible for advisors and international agencies such as UNESCO to advocate early-exit programmes. She argues strongly for models of extended L1 use alongside L2, i.e. late-exit transitional and additive bilingual programmes.

Education in multilingual contexts is thus far from multilingual. The models outlined above provide frames for considering current approaches to education, but this thesis will re-examine many of the foundations on which these models are based. It will suggest that there may be more productive ways to contribute to multilingual education debates.

1.1.3.2 Languages jostling for inclusion: Language ideologies

The previous section has presented four models of education in which the choice between languages might be considered a neutral one. However, it is

clear that beneath language policy and planning decisions lies an ideological configuration in which languages are anything but equal. As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, pp.1-2) note:

In multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities. Ongoing social, economic, and political changes affect these constellations, modifying identity options offered to individuals at a given moment in history and ideologies that legitimize and value particular identities more than others.

As Woolard (1998) notes, there is no unified body of literature that encompasses the field of language ideologies. A commonly cited definition is that of Silverstein (1979, p.193), who describes language ideology as the “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. While this definition states that ideologies are explicitly “articulated by users”, others make less strong claims about the users' ability to do this, such as Kroskrity (2004, p.496), who refers to “incomplete, or ‘partially successful’, attempts to rationalize language usage”, citing Errington's (2001) definition of “situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language”.

In studies of language-in-education policy, the notion of *dominant* ideology is important. Gal (1993, p.356) uses the term ‘dominant’ “to refer to ideas made official by their use in governing and by the support of the state bureaucracy”. However, Gal (1998, p.321) also notes that “some ideas and practices are ‘dominant’, not simply because they are produced or held by dominant groups, but because their evaluations are recognized and accepted by, indeed partially constitute, the lived reality of a much broader range of groups”. For this reason, the myths introduced in 1.1.3 that serve to close down space for multilingual education in Vanuatu can be considered the products of dominant ideology.

Ideologies are multi-sited. “They include the values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels” (Blackledge, 2005, p.32). They can be uncovered through analysis of the way people use language, as well as the way they talk about language (Blackledge, 2005;

Woolard, 1998). Three particular issues are relevant to this study: the prioritisation of former colonial languages over others; the effects of the co-existence of more than one former colonial language; and the denigration of pidgins and creoles.

With reference to the first issue, the models summarised in Table 1.1 reveal that, in postcolonial contexts, the former colonial languages are typically prioritised over all others. This stems from hierarchies constructed during colonialism, in which the languages of the coloniser and the colonised were positioned in an asymmetrical relationship. As Stroud (2007, p.44) states, with reference to Mozambique,

This was bolstered by an ideological and religious discourse that mapped ideas of culture and civilized humanity onto essentialist notions of language, race and territoriality, and by principles of governmentality that circumscribed the limits, and linguistic requirements, of citizenship for the native African.

As a result, as Brock-Utne (2010, p.92) argues, “an African child with a perfect command of two very different African languages is not called bilingual. It is only when one language is an ex-colonial language that the concept ‘bilingualism’ or ‘bilingual schooling’ is being used.”

The lack of value accorded to the home languages of the majority of children in postcolonial contexts is clear. Bamgbose (2005, p.255) attributes the problem to the absence of political will to break down these colonial ideologies and see indigenous languages as viable options. This study contributes to this particular discussion from the context of the Pacific, which tends to be underrepresented in global discussions of postcolonial legacies in education.

The second aspect is the way former colonial languages are compared against each other in contexts in which two or more former colonial powers have left their linguistic mark. Although Vanuatu was the only territory to be ruled jointly by Britain and France, certain similarities can be found with each of Cameroon (Ayafor, 2005; Nana, 2010), the Seychelles (Laversuch, 2008; Salabert, 2003) and Mauritius (Rajah-Carrim, 2007; Sonck, 2005), which have each inherited both English and French as former colonial languages, due either to the joining of former British and French possessions (Cameroon) or to separate periods of

British and French rule (the Seychelles and Mauritius)². Language policy decisions in these countries must take into account the existence of two former colonial languages.

However, in such contexts, English and French are no longer solely the former colonial languages. They are languages that are used for a variety of purposes both within the postcolonial country and elsewhere in the world. Thus the relative status accorded to the two languages within a country may be affected by their relative status worldwide, such that English may currently be considered to be the more widely used language of the two (Heller, 1999a; Kembo-Sure, 2009). At the same time, however, the linguistic and cultural space of *Francophonie* provides a common point of reference for former French or Belgian colonies that provides a shared identity to be upheld (Le Vine, 2004; Salhi, 2002). There are often financial implications of retaining (or severing) ties with the former colonial governments and other Anglophone or Francophone countries, and postcolonial governments understandably prefer to keep as many doors open as possible. Thus, in addition to the prioritisation of former colonial languages over all others, there are a number of contexts in which the issue may be intensified by considerations of *which* colonial language.

Finally, in addition to the prioritisation of former colonial language(s), certain other languages may be denigrated more explicitly than the rest. Of relevance here is the exclusion of pidgins and creoles from formal education, despite their often widespread functional usage (and sometimes high status) outside this domain. Chapter 2 will demonstrate this paradox with reference to Vanuatu, and provide more specific detail about the example of Bislama. However, in summary, Siegel (2007) lists only three pidgins or creoles throughout the world that are used nationwide as media of instruction in formal education (Seselwa in the Seychelles, Haitian Creole in Haiti, and Papiamentu in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba – all at the primary level). He refers to a very limited number of other contexts in which educational programmes either *accommodate* pidgins or creoles for specific purposes such as the study of literature, or include

² There are also obvious parallels with Canada (Heller, 2007a; Tabouret-Keller, 2007), as well as formerly 'Francophone' countries such as Rwanda which have increasingly shifted towards the English-speaking world (Samuelson & Freedman, 2010), and other countries that have experienced other forms of 'dual outside influence' such as Timor-Leste (Taylor-Leech, 2013).

awareness components in which the languages are examined more explicitly, but reports that widespread attitudes have remained negative towards the use of pidgins and creoles in education. Siegel argues that little research has been done within the field, and that negative attitudes remain largely unchanged by any studies that have been conducted. This study therefore aims to add to the body of research on both the use of and attitudes towards these languages in education.

1.1.3.3 Rethinking the ‘multilingual’ in ‘multilingual education’

A more fundamental issue to be tackled than *which language* to use is the question of why there is a need to choose *a language* at all. Education in postcolonial, multilingual contexts has long been criticised for the perceptual barrier created between school and home (Banda, 2010; Brock-Utne, 2009; García, 2009; Higgins, 2009), a barrier that stems, in part, from the fact that a singular language is selected for use. Outside school, it is common for a number of languages to be used, but this multilingual reality is rarely reflected within formal education. Higgins (2009, p.151) refers to “the development of two separate worlds where heterogeny and homogeny each govern language without acknowledging the presence of the other world”, and argues that the linguistic heterogeneity of everyday life needs to be acknowledged within formal education too. The various contributors within Prah and Brock-Utne (2009), working with reference to Africa, aim to challenge the monolingual ideology by taking multilingualism as the starting point, or the norm, rather than a problem to be dealt with. In this thesis, it will be shown that Vanuatu’s school language policies do not in any way reflect the way language is actually used, either inside or outside school, and this disjuncture provides the first contradiction to interrogate.

Bilingual models tend to position indigenous languages *against* languages such as English, with a lack of discussion as to how these languages fit together. The following problems have been identified with reference to Africa:

African languages are promoted as autonomous and bounded systems linked to equally autonomous homogenous communities, regions and, in some cases, far flung villages. Even though there is evidence of multilingual speech patterns all over Africa, the official doctrine is to promote singular languages to the exclusion of other

African languages spoken in the communities or regions. Even though English and other colonial languages are part of the multilingual landscape and have become critical components of the linguistic repertoires of Africans (due, in part, to the advent of information technology), the policies favoured by language education researchers are those that restrict instruction in English to later stages of a child's education. (Banda, 2009, p.3)

The result is that (usually a single) indigenous language is assigned a certain place in an education system, while (usually a single) former colonial language is assigned another place, leading to a number of separate, monolingual approaches to postcolonial education, as summarised in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 The monolingual framework underpinning each model

Model	Integration of different 'languages'
Submersion	Monolingualism
Transitional	Transition from one monolingualism to another
Additive	One monolingualism added to another

This monolingual focus stems from the foundations of the field of Language Policy and Planning, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3. In brief, the field has traditionally concerned pragmatic decisions about which language(s) to use for which purpose(s), within specific domains such as education and the media. Language has therefore typically been conceptualised in instrumental terms, so that different languages are compared for their usefulness and efficiency in fulfilling particular roles. Each language has been conceived of as an autonomous system that can be picked up and used for a given purpose (cf. Pennycook, 2010).

In seeking spaces for multilingual education, a strong foundation that needs to be broken down is this attempt to add languages together, whilst still keeping them separate. Following Heugh (2003), Banda (2009, p.1) refers to this conceptualisation of multilingualism as “multiple monolingualisms”, and attributes this to a Western experience of language learning. He notes that language policies based on such an understanding of multilingualism make no sense in contexts where people use a number of languages on a daily basis,

without separating them into these distinct systems. Although García (2009) does not directly address the situation of majority learners within postcolonial contexts, her differentiation (p.120) between monoglossic ideologies and heteroglossic ideologies, according to the way 'language' is understood within education models, follows the same line of argument. She considers both 'subtractive' and 'additive' models of bilingual education to follow monoglossic frameworks, given that they focus on the way discrete languages are either removed from or added to learners' repertoires. She argues instead for a dynamic theoretical framework of bilingualism, underpinned by a heteroglossic ideology, which "allows the simultaneous coexistence of different languages in communication, accepts translanguaging, and supports the development of multiple linguistic identities to keep a linguistic ecology for efficiency, equity and integration, and responding to both local and global contexts" (García, 2009).

This argument follows a growing number of calls to deconstruct or disinvent (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) 'languages' as separate, discrete systems that can be mastered for particular purposes, and find ways instead to understand multilingualism in terms of social practice (Banda, 2009, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Chimbutane, 2011; García et al., 2006; Heller, 2007b; Pennycook, 2010; Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009). Within this paradigm, distinct, named languages are considered to be "ideological constructions" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p.5), and it is through the interrogation of such constructions that the identification of ideological space can begin. As Heller (2007a, p.2) notes, we can think of language as "a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions".

A move has thus been made towards a more fluid conceptualisation of the use of multiple *linguistic resources*, rather than separate *languages*, leading to notions of 'heteroglossia' (Bailey, 2007; Bakhtin, 1981), 'translanguaging' (García, 2009), 'polylanguaging' (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), and 'flexible bilingualism' (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), as more realistic frameworks of language use. The distinctions between these terms are contested (Blackledge, Busch, Van Avermaet, Jørgensen, & Pennycook, 2011),

but common to all are an opposition to monoglossic frames of reference, a focus on fluidity and flexibility, a prioritisation of language use rather than of abstract, idealised language models, and the recognition that ‘a language’ cannot be mastered in its entirety. This move helps us to re-think what is actually meant (or what *could be* meant) by ‘multilingual education’.

García (2009, p.128) suggests:

The development of bilingualism depends on the degree to which bits and pieces of the children’s languaging practices are extended in the academic context. Heteroglossic bilingual education types support the language interaction of children with different translanguaging practices and build bilingualism accordingly.

She argues for the recognition and extension of learners’ linguistic repertoires, and there are parallels here with the Council of Europe’s (2007, p.8) definition of ‘plurilingualism’ as “the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use”. From this perspective, an individual’s plurilingual repertoire is a “group of language varieties ... mastered by the same speaker, to different degrees of proficiency and for different uses” (p.51). The Council of Europe recommends “a holistic and coherent approach” to language education (p.8), in order to “promote an integrated competence and a consciousness of learners’ existing repertoires and of their potential to develop and adapt those repertoires to changing circumstances” (p.41). This vision of language competence tends to be framed in terms of building a repertoire that will lead to economic opportunity within the context of the EU, and it is not clear that the resources of less widely spoken languages hold equal value (cf. Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013), but the rhetoric with which the argument is made is not dissimilar to that of scholars such as García (2009).

A review of publications since the late 1990s reveals that attempts to reconceptualise bi/multilingual education and bi/multilingualism are not new (e.g. “Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and multilingual education” (Cenoz & Genesee, 1998); “Rethinking language education from a monolingual to a multilingual perspective” (Tosi & Leung, 1999); “Towards a multilingual culture of education” (Ouane, 2003); “The monolingual bias in bilingualism research” (Auer, 2007); “Clarification, ideological/epistemological underpinnings and implications of some concepts in bilingual education” (Skutnabb-Kangas &

McCarty, 2008); and, most recently, “The multilingual turn” (May, 2013). At the current time, however, the endeavour coincides with a significant period of re-examination of a number of aspects of ‘multilingualism’ itself (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), and this study attempts to work within this nexus.

In particular, I hope to continue the lines of argument explored above but with specific reference to Melanesia. I draw on research from both the Global North and the South, given that there are concurrent challenges being made to the monolingual bias within multilingual education from scholars working in, from, and with reference to, a number of different contexts. Of particular relevance is the work being done to deconstruct the foundations of postcolonial language-in-education policies, largely emanating from Africa. However, while the principle of a paradigm shift (e.g. Brock-Utne, 2009; Holmarsdottir, 2009; Kimizi, 2009) away from a Western, or Eurocentric, approach is valid in this study, the Pacific island region is different from the continent of Africa. My aim is to draw on the work done in other postcolonial contexts, for which African scholars provide many starting points, but in a way that remains relevant to Vanuatu, and to the Melanesian region more generally. While Africa can provide many useful comparisons, the wholesale importation of ideas developed in this postcolonial context is no better than the retention of colonial ones. Mühlhäusler (1996) is one of the few scholars who has problematised both the construction of ‘languages’ and language-in-education policies in the Pacific region, although his arguments are solely ecological in nature, and he seems to completely ignore pedagogical aspects of education policy.

1.1.3.4 Ideological and implementational spaces

The final notion that this study engages with is Hornberger’s (2002) concept of ‘ideological and implementational spaces’. Hornberger examines the way macro-level multilingual policies can create, but also close down, spaces in which different linguistic resources may be used in ways that were not necessarily intended. Ramanathan (2005, p.98) has referred to these as “spaces of unplanned language planning”.

While some versions of policy may appear to be closing down ideological spaces, there may be other policy moments going on elsewhere that manage to keep these spaces open (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Educators may find ways to wedge open spaces in their local contexts that may not be noticeable from other vantage points, but they may equally ignore spaces that could have been productively used. Moreover, the implementation of new policies may actually close down spaces that were previously being used to good effect. As Johnson (2011, p.129) notes, such spaces are only *potential* opportunities for change. Somebody needs to implement something that takes advantage of this potential space. Hornberger (2002, p.30) states that “there is urgent need for language educators, language planners, and language users to fill those ideological and implementational spaces as richly and fully as possible, before they close in on us again”. She later expands on this to argue that,

It is essential for language educators and language users to fill up implementational spaces with multilingual educational practices, whether with intent to occupy ideological spaces opened up by policies or to prod actively toward more favorable ideological spaces in the face of restrictive policies. Ideological spaces created by language and education policies can be seen as carving out implementational spaces at classroom and community levels, but implementational spaces can also serve as wedges to pry open ideological ones (Hornberger, 2005, p.606).

Given the stalemate that appears to have been reached in Vanuatu with regard to languages in education, this is an appropriate time to examine the ideological and implementational potential for change. This study aims to contribute to the search for appropriate education policies, by focusing on the way language(s) are currently understood within one particularly complex postcolonial context. It therefore contributes to an understanding of how ideological and implementational spaces open and close, with wider implications for language-in-education policymaking in other postcolonial contexts.

1.1.4 Potential contributions in Vanuatu

Poor quality of education in Vanuatu has been raised as a concern in numerous government reports since 1999 (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2009). National assessments across all school subjects can

provide little meaningful data to support the concerns, given that 'pass/fail rates' at each level are determined solely by the number of available school places at the next level. However, the regional Pacific Islands Literacy and Numeracy Assessment, administered until the late 1990s, gave cause for concern. In the 1996 tests, 53% of Francophone pupils and 21% of Anglophone pupils in Year 4 were considered 'at risk' in literacy (defined as having "acquired no significant knowledge in the subject"), with very similar results for the two groups in Year 6. 19% of Francophones in Year 4 (rising to 21% in the Year 6 cohort), and 16% of Anglophones in both age groups were considered 'at risk' in numeracy (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, pp. 227-8).

These regional tests have been replaced by a nationally-designed assessment since 2004. In the first year of testing, the Vanuatu Standardized Tests of Achievement (VANSTA) suggested that literacy and numeracy levels were 'critical' for 61% and 65%, respectively, of Year 4 pupils across the whole cohort, although there were no significant differences found between Anglophone and Francophone pupils. The situation appeared better amongst the Year 6 pupils, although 'critical' levels were still seen for 29% in literacy and 26% in numeracy (Tambe, 2005). Pupils were defined as being "critically disadvantaged" if their Achievement Levels in both literacy and numeracy were either Level 1 or Level 0, where achievements at Level 0 refers to those who have shown no evidence of having achieved any of the skills expected at [the relevant level], and achievements of Level 1 refer to those who have shown little evidence of the skills expected" (ibid, p.6). The 2009 VANSTA results defined 59% of Anglophone pupils and 65% of Francophone pupils (across both Year 4 and Year 6) as "critically underachieving" in literacy, with 66% of Anglophones and 61% of Francophones defined as such in numeracy (Niroa, 2012, p.36). The Vanuatu model of the USAID-funded Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) (EdDataII, 2004) was first used in 2010, and demonstrated that only a quarter of pupils at the end of Year 3 were able to understand the text they were asked to read (Niroa, 2012, p.37).

Tamtam (2008) draws links between low proficiency in the medium of instruction and difficulties learning content subjects, using evidence of poor performance in university entrance assessments amongst ni-Vanuatu students

to support her case. Bibi (2004) draws attention to Vanuatu's very high rates of school dropouts and repeaters, indicators that are common to submersion programmes worldwide (Ouane & Glanz, 2011). A number of linguists have argued for a move away from submersion education in Vanuatu, based on the pedagogical disadvantages that children in such programmes are considered to face due to the use of an unfamiliar classroom language (Crowley, 2005; Lotherington, 1996; Mangubhai, 2002). The medium of instruction debates that have arisen in the country will be introduced in detail in Chapter 2, where it will be shown that there has been significant concern about, but little change in, policy since Independence.

Relatively little empirical education research has been conducted to date in Vanuatu. One collective effort made to address the lack of research in the Pacific region as a whole has been the work of the PRIDE project (Pacific Regional Initiatives for the Delivery of Basic Education) (Puamau & Teasdale, 2005), in which the aim has been to "develop a set of principles and processes that [is] firmly grounded in Pacific values and epistemologies, yet [is] fully syncretised with useful global approaches" (Puamau, 2005, p.26). Another major initiative, specific to Vanuatu, was the 'Re-thinking Vanuatu Education Together' conference of 2002 (Sanga, Niroa, Matai, & Crowl, 2004), which was part of the wider 'Re-thinking Pacific Education' initiative. However, despite encouraging statements about ways forward, very little empirical research is being carried out.

A second issue is that any research that has been done has tended to be quantitative. The PRIDE project's chapter titled 'The role of data in educational planning' (Tokai, 2005) refers only to quantitative data. The few chapters of the 'Re-thinking Vanuatu Education Together' publication that deal with school-based data contain only quantitative findings. However, in the contribution titled 'Education statistics', the author actually creates a case for qualitative methods to be employed. She notes that "current trends in student repeaters are disturbing and *require closer scrutiny*" (Bibi, 2004, p.288, my emphasis). Another point states, "Indications of an over-supply of teachers demonstrate the *complexities* of the student/teacher ratio issue. A recommended ratio is a *guide*

only and often *other factors* seriously affect the application of policies on student/teacher ratios” (ibid., my emphasis).

There seems to be a need for qualitative data to be collected in order to supplement the statistics for issues such as repeater rates and student/teacher ratios. Information such as low teacher numbers and poor examination results can indicate that problems exist, but reveal little else. Leung (2005, p.241) notes that studies that take into account only *macro-level situational variables*, such as demographic and linguistic statistics, and *outcome variables*, such as attainment figures, miss vital elements of what is really going on, since data collected are “abstracted indices” of such variables that are “very distant from classroom activities in which the languages concerned are experienced and used, and through which language learning opportunities occur”. Qualitative studies in non-contrived educational settings are needed, before any meaningful understanding of the situation can be achieved.

The third factor that creates a need for further and different research is the unique Anglo-French dimension to Vanuatu’s education system. There seems a fairly unanimous agreement that the status quo is ineffective, as evidenced by the limited quantitative data, media reports, and community consultations conducted by the Ministry of Education. What is not agreed upon is whether the current dual-medium system needs to be enhanced or whether it needs to be combined into a single system. If the latter is chosen as the ideal solution, then there is a dilemma over which language to use for what purpose, and this choice is invariably affected by the language preferences of those in power at the time. Language is a key component of any such decision making, and research is needed that reflects this. To my knowledge, there has been no school-based study of language policy that has taken into account both streams of the dual-medium education system, and this research therefore aims to address this gap.

The final aspect of the language configuration that merits investigation is the presence of Bislama as a co-official and national language that students are punished for speaking in official institutional settings. Siegel (1996) reports on one of the few studies that have investigated the use of Melanesian Pidgin (of

which Bislama is a variety) in education, presenting the successes of a pre-school programme in Papua New Guinea. In a 2007 update to his (1999a) survey of research into pidgins and creoles in education, Siegel states that very little research has been carried out since that time in the field of pidgins and creoles in education, and he mentions no studies involving Melanesian Pidgin. He notes that what little research has been carried out in the general field has demonstrated positive effects of the inclusion of pidgins and creoles in education and yet these languages “continue to be excluded from the classroom and speakers of these varieties continue to be disadvantaged” (Siegel, 2007, p.76). He calls for applied linguists to further the body of research in this area.

In summary, there is a complex language configuration within the Vanuatu education system that presents several interesting issues. A large number of language-related debates circulate within the domain of education policymaking but little change is ever implemented. Very little research has investigated languages within education in Vanuatu or the wider Melanesian region. School-based, qualitative, exploratory research is needed, in order to investigate what is going on, as a first step towards an understanding of what is preventing effective change. In particular, a sociolinguistic approach to research is needed, in order to foreground the language complexity that is so politically sensitive, rather than trying to work around it. Drawing on the notion of ideological and implementational spaces, it is hoped that spaces can be revealed amongst the complexity in which potential exists for approaches that are more realistic and relevant in Vanuatu.

1.1.5 Limitations

There has been debate over the extent to which research can actually contribute to policymaking. Finch (1986) has suggested that inherent differences between the fields of research and policymaking prevent an easy fit between the two, including the organisational and cultural factors that guide the operations of both fields, the different types of people involved in each, and the perspectives they have on policymaking. Hammersley (1994, p.148) explains

the difficulty of trying to effect change and contribute knowledge at the same time: “It no longer seems possible, if it ever was, simultaneously to pursue the goals of contributing to disciplinary knowledge and serving educational policy making and practice, while at the same time framing research within some all-embracing political philosophy.” Understanding this dilemma, the orientation of this study is exploratory and analytical. Starting from the assumption that some kind of change is necessary, it focuses on the *potential* for such change, rather than on its *enactment*. It is therefore not an interventionist study, but an exploration of the conditions in which policy change could become possible.

I am also cautious in the extent to which I can make generalisations about the nature of potential spaces for change that would be applicable elsewhere. Firstly, the unusual colonial period and unrivalled linguistic diversity of Vanuatu mean that the language configuration reported here is particular to this country. Secondly, even within Vanuatu, there is significant variation in the politico-historical experiences and sociolinguistic realities of different areas, with implications for the way language(s) are used and talked about. For example, a comparison between my research sites on the island of Ambae, and the communities in which Miriam Meyerhoff (personal communication, May 2012) is currently working on the neighbouring island of Espiritu Santo reveal significant contextual differences³, and corresponding differences in what it means to be ‘Anglophone’ or ‘Francophone’. These differences within such close geographical proximity are a reminder of how ‘locally’ my observations must be understood.

1.2 Clarification of terms

From this point on, the terms ‘Anglophone’ and ‘Francophone’ are used with reference to the schooling system. For example, students and teachers are referred to as ‘Anglophone’ if they are part of the community of an English-

³ For example, Espiritu Santo experienced intense fighting in the build-up to Independence, with rivalry based predominantly along Anglophone-Francophone lines, while Ambae appears to have had no such history; one of Vanuatu’s two towns and a number of tourist attractions are located on Santo, while Ambae remains entirely rural and attracts very few visitors; approximately 24 distinct languages are listed by the SIL Ethnologue as being spoken on Santo, while only two languages are listed for Ambae.

medium school. Outside school, these terms are not frequently used. Parents often choose to educate some children in English and others in French (Lynch, 1996), so it is rare to be able to label a family or community as being, for example, 'Francophone'. As Miles (1998, p.121) notes, this form of language identification relates neither to actual language use (outside the institution of education) nor to ethnicity, as is the case in other contexts in which these terms are used. These terms may sometimes be used in popular discourse to refer, for example, to political parties (e.g. the Vanua'aku Pati is traditionally considered 'Anglophone' and the Union of Moderate Parties 'Francophone', for which there is historical justification, see 2.2.1.4), but these labels do not necessarily reflect the language use of today's members or supporters of these parties.

Since language-in-education policy is the focus of this study, the two current media of instruction are discussed in depth. For convenience, the term L2 will be used to refer to whichever language is used as the medium of instruction. The term L3 will be used to refer to the other school language, taught as a subject in each school. At Anglophone schools, L2 is English and L3 is French; at Francophone schools, L2 is French and L3 is English. Brock-Utne (2009) criticises the use of 'second language' to refer to a language to which children may have very limited exposure outside school, and I agree with her point that 'foreign language' is more applicable. However, the advantage of using these terms is that they enable discussion of either or both parts of Vanuatu's education system without needing to specify whether English or French is being referred to.

As the terms imply, neither of these languages is generally used by the students as a 'first language', 'mother tongue' or 'home language'. For the purpose of this study, all languages that could be considered to fit into one or more of these categories (including Bislama) will be referred to as L1. This term is particularly problematic, given that the majority of ni-Vanuatu will have at least two 'languages' within this category. However, by using this shorthand, I actually avoid distinguishing between these languages as though they are kept separate in the linguistic repertoire. It is a useful category to encompass all languages apart from the principal languages of education. Thus, children speak one or

more languages at home (L1); at school they are introduced to a new language, which is used as the medium of instruction (L2); later on, they are introduced to a third language, which is learnt as a subject (L3).

1.3 Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 presents the research problem in its context. It tells the story chronologically from my point of view as the researcher. In the first stage, I describe how I became aware of a problem during my experience living, teaching and, later, conducting research in Vanuatu. I highlight a number of issues that arose throughout this period that led me to begin this study in 2009. In the second stage, I contextualise this problem by giving the historico-political background to the education system, as well as details of the wider sociolinguistic context. In the final stage, I turn the problem back into a research problem, by summarising how I approach the different possibilities and directions that could be pursued in investigating this problem.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological and analytic approach taken. It provides an overview of the Ethnography of Language Policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2011; Johnson, 2009), which has been chosen as the most appropriate overall framework for the study. Within this overview, both the 'ethnography' and the 'language policy' of the approach will be discussed, in order to set out how I am using these terms. The use of discourse analysis within this framework will also be discussed, with reference to the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001).

Chapter 4 then introduces the research design of the case study, with the help of contextual background to the two chosen schools and the Ministry of Education. I outline the methods that were used in order to collect data throughout two periods of fieldwork, and the analytic steps taken in dealing with the discourse data. I also discuss my own position within the research.

The first two data chapters examine the way language is used and talked about within, and with reference to, the two schools. The focus of Chapter 5 is the position of the official school language (either English or French) as the emblem

of each school, and thus as the only correct language to be used. The strength of the L2-only ideology is made clear, particularly as students and teachers talk up the extent to which they are punished for failing to use only this language, and an impression is created of a very restrictive top-down policy. However, other elements of the data reveal the challenges that are posed to this position by the heteroglossic reality of school life, and it appears that symbolic uses of the official school language may be enough to maintain its institutional status.

Chapter 6 focuses on the classroom as a key site of school life. This chapter examines the way the official school language is, once again, positioned as the only correct language to use. It is shown that teachers and students work together to make sure that classroom interaction can proceed without obvious interruption to the flow of learning, as the teachers take on the majority of the language work, and students are able to fill in the gaps with content knowledge to keep the lesson going. Any attempts to question this situation are met with a discourse of inadequate language learning, as teachers argue that their students would be able to learn through L2 if only they were better at this language, and students appear to agree. At the same time, specific arguments are put forward against the use of L1, and Bislama in particular. The L2-only ideology remains sufficiently strong in the domain of the classroom to close down spaces for alternative practices.

The second pair of data chapters examines how these practices and discourses fit in with other ways in which these language(s) are understood in the wider contexts in which they are used. Chapter 7 reveals how participants construct language as a gateway to opportunity and success, valuing only English and French as languages of wider communication. Crucially, they construct the notion of English/French 'bilingualism' as the most effective route to success, with Anglophones and Francophones alike vocal about the need to learn both school languages. However, something more than a practical need for both English and French is revealed, since anecdotes reveal that only very small amounts of L3 are required, and nobody can explain any benefits that French brings in real terms. This desire for both English and French appears to close down potential spaces that might exist for other languages in education.

Chapter 8 examines this perceived need for both English and French further. It presents data in which language is constructed as a marker of national identity. Within this construction, the two languages are together constructed as integral to Vanuatu's national identity, based on their role in the country's history. In constructing a new national identity that embraces, rather than rejects, their colonial history, ni-Vanuatu justify the maintenance of a divisive and inefficient education system that is poorly-aligned to local needs. Space appears to be constructed for all languages within education, but, while only some languages are considered to have instrumental value, it is readily shut down again.

Chapter 9 synthesises the practices and discourses that have been examined, with reference to the concept of ideological and implementational spaces. It discusses the way considerable implementational space appears to be left open for the use of additional or alternative linguistic resources, and suggests that this space is unutilised for two main reasons. Firstly, the immutability of a number of deeply-held beliefs about language(s) and education prevent realistic consideration of change. Secondly, despite a certain amount of implementational tolerance for the use of other linguistic resources, there is insufficient implementational support, stemming from uncontested arguments that change is too costly and complex.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis by suggesting the need to move towards a more flexible framework in which attention is paid to linguistic repertoires rather than separate languages. It suggests that we should move beyond language-oriented models within which pedagogical considerations need to be accommodated, and think instead of a learning-oriented framework within which teachers and students have greater freedom to negotiate learning by drawing on the multiple resources they have at their disposal.

2 The research problem in its context

2.1 Noticing the problem: Observations from the inside

2.1.1 The problem experienced at one particular school

I was an English teacher at Angolovo College, a secondary boarding school in Vanuatu from 2004 to 2006. The medium of instruction was English, but I was the only member of the community for whom this was the dominant language. It was considered essential for students to develop a sound command of English, and school rules stipulated that this was the only language allowed around the campus, even at weekends.

The following was displayed in 2004:

Re: College Language Policy

This notice serves to remind the community that the use of Bislama is banned from the whole campus. Anyone caught speaking Bislama in any area will be savagely punished.

This is essential because Bislama:

- has minimal vocabulary
- influences spoken and written English
- confuses the structure and word order of English
- disturbs the fluency of English in the college

As previously noted, Bislama is the national language and an official language. It was clearly not welcome in my school, however. The notice was followed up by a campaign to 'eradicate' Bislama from the school, justified by the need to improve competence in English. Punishments tended to be manual tasks, such as cutting the grass with bushknives.

Bislama was not the only L1 for most staff and students. School records indicated that 38 vernaculars were spoken by the approximately 300 students.

Although the English-only campaign emphasised the use of English at all times, and thus precluded the use of the vernaculars, these languages were not made such deliberate targets of the school policy as Bislama. This may be due in part to the fact that Bislama was the most common 'unauthorised' language used, since it was spoken by all staff and students, but, as the above notice makes clear, this is not the only reason.

As a teacher of English and a native speaker of the language, colleagues considered me the most suitable proponent of the Bislama-eradication campaign. I disagreed. Firstly, my potential association with a harsh policy that punished students for speaking their own languages concerned me; secondly, the bizarre situation in which a school (whose role surely was to prepare students to become citizens) punishes students for speaking the national and official language confused me; thirdly, no teachers actually followed the policy themselves, particularly when talking amongst themselves, but often even when talking to students. On many occasions, punishments seemed to be given when there was a manual task that needed doing, rather than out of any concern for language use. It was particularly ironic for me that staff meetings, during which complaints were frequently made about the use of Bislama around the school, were conducted entirely in Bislama! The policy was unfair, illogical, inconsistently enforced, and not clearly linked to efforts to improve levels of English.

In 2008, I returned to the school to research the way English and Bislama were used in students' academic interaction (Willans, 2008). Interviews and questionnaire data revealed that both students and teachers felt that Bislama was only used because students were not good enough at English, and all participants expressed approval of the school's English-only policy. However, audio-recordings of student-student interaction in the classroom indicated that code-switching from English to Bislama rarely occurred for 'participant-related' reasons (Auer, 1984), to accommodate the competencies or preferences of different participants; many episodes of code-switching seemed to accomplish subtler functions internal to the discourse itself, i.e. 'discourse-related' reasons (ibid.) that were far more complex. It seemed that students were competent users of the resources of both Bislama and English, rather than deficient users

of English. However, they clearly held negative feelings about a perceived inability to speak the language of instruction, and kept this bilingual pattern of interaction out of the earshot of the teacher (Willans, 2011).

Although the policy was inconsistently enforced, one aspect remained constant. Students and staff, alike, knew they were supposed to speak English only and expressed the desire to do this. They talked about school as an English-only institution, thereby constructing a monolingual zone within their discourse, even though this was not borne out in reality. Within this discursively constructed zone, it was inappropriate to use other languages in the classroom to make learning easier, and punishment seemed acceptable.

2.1.2 The problem doubled

There was another secondary boarding school seven kilometres away, Collège de Faranako, where the medium of instruction was French. The priority here, therefore, was to improve the levels of competence in French, so that students could learn all of their subjects and pass all of their examinations in this language. A researcher told me in 2008 that students at this school were made to wear a sign announcing:

Je ne dois pas parler Bichelamar à l'école

[I must not speak Bislama at school]

Both schools seemed to take a clear stance towards the use of Bislama, and punish students for speaking this language. Lynch (1996) claims that these instances are by no means unusual in the country. Indeed, Smith (2011) provides other recent examples of children being punished for language use at primary schools on a different island of Vanuatu, and see Nick Thieberger's homepage (Thieberger, no date) for a photo showing a sign worn as punishment for speaking a local vernacular. Whether these rules are enforced consistently is unclear, but there is a common aspiration to conduct education through one language only, either English or French.

Although the idealisation of educational monolingualism in Vanuatu therefore falls in line with the experience of many postcolonial countries, it is marked out by the *duplication* of this monolingual ideology, leading to what Charpentier (1979, p.136) has termed “back to back monolingualism”. Families often choose to send some children to each stream, thereby polarising their children artificially into ‘Anglophones’ and ‘Francophones’. An episode recorded in my fieldnotes reveals the complex factors that lead to a child being enrolled in one or other stream. Frieda is a Year 8 student at Collège de Faranako:

Extract 2.1

Chatted to Frieda's mother while waiting. Frieda apparently has three sisters who are all at Anglophone schools. Frieda did Class 1 Anglophone and then the teacher said she could either go to Class 2 or repeat Class 1. Frieda complained about the boys in her class and asked to change to the Francophone Class 1 since her aunt was the teacher. She's been in Francophone ever since although her uncle wants her to move to Anglophone. She was top of the class last year so her mother kept her at Faranako and she isn't sure yet about Year 9. She wanted to put another of her daughters in Francophone but there was no Class 1 Francophone at the school that year so she went to Anglophone. Nobody else in the family speaks French. (fieldnotes 27/4/11)

In this case, Frieda appears to be doing well, despite being the only child in her family in the Francophone stream. However, the following day, I spoke to the mother of another girl, Salina, currently in Class 4 at a Francophone primary school, whose family members have all attended Anglophone schools:

Extract 2.2

She said she and Salina's father want to move Salina to Anglophone but she doesn't want to. The only reason she is in the Francophone system is that there was a Francophone kindy close to the village where they were then but the Anglophone one was far away. She saw all the other kids going and wanted to join them even though she was too young. She picked up bits of French so, when it was time for her to start kindy properly and they were already in Santo, they put her in Francophone. She later had problems learning to read (so repeated Class 2, although going to live with her grandmother in Santo in order to do so) and she sounds like she struggles a bit. Salina's mother says they keep trying to persuade her to change and they use her marks as a threat – if she doesn't get good marks, they'll transfer her to Anglophone. (fieldnotes 28/4/11)

A number of issues are compounded here. The most concerning is that Salina might be moved to the Anglophone stream as punishment for poor marks,

which could, firstly, create a negative association with the move and, secondly, cause Salina to struggle further if she has to encounter subjects she already finds difficult in a new language. Another issue is that, when Salina's parents lost faith in the local school where she had started, there were no other Francophone schools nearby, so she went to live with her grandmother on a different island. There, it seems she receives less support than she might at home with her parents, one of whom is a teacher. Her older brother is currently in Year 11 at a very good Anglophone secondary school, and has always done well. Salina might have had a very different start if she had been able to read and do homework with parents and a brother who all knew the language she was using at school. Although this kind of support may still be uncommon in rural Vanuatu, as parents may not be comfortable using either school language, it was actually available in Salina's case. Both stories reveal families making choices dictated either by availability of school places in the preferred language, or by 'guesswork' as to what is best for their children.

2.2 Contextualising the problem: Background

2.2.1 Historico-political background

2.2.1.1 Pre 1906 (The pre-colonial period)

Vanuatu's islands have been populated for approximately 3,000 years. Throughout numerous cross-Pacific migrations, settlers from different Austronesian origins came together, resulting in great linguistic and cultural diversity (MacClancy, 2002). Early European arrivals were explorers (de Quiros, in 1606, de Bougainville, in 1768, and Cook, in 1774). Missionaries followed, with the three main groups comprising English-speaking Presbyterians and Anglicans from the 1860s, and French-speaking Catholics from the late 1880s. This century also brought sandalwood traders, labour recruiters, and plantation owners (Van Trease, 1995).

Melanesian Pidgin emerged during this era, originally as a simple pidgin used in sandalwood trade. It developed during the era of labour recruitment, when islanders speaking a wide variety of mutually unintelligible languages worked

together on plantations in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa. The language later evolved into the three dialects spoken today in Vanuatu (Bislama), Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin) and the Solomon Islands (Pijin). See Charpentier (1979) and Crowley (1990) for a fuller account.

2.2.1.2 1906 – 1980 (The colonial period as The New Hebrides)

Large portions of land were 'acquired' by settlers, leading to disputes between the Europeans and the indigenous people, and among the Europeans themselves. As many settlers were British and French, a Franco-British Naval Commission was reluctantly established in 1887. The Condominium of the New Hebrides was then formed in 1906, by which Britain and France assumed joint administrative control, but no sovereignty, over the island group (see MacClancy, 2002; Van Trease, 1995).

As Van Trease (1995) states, the two powers had very different colonial philosophies. Firstly, they had opposing views regarding independence (Lynch, 1996; Van Trease, 1995). The British favoured moving towards independent rule at some point, and aimed to create a pool of educated New Hebrideans who would be able to take over. The French intended to retain the islands, and had no interest in creating an elite. Documents left behind by the French at Independence (*Résidence de France aux Nouvelles-Hébrides*, 1969, pp.2-3) make this clear:

Politique Britannique – D'une manière de plus en plus ouverte, la Grande Bretagne cherche à mener ce pays à l'indépendance.

Politique Française – Elle est claire. Mes instructions, reçues du Général de Gaulle, étaient : "on reste".

[British policy – More and more openly, Great Britain is looking to lead this country to independence.

French policy – This is clear. My instructions received from General de Gaulle, were: "we are staying".]

The second implication of joint rule was the establishment of parallel governmental systems. Separate schools, hospitals, police services, law courts, prisons and even currencies were established by the two powers, administered in either English or French (Miles, 1998; Van Trease, 1995). Premdas and

Steeves (1995, p.222) summarise the situation as a “bifurcated” form of government that “superimposed an artificial cleavage which came to pervade most aspects of ni-Vanuatu life”. Miles (1998, p.37) coins the term ‘condocolonialism’ to refer to this state of affairs in which the two powers acted primarily against one another rather than for the benefit or even relevance of the colonised people, who were “neither repressed by a metropolitan power nor assimilated into a metropolitan model but rather ... induced to join one side against the other”.

2.2.1.3 1980 (Independence)

Vanuatu became independent on 30 July 1980. The transition was turbulent, as islanders who had been educated in the different systems were drawn into the Anglo-French disputes (Miles, 1998). Political parties were inevitably formed along linguistic lines, so that the pro-independence Vanua’aku Pati was made up of those educated in the Anglophone system, while various smaller ‘Francophone’ parties emerged, who had differing attitudes towards the developing political situation, but tended to resist independence (Premdas & Steeves, 1995; Van Trease, 1995). As Van Trease (1995, p.58) notes, “one of the main results of the troubled transition to independence was, therefore, the creation of an artificial unity on both sides of the political arena”.

Language-in-education issues became contentious. The Vanua’aku Pati announced in 1977 that English would become the sole medium of instruction after Independence if the party was elected (Van Trease, 1995, p.54), sparking widespread concerns among those who had already been educated through French. The streets filled for a demonstration in support of ‘Francophonie’ (MacClancy, 2002, p.140). The point made by the public was perhaps eclipsed by that of France, who set the condition that the French language and culture must be preserved, as part of its constitutional negotiations (Van Trease, 1995, p.38).

The Anglo-French division also impacted on the new nation’s identity. Firstly, Bislama was used by political parties as the language of unity and the rejection of colonialism. According to Thomas (1990, p.238), the Vanua’aku Pati encouraged supporters to see Bislama “as unique to their country, embodying

the history of Vanuatu ... not as the language of domination created by Europeans, but as the language of survival and solidarity created by Melanesians". Bislama was selected as the national language, and as a co-official language alongside English and French, due to its politically neutral role in uniting 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone' ni-Vanuatu (Lynch, 1996). Bislama is the only dialect of Melanesian Pidgin to be given such status and Vanuatu was the only country in the Pacific Basin to select de jure official and national languages at Independence (Lynch & Fa'afo, 1995, p.30). In addition, Bislama is the sole language in which Vanuatu's national anthem and motto are written.

Furthermore, while most other independent Pacific nations have retained something similar to their colonial names, it may be significant that the name 'New Hebrides' was replaced by 'Vanuatu' (with the literal meaning 'land eternal' or 'our land' in many of the vernaculars). While there is no evidence that these developments resulted directly from the joint rule, it seems reasonable to note that Vanuatu engaged in significant displays of nationalism, and made a marked attempt to leave colonialism behind.

2.2.1.4 1980 – 1991 (The first government)

The Vanua'aku Pati (VP) ruled Vanuatu until 1991. The stable government throughout this period laid deep foundations for the nation. In the same way that this party had to start from what the colonial powers had left behind, future governments would have to build on the institutions and styles of governance established in the 1980-1991 era. The VP was made up of those educated within the Anglophone education system, and was considered to represent 'Anglophone' interests. There were no Francophone-educated members of the cabinet, very few Francophone-educated civil servants, and few French-speaking expatriate advisors. The primary opposition throughout this period was the Union of Moderate Parties (UMP), formed from a number of different groups considered to be 'Francophone'.

The extent to which 'Francophones' were deliberately marginalised is debated. Premdas and Steeves (1995, p.221) refer to the VP as "Francophobic", and state that "[their] regime was more than just jaundiced in favour of Anglophone ni-Vanuatu; it seemed to be systematically set on a course towards Anglicising

the state”. Van Trease (1995, p.54), however, argues that only the British colonial system had prepared its school-leavers for the post-independence workforce, and that France refused to support a proposal in 1983 for French-medium courses to be offered by the University of the South Pacific⁴ (ibid., p.55). Tertiary education and training was therefore a more realistic option for Anglophone students, and they were thus better prepared to take on positions of responsibility. Intentionally or not, English began to be used more and more in official circles, and those educated in the Anglophone system did gain an advantage.

2.2.1.5 1991 – present (A period of political instability)

The elections of 1991 saw the end of this two-party dominance (Steeves, 1992). A gradual breakdown within the VP led to the formation of a number of new parties, and thus a ‘split’ in the original VP vote. Coupled with an increasing but not overwhelming number of UMP votes, no party therefore won an outright majority in the 1991 election. A coalition government was formed between UMP and one of the newer offshoots of VP, the National United Party (NUP). Premdas and Steeves (1995, p.225) heralded this as “a government of Anglo-French accommodation”, with the potential that “old wounds were about to be healed” (ibid., p.222). In practical terms, Francophone-educated personnel became well-represented in the cabinet and the civil service, and French-speaking advisors were increasingly recruited. Inevitably, accusations of marginalisation were raised again, this time by Anglophone-educated ni-Vanuatu (Premdas & Steeves, 1995).

The result is that one-party dominance has been replaced by immense uncertainty. Since 1991, coalitions have been formed between increasing numbers of parties, with five coming together in 2000 (Jowitt, 2000), nine during 2005 (Jowitt, 2006), and ten in 2012, following the election of representatives of seventeen parties and four independents. Party goals are unclear, allegiances change with incredible frequency, and coalition restructurings and motions of no confidence have become commonplace. This instability is likely to have had an enormous impact on coherence of policymaking objectives and implementation.

⁴established in 1968 for Anglophone students across the region

2.2.2 Vanuatu's education system

2.2.2.1 From missionary origins to the present day

Missionary education was established during the 19th century, oriented towards reading the Bible and adopting Christian values and behaviour. Much early teaching was done through the vernacular, although this later shifted to English or French, generally depending on whether it was a Protestant or Catholic concern. By 1900, the English-speaking Anglicans and Presbyterians had established a large number of schools throughout the northern islands and the central and southern islands, respectively. The French-speaking Catholics, having arrived slightly later, had established missions on a variety of different islands, seeking areas where Protestant stations did not exist (Van Trease, 1995, pp.3-6).

By 1960, enrolments in English-medium schools were four times higher than in French-medium schools (Miles, 1998, p.46). This was due to a combination of factors: the Protestants had arrived before the Catholics; Australia and New Zealand were close by, providing a ready supply of personnel; the British government gave greater support to the missions than the secular French government; and the Protestant missions in turn gave greater material support to education than the Catholics did. From the 1960s, the colonial governments took increasing control over schools, although continued to leave much of the administration to the missions. The British used a model that retained its missionary character, adapted to the local context (Miles, 1998, p.47), while the French more closely followed the education system used in France (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.5).

According to Miles (1998, p.45), while the British intended to produce an educated elite, the purpose of education for the French was “to produce as many Francophones as possible, not to cultivate a select group of indigenes who could assure high-level administrative responsibility of their own” (ibid., p.47), since they had no plans to leave. Significant resources were invested in Francophone education, and enrolments steadily rose until the disparity had been significantly reduced by Independence (Van Trease, 1995). However, this situation did not last, and, by 1990, only 38.4% of primary enrolments were at

Francophone schools (Van Trease, 1995, p.56). Figure 2.1 (taken from Miles, 1998, p.49) presents the levels of primary enrolments within the two streams during this period. Although there are dramatic changes around Independence, the proportions of Anglophone and Francophone enrolments are similar at the start and end of the period.

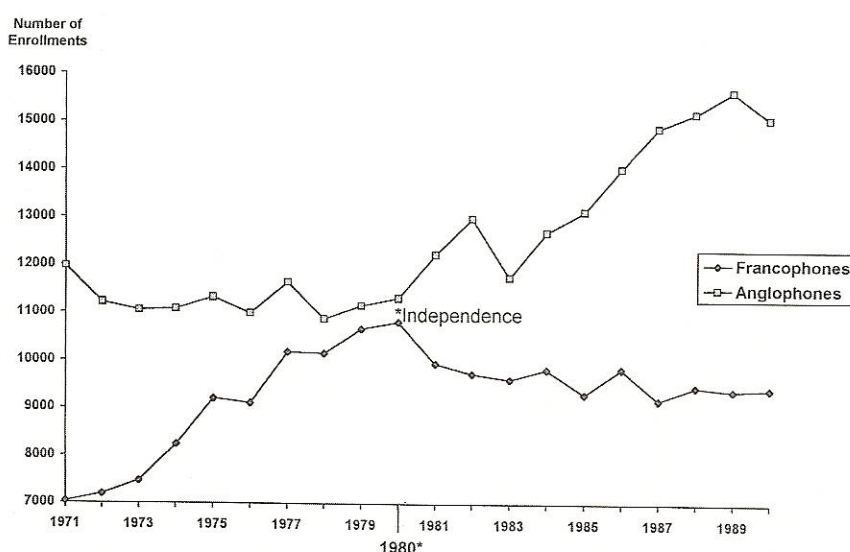


Figure 2.1 Primary school enrolments 1971-1990

While Francophone-educated ni-Vanuatu have used the post-1980 decline in Francophone enrolments to support claims of unfair treatment by the VP government, there were clearly other factors. Before Independence, French education had been free while the British system had charged fees. When both systems came under the control of one national government, France was only willing to support French-medium education and withdrew much of its funding (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1980, p.5). The VP government therefore decided to charge the same level of fees in both streams (Van Trease, 1995, p.56), which is likely to have affected Francophone enrolments. In addition, many parents, concerned that French would gradually be replaced by English in Vanuatu, transferred their children to the Anglophone system in the early 1980s (ibid.). Finally, to reduce costs, the government closed many of the smaller

primary schools. Since the French had opened many such schools, Francophone schools were often the ones closed (ibid.).

The issue of 'balance' between the two streams has continued to be the subject of discussion. The most direct call for language equality, whereby enrolments should be split equally between the two streams, was made in the Ombudsman's 1996 report on 'the observance of multilingualism'. Having presented similar figures to those discussed above, this report states:

The seed of rapid decline has therefore been planted and needs to be uprooted immediately if current proportions are to be as least [sic] maintained, particularly if the language equity that the Constitution appears to demand is to be re-established. (Ombudsman of the Republic of Vanuatu, 1996, p.32).

However, almost twenty years after the end of the political era dominated by an 'Anglophone' government, the imbalance remains. The disparity between Anglophone and Francophone enrolments has continued to increase since 1990, as shown in Figure 2.2 (based on 1990 data from Miles (1998) and 2000 and 2010 data provided by the Ministry of Education).

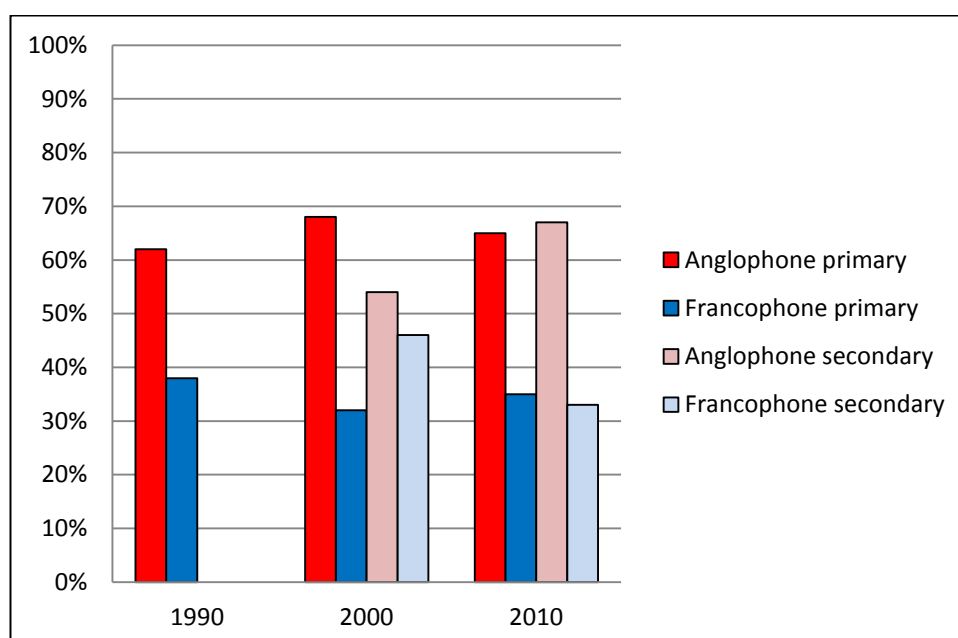


Figure 2.2 Proportions of Anglophone and Francophone enrolments 1990-2010

2.2.2.2 The current education system

Table 2.1 gives an overview of the current education system.

Table 2.1 Current education system in Vanuatu

	Year	Anglophone	Francophone
Preschool	Kindy		
Basic education	1		
	2		
	3		
	4		
	5		
	6		
Junior secondary	7	Year 8 national exam (in English)	Year 8 national exam (in French)
	8		
	9	Year 10 national exam (in English)	Year 10 national exam (in French)
	10		
Senior secondary	11	Pacific Secondary School Certificate (Year 12)	National Year 12 exam (French)
	12		
	13	Form 7 Certificate or USP foundation (Year 13)	National Year 13 exam (French)
	14		DAEU (Year 14)

The last decade and a half have seen a great deal of activity in terms of education policymaking, in attempt to address concerns of inequity between Anglophones and Francophones, lack of access to post-primary education, and poor quality throughout the system (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, 2006b, 2009). Firstly, work has been carried out to unify the curriculum and assessment structure of the two streams. As Table 2.1 shows, education now follows the same programme for the first ten years, but in two languages. With the exception of language subjects, the Anglophone and Francophone exam papers at Years 8 and 10 are direct translations of each other. However, senior secondary level remains entirely separate. The Anglophone senior curriculum comes under the control of the Secretariat of the Pacific Board for Education and Assessment (SPBEA), a regional body that administers curricula and assessment in nine countries. There is no Senior Secondary curriculum for the Francophone system, but each school contributes to the format of a national Francophone exam at the end of Years 12 and 13, following which the top students may take the Diplôme d'Accès aux Etudes Universitaires (DAEU) at

the end of a fourteenth year of school. However, in 2010, a new Vanuatu National Curriculum Statement was published (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010), setting out a 'harmonised' curriculum and assessment structure to be used from pre-school to Year 13 in all schools.

Another recent change has been the extension of basic education, in an attempt to offer eight years of education for all children. This was set out in the Education Master Plan (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999). The first selection exam is now at the end of Year 8 rather than Year 6 (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.7). The intention is that children spend eight years in 'Centre Schools' (comprising six years of primary education and two 'top-up' years), before moving to secondary schools. However, the reality depends on resources at existing schools and the ability and willingness of communities to respond to this change, resulting in a wide disparity in the logistical arrangements for Years 7 and 8. The two schools of this study exemplify two of the possible permutations, as will be set out in Chapter 4. Education is currently neither compulsory nor free at any level. A 2010 initiative has been to provide 'block grants' to primary schools, removing fees up to Year 6, but parents are frequently still expected to pay 'non-fee contributions', as well as financing uniforms, books, and transport. It is also unclear how long the government will be able to pay such grants to schools. From Year 7 onwards, parents must pay very high costs, which often include boarding fees.

A number of education documents of the last decade have also stated the need to increase access to tertiary education (e.g. Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2003, 2006b, 2009). The University of the South Pacific (USP), co-owned by the governments of twelve member countries, has been the most common route for Anglophone students. The majority of courses are run at the main campus in Fiji, but some students can begin their studies by distance at the Vanuatu campus. There are more limited opportunities for Francophones to study at Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (New Caledonia). However, all students struggle to finance tertiary studies, and realistically can only complete a degree course in either medium if awarded a scholarship. Other students find places at institutions such as the Vanuatu Institute of Technology and the Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education, which are both dual-language.

Some recent developments have increased opportunities for Francophone school leavers. Firstly, study skills modules in English are being offered by USP to Francophone students in Years 12, 13 and 14. This gives these students assistance if they choose to switch to English-medium at tertiary level, thus providing access to far more institutions. Secondly, and somewhat controversially (Letters to the Editor, 2009), a great number of Francophone students have recently been offered scholarships to complete foundation level studies at USP's Vanuatu campus, and then further scholarships for degree courses overseas, while Anglophone students have to pay for their foundation studies and complete a greater number of undergraduate courses before being eligible for a scholarship. Thirdly, there are plans to establish a Francophone institution on Vanuatu's USP campus (Makin, 2012; Marango, 2012), although it is still unclear what exactly this will offer to whom.

Finally, as the remainder of this section will show, a number of linguistic debates have been circulating for several years, in part driven by the desire to provide better quality and more equitable education, particularly at the early primary level. Lynch (1996) states that language-in-education debates were common throughout the 1980s and 1990s and, he observed in the mid 1990s that there had been "lots of talk but no action; and, at the present time, somewhat less talk (and no action)" (p. 249). In 2009, an Education Language Policy team was appointed, but the policy proposal produced by this team proved highly controversial and unworkable (see Possibility E below), and by 2011, when I conducted my fieldwork, the situation seemed to have returned to one of a lot of talk, although still no action.

The new National Curriculum Statement (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.49) makes clear its position on the advantages of using familiar languages:

There is considerable research evidence that supports children having a good understanding of their first language to begin with because it assists their intellectual development and learning of other languages. The evidence suggests that if children are prevented from using their first language too soon, it can hinder and slow down their intellectual development and they find it difficult to fully recover from this.

However, the stalemate is made clear within the following provisions in the document:

Extract 2.3

Produce a ni-Vanuatu curriculum whatever the language of instruction (French, English, Bislama or a vernacular language). (ibid., p.v)

The languages of instruction may differ from school to school in accordance with the Vanuatu National Education Language Policy but the curriculum standards will be the same for all children and students from Kindergarten to Year 13. (ibid., p.75)

The language of instruction in our schools will either be English or French, which one of these two languages will be determined by the Vanuatu National Education Language Policy. (ibid., p.89)

Attempts to sustain dialogue with the Education Language Policy team failed (personal communication with the technical advisor leading the Curriculum Team, February 2011). The solution reached has been to set out standards that can be achieved through any language, awaiting a decision on what this language will be. While this may well be the only way in which the curriculum work could proceed, it appears to marginalise quite what is at stake in language policymaking (not to mention delay or duplicate the production of teaching materials).

Table 2.2 summarises five models that have been considered in Vanuatu over the past thirty-five years, categorised according to the typology summarised in Table 1.1. It is worth noting at this point that no proposals for change have ever been implemented (i.e. the situation remains as in A).

Table 2.2 Models considered in Vanuatu

Proposal	Medium of instruction	Model
A. Maintaining the status quo (put in place by the colonial powers)	L2 medium throughout education, in either English or French	<i>(Dual) submersion</i>
B. 1977 New Hebrides National Party congress (see Van Trease, 1995)	L2 medium throughout education, in English only	<i>Submersion</i>
C. 1981 Vanuatu Language Planning Conference, (see Topping, 1982; Thomas, 1990)	Vemacular/Bislama medium education at least throughout primary school (with English and/or French taught as subjects)	<i>Late-exit transitional</i>
D. 1999 Vanuatu Education Master Plan (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999)	Vemacular/Bislama medium until Year 2 English or French medium from Year 3 onwards	<i>Early-exit transitional</i>
E. 2010 Education Language Policy Team (2010b)	Vemacular/Bislama medium until Year 2; Progressive transition to L2 medium from Year 3 L3 medium progressively introduced Equal use of L2 and L3 from Year 7	<i>Double transitional</i>

A. Maintaining the status quo: Submersion in English or French

L2 is used as the medium of instruction for all subjects, a model that is not considered effective (1.1.3.1). The situation is compounded by the co-existence of two streams. This duplication presents an economic strain on the system, polarises ni-Vanuatu into ‘Anglophones’ and ‘Francophones’ even at the family level, and appears to disadvantage those educated in the Francophone system.

Meanwhile, it is hoped that students will gain competence in both English and French. Guidelines state: “If students leave school without competency in English and French then we have wasted our time” (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1998a, p.43). This is reaffirmed in the National Language Policy, which states that “the principal languages of education should be promoted equally in all classrooms at higher primary, secondary and tertiary levels” (Vanuatu National Language Council, 2006). However, L3 is only introduced at

the start of secondary school, and then allocated just four periods a week of language study, making this goal entirely unrealistic.

B. Submersion in English only

As discussed in 2.2.1.3, the Vanua'aku Pati stated that they would abolish French-medium education, should they be elected. The decision was revoked following street demonstrations and pressure from the Government of France. Since that time, this possibility has never publicly been proposed again.

C. A late-exit transitional programme from L1 to L2(s)

Attitudes towards the use of the vernaculars and Bislama within education were negative under colonial rule. However, opinions appeared to change around Independence, judging by the opinions put forward at the 1981 Vanuatu Language Planning Conference, a 1982 parliamentary debate on languages in education, and a 1984 Pacific Languages Unit report (Thomas, 1990). Topping (1982, p.3) summarises the resolutions passed at the Language Planning Conference:

1. As a general principle, there must be room for and recognition of vernacular, Bislama, and the metropolitan languages in the education system of Vanuatu.
2. a. Vernacular languages must be used as the medium of instruction in primary schools through Classes 1-3.
- b. Bislama will be introduced in primary schools beginning Class 4.
- c. Bislama should be used as the medium of instruction, Classes 4-6, with French and English introduced as subjects of study.
- d. French and/or English will be introduced and used as media of instruction in secondary schools with Bislama continued as a subject of study.
- e. Technical schools should continue with Bislama as the medium of instruction through Classes 7 and 8.
- f. If these new language requirements necessitate extending the time period for primary school, this is something for the Ministry of Education to study.

However, no resolution was ever put into practice. Current guidelines for secondary school principals, unchanged since 1998, state that "local languages should be used only at the week-ends or out of school hours" and "although Bislama is an official national language, it is not a language of instruction [and]

where possible it should not be used when either English or French is appropriate” (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1998a, p.43). Lynch (1996, p.248) also cites one Ministry of Education directive that teachers using Bislama in school would be guilty of “professional misconduct”. This sentiment is more recently reinforced by the Education Language Policy team (2009, p.5) report, which states that Bislama’s “presence in day-to-day teaching far exceeds legal requirements”, despite there being no law that actually refers to Bislama’s use in schools.

Since the early 1980s, no consideration appears to have been given to either the use or the teaching of Bislama and the vernaculars beyond the earliest grades.

D. An early-exit transitional programme from L1 to L2(s)

In 1999, the government mandated the implementation of a vernacular education curriculum for pre-school and two years of primary school, before a transition to either English or French (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999). This was motivated by debates that had run for over 25 years in Vanuatu (Thomas, 1990), and further afield (e.g. UNESCO, 1953). Justifications for the policy included improved literacy acquisition; a reduced learning burden; a less alien school environment; clearer links between school and home; the maintenance of traditional culture and languages; the potential for closer parent and community involvement; and the increasing recognition of linguistic rights (Thomas, 1990).

Implementation did not begin as anticipated. By the end of the pilot phase, little had been achieved (see Nako, 2004), although the Summer Institute of Linguistics appears to have implemented similar programmes successfully in a few areas (Stahl, 2004). No systematic evaluation of the project has been carried out, so it has not been possible to test the pedagogic validity of Heugh’s (2011) assertion that early-exit transitional programmes are doomed to fail (see 1.1.3.1). However, the absence of any obvious success has not helped demonstrate the potential to use L1 in education.

E. A double transitional programme from L1 to L2 to L3

An Education Language Policy team was appointed in April 2009, to develop a proposal to combine the two streams of the education system into a single 'plurilingual' system, in which all children would use the vernacular (and/or Bislama), English and French. The initial report produced by the team (Education Language Policy Team, 2009) presented three different scenarios for public consultation. All three scenarios proposed the use of the vernacular as medium of instruction for at least the first full year of school, before a transition to French, and later to English. The only difference was the timings of the transitions. The rationale was as follows:

It is evident that plurilingualism requires a *particular sequence* in the introduction of the languages taught; *with a wide consensus, all the Ni-Vanuatu people we have met are unanimous to state that:* the first learning during kindergarten period enables the child to extend the social scope of the use of his (her) mother tongue and build up cognitive faculties by verbalising in that tongue with the help of the school; then *French comes before English* as medium of instruction (Education Language Policy Team, 2009, p.6, my emphasis).

No explanation was given as to why languages must be taught in a particular sequence, or why French should be taught before English. It was also not specified how the consensus of the ni-Vanuatu public had been ascertained, since this was prior to the public consultations.

As noted by Early (2009, p.6), the public were presented with a "false choice" between three very similar options. During the consultations, to which approximately 450 stakeholders were invited, groups were asked to discuss which of the options they supported, or to suggest an alternative option if they agreed with none. The team's unpublished report on the consultations (Education Language Policy Team, 2010a) shows that none of the three was accepted in its original format. From 60 working groups at the 11 consultation meetings, a total of 32 alternative proposals were made.

The final report on these proposals to the Ministry recommended a single system (Table 2.3) in which all subjects would be taught in the vernacular for pre-school and a further two years, before the two 'international languages' were gradually introduced. The intention of this proposal was that, by the start

of Secondary education, these two languages would be used equally. However, this report was inconclusive as to whether English would be introduced before French, or vice versa (Education Language Policy Team, 2010b).

Table 2.3 Education Language Policy proposal (2010)

	Vernacular	Bislama	International language 1	International language 2
Pre-school	Medium for all subjects			
Years 1 & 2			Subject (30 mins)	Subject (30 mins)
Years 3 & 4	Medium for Sport, Social Science, Agriculture & Religious Ed			Medium for Maths & Science; Subject (9hrs)
Years 5 & 6		Subject (1 hr)	Medium for Maths & Science; Subject (6hrs)	Medium for Social Science; Subject (4hrs)
Year 7			Medium for Maths, Science, Agriculture, Sport & Art; Subject (2hrs)	Medium for Social Science, Religious Ed & Technology; Subject (6hrs)
Year 8			Medium for Science, Agriculture, Sport & Art; Subject (3hrs)	Medium for Maths, Social Science, Religious Ed & Technology; Subject (5hrs)
Years 9 & 10			Medium as above; Subject (4 hrs)	Medium as above; Subject (4 hrs)

The report stated in its conclusion that there were three reasons in favour of French first (the dominance of English in the world makes it more likely that French speakers will go on to learn English too; lexical similarities between Bislama and English lead to confusion for children; French is said to be, in some unspecified way, more likely to safeguard the use of the vernaculars); and two reasons in favour of English (English is used more widely and therefore presents greater opportunities; 70% of the current teacher workforce is English-speaking). The closest the report came to suggesting an answer was on p.49 of the 78-page text:

In view of the human resources currently available [the proposal for L2 to be English] seem[s] to be more realistic in the short term since the current staffing levels indicate that for every French-medium teacher there are two English-medium teachers (Education Language Policy Team, 2010b, p.49).

What is obvious from the set of proposals, however, is that this version of a 'plurilingual' system is still far removed from the linguistic reality of ni-Vanuatu.

Although it aims to incorporate a number of different languages, thereby ostensibly moving beyond the monolingual ideology that currently characterises the education system, it intends to keep these languages separate by stipulating blocks on the timetable in which each shall be used as medium of instruction. It is a classic case of what Banda (2009) refers to as ‘multiple monolingualisms’ (see 1.1.3). Rather than helping students learn by making use of a number of languages in the classroom, the environment will remain a monolingual one. However, now students will be expected to master two different foreign languages sufficiently to use them both as media of instruction. This report was completed shortly before I began my fieldwork and this debate was therefore very current.

2.2.3 The language configuration outside education

The final contextual dimension concerns the wider sociolinguistic context of Vanuatu. This section provides examples of language use from Port Vila, the capital city, and the rural area of Ambae Island in which the main fieldwork was conducted.

2.2.3.1 Everyday communication

In rural areas, the vernaculars are commonly used. Many people know the languages of surrounding areas in addition to those spoken in their own, while intermarriage has also led some people to learn the language of their in-laws. Bislama is generally used with visitors who do not speak the local language. However, rural islanders may draw on the resources of one or more vernaculars, Bislama and, possibly, English or French. Detailed description is not possible here, but see Meyerhoff (2000) for an overview of language choice on a different island.

In the two principal towns, Bislama dominates in public. However, for many families, a vernacular continues to be spoken at home or when with others from the same island. The family with whom I spent the most time in Port Vila spoke predominantly Bislama at home, since the parents are from different islands. However, amongst relatives from the mother’s side of the family, the language

from that island was more commonly used. The children reported that they spoke their father's language when visiting his island, although they did not spend much time there.

Neither English nor French is widely used orally by ni-Vanuatu outside school. Bislama takes on many roles that English and French play in many other postcolonial countries. For example, Bislama is the working language of parliament and many government departments, since they bring together people who have been educated in the two different systems. A common assertion is that Francophones are more likely to use French outside school than Anglophones are to use English, although I personally never heard either language used by ni-Vanuatu in the areas surrounding my two case study schools on Ambae. See Meyerhoff (2000, pp.37-8) for a discussion of this issue on the islands of Malo and Santo, where she notes similar assertions made.

During the colonial period, there were a greater number of French-speaking European residents than English-speaking, but this is no longer the case. After much disputed land was returned to indigenous ownership at the time of Independence, many French nationals left (Van Trease, 1995). The 1970 declaration of Vanuatu as a tax haven has also attracted investors, particularly from Australia and New Zealand, and there is now a larger English-speaking expatriate population (*ibid.*). Although overseas-born residents make up only 1.26% of Vanuatu's population (2009 census figures), Australia and New Zealand are also the most common source countries of tourists (as shown in Figure 2.3) (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2012), increasing the amount of English spoken in the country.

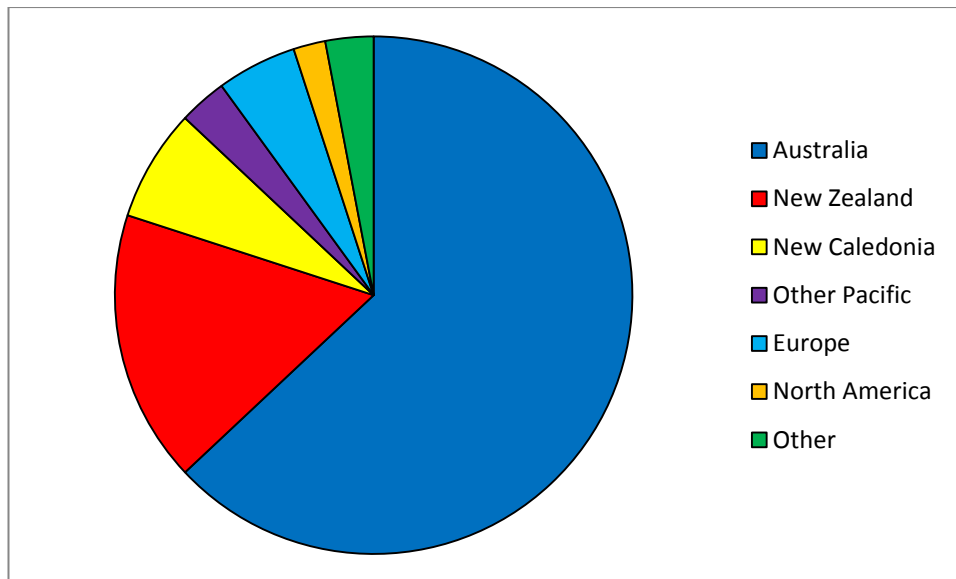


Figure 2.3 Source of visitors to Vanuatu, June 2012

According to recent figures, between 80% and 90% of tourists stay only in Port Vila, the capital city, located on the island of Efate (Verdone & Seidl, 2012). Of the remaining group, the vast majority visit Espiritu Santo and Tanna (*ibid.*), both of which boast a number of resorts and established tourism sites.

Ambae, the island on which the fieldwork was carried out, has no tourist resorts and only a handful of very basic guesthouses. The official site for the Vanuatu Tourism Office (2011) does not even include Ambae in its list of potential islands to visit. Two volunteers working as tourism advisors on Ambae from 2009 to 2011 (Bennie & Bennie, 2011) recall in their blog that it took four months before they saw a single tourist on the island. During fieldwork from February to May 2011, I kept a record of non-ni-Vanuatu I met who were either visiting or working on that side of Ambae. I met a total of fifteen overseas-born visitors during this time: two locally-contracted Indian teachers, one Japanese volunteer teacher, one Kenyan health volunteer, five US health or education volunteers, four New Zealand business or education volunteers, an Ethiopian advisor to the Public Works Department, and an Australian IT technician. These visitors were all on Ambae for work-related reasons, often with voluntary organisations.

None of these visitors spoke French but, with the exception of the Japanese teacher who preferred to speak Bislama, they all spoke English. Neither of the two French-medium schools in that area of Ambae had hosted any French-speaking volunteers or expatriate teachers in the memories of any of the current teaching staff. It therefore appears that visitor numbers are limited, and that the few foreigners that do visit Ambae are more likely to be English-speaking than French-speaking. It is also relevant to note the wide range of countries from which these English-speaking visitors come, speaking several different varieties of English.

2.2.3.2 The workplace


I had the opportunity to observe the use of language in a variety of workplaces in Port Vila. I spent time at the Ministry of Education, Vanuatu Institution of Teacher Education and University of the South Pacific for purposes to do with my fieldwork; I also spent time at the market and a number of shops, cafés, and services such as Air Vanuatu and the Post Office in Port Vila, as well as stores in the commercial centre on Ambae.

In Port Vila, Bislama was the primary language I heard used in these contexts, with a few exceptions: I would sometimes be addressed in English (but never French) in the marketplace or in shops, although conversations would continue in Bislama as I generally initiated a switch to this language; I heard English and, to a lesser extent, French spoken to tourists, by employees of cafés and other services; I heard French spoken between two employees on two occasions, once between two ni-Vanuatu employees of Air Vanuatu and once between a ni-Vanuatu employee and a French advisor at the Ministry of Education; I heard two fieldworkers at the Pacific Languages Unit speak in their shared vernacular about their work. On Ambae, both the local vernacular and Bislama were commonly used in stores, but I heard no instances of English or French.

Although Bislama is the most common spoken language in the workplace, competence in English or French is often a requirement stipulated in job advertisements. Government positions are advertised in newspapers bilingually, in English and French, and the following includes the typical requirement:

'English or French is essential. Bislama is desirable' (see final line of selection criteria):

Extract 2.4

<p>REPUBLIC OF VANUATU PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT TEL: (678) 22888 PMB 044, PORT VILA VANUATU</p>		<p>REPUBLIQUE DE VANUATU SERVICE des TRAVAUX PUBLICS Télécopie: (678) 24495 S.P.R. 044, PORT VILA VANUATU</p>
<p>EXTERNAL VACANCY NOTICE</p>		<p>AVIS DE VACANCE DE POSTE</p>
<p>The Ministry of Infrastructure and Public Utilities wishes to recruit suitable individual for the Position of Human Resource Manager. All applications must be sealed and address to the Ministry – Assistant Human Resource Officer, PMB 057 – Port Vila. The closing date for this application is 28th March 2011 @ 4:30 pm.</p>		<p>Le Ministère de l'Infrastructure et des Services Publics recherche une personne compétente, susceptible d'occuper le poste de Chef des Ressources Humaines. Toutes les candidatures doivent être cachetées et adressées au ministère concerné – Chef adjoint des Ressources Humaines, SPR 057, Port-Vila – et y parvenir d'ici le 28 Mars 2011 au plus tard.</p>
<p>Interested Individuals should call in at the Cooperate Service Unit, Ministry of Infrastructure and Public Utilities to collect the Packages.</p>		<p>Toute personne intéressée peut retirer un dossier d'information à la Section des Services organisationnels du Ministère de l'Infrastructure et des Services Publics.</p>
<p>Job Title : Human Resource Manager Annual Salary : VT 1,799,280 Location : Cooperate Service Unit -Vila Ministry : Infrastructure & Public Utilities (MIPU)</p>	<p>Post Number : 6004 Grade : G So 5.1</p>	<p>Titre du poste : Chef des Ressources Humaines Salaires annuel : 1 799 280 Lieu d'affectation : Section des Services organisationnels – Port-Vila Ministère : Ministère de l'Infrastructure et des Services Publics (MISP)</p>
<p>Selection Criteria:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bachelor Degree or Postgraduate Degree in Training & HRM or HRD Planning/Business Management/ Administration. 2. A minimum of 5 yrs in a human resources management position relating to all or some of the duties and responsibilities. 3. Attention to detail and completing tasks in a timely manner; Demonstrated capacity to work as part of a team; Demonstrated capacity to prepare letters, memos & submissions; Ability to understand the Public Service Legislation in relation to the HR Functions; Ability to liaise with SLO & PSC Legal Adviser on HR Legal matters; Must be familiar with MFEM payroll process and leave updates; Must have good interpersonal skills and be able to cope with all kinds of different client personalities and traits; Must be computer literate. 4. Good character is required by the Post. 5. English or French is essential. Bislama is desirable. 		<p>Critères de sélection</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Licence ou master en formation & planning / gestion des affaires / administration de la gestion des ressources humaines ou du perfectionnement des ressources humaines. 2. 5 ans au minimum à un poste de gestion des ressources humaines relative à toutes ou certaines des fonctions et responsabilités. 3. Minutieux, capable de terminer les tâches dans les temps ; capacité manifeste à rédiger des lettres, notes de service et rapports ; capable de comprendre la législation de la Fonction Publique en lien avec les fonctions des ressources humaines ; capable de travailler en collaboration avec le Cabinet juridique de l'État et le Conseiller juridique de la CFP sur les affaires juridiques liées aux ressources humaines ; doit être familier avec le processus de fiches des salaires et les mises à jours des congés ; doit être sociable et capable de supporter différents types de personnalité et caractères ; doit savoir utiliser l'outil informatique. 4. Bonne réputation. 5. L'anglais ou le français est essentiel. Le bichlamar est souhaitable.

(Vanuatu Daily Post 26/2/11)

Analysis of all job advertisements contained within a two-month sample of the four newspapers reveals that English skills are more highly sought after than French skills, as shown in Figure 2.4.

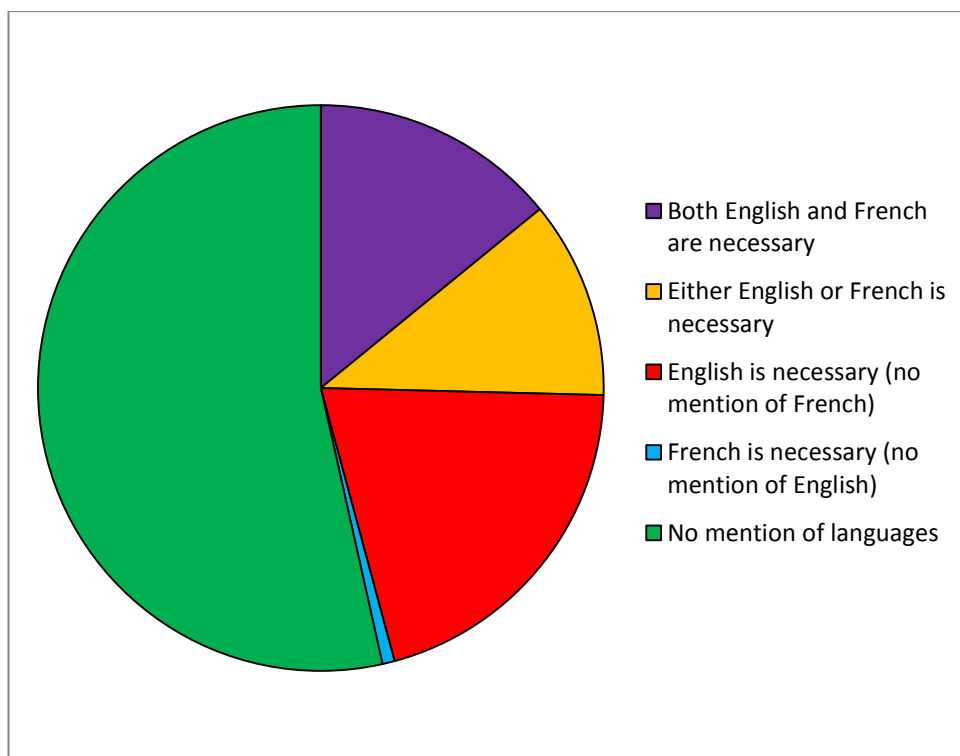


Figure 2.4 Language requirements stipulated in job advertisements

Even where the working languages are expected to be both English and French, it appears that the former is more commonly used. However, this trend is resisted by some. The following extract comes from an email sent by MP Moana Carcasses (a Francophone-educated minister) to all government employees in December 2010:

Extract 2.5

In the past until today almost all of the Government internal communication transmitted over email to all Government employees or published on the Official Government web site has always been published in English language.

Let me quote a section 3 subsection (1) *The National language of the Republic of Vanuatu is Bislama. The official languages are Bislama, English and French. The principal languages of Education are English and French.*

You are formally instructed to make sure as of today any internal communication send to the Finance IT section from your various departments for distribution over email service or published on the official Government web site **MUST** be translated in the two languages (English and French). If it is in Bislama there is no need for the other two languages translation.

2.2.3.3 Linguistic landscape

The linguistic landscape around Port Vila and Luganville, the two main towns, reflects an almost exclusive use of the three official languages.

Government-related signage tends to reflect the official trilingualism of Vanuatu:



Picture 2.1 Ombudsman's office, Port Vila



Picture 2.2 National Provident Fund, Port Vila, 1



Picture 2.3 National Provident Fund, Port Vila, 2

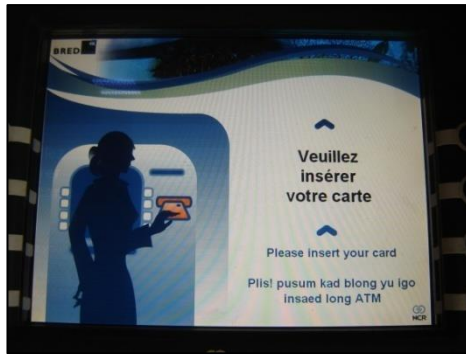
Other evidence of 'official trilingualism' is seen on health warnings on cigarette packets, ATM machines, and Air Vanuatu notices.



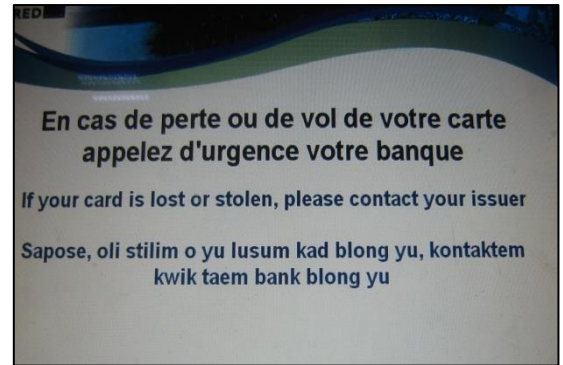
Picture 2.4 Health warnings 1



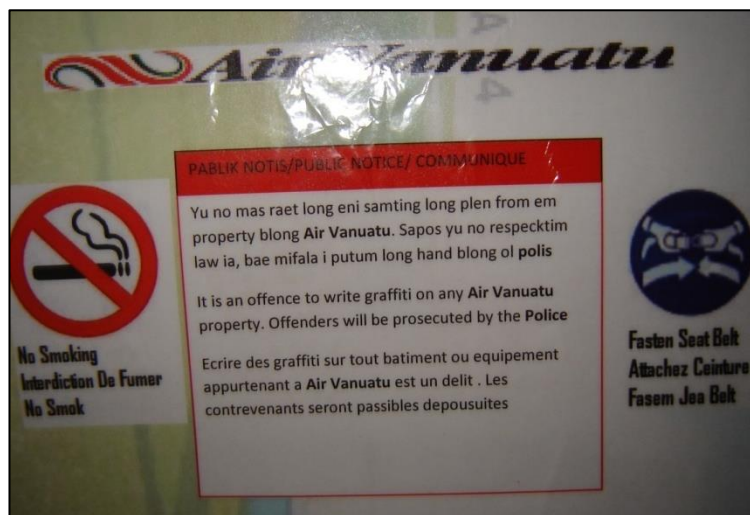
Picture 2.5 Health warnings 2



Picture 2.6 ATM instructions 1



Picture 2.7 ATM instructions 2



Picture 2.8 Air Vanuatu notice

Official trilingualism (or lack of) occasionally makes a news story. The director of the Department of Languages is quoted in the media (Garae, 2010) as instructing “all responsible citizens, company and property owners and institutions to respect the constitution and put up their public notices in all three languages.” His comments are made in reaction to the following sign displayed in Port Vila:



Picture 2.9 Tabu blong fishing

He states that “it is unlawful to put out a public notice in Bislama only or Bislama and English but none of the same in French”, although there is no law that actually requires this on public notices.

Street signs (only found in Port Vila) are bilingual in English and French, with the names often reflecting French historical origins, although with the addition of some more recent influences (‘Switched-on’ is the name of an internet business at the bottom of the second road).



Picture 2.10 Rue de Pierre Brunet Street



Picture 2.11 Rue de Switched-On Street

Shop fronts and signs reflect a range of language choices with some, but not all, opting for English-French bilingualism.



Picture 2.12 Shop front in Port Vila



Picture 2.13 Traverso Mini-Market, Port Vila



Picture 2.14 IPV Printers, Port Vila

Signs oriented to tourists are almost always in English (although note the Bislama spelling of 'welcome' on Picture 2.16).



Picture 2.15 Tranquility Island Resort



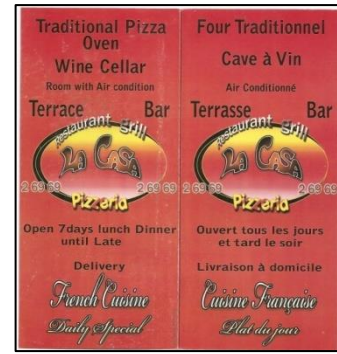
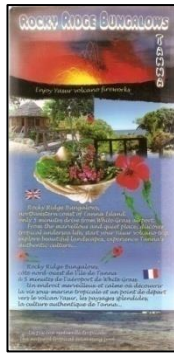
Picture 2.16 Erakor Island Resort

A sample of tourist leaflets collected from three hotel foyers also reflects the proportions of English-speaking and French-speaking visitors to Vanuatu. Of the 41 leaflets collected, 37 are written entirely in English, with a further one in English only except for a French translation of the main tagline 'Vanuatu in First Class' [Le Vanuatu en première classe] – see bottom right leaflet of Picture 2.17:



Picture 2.17 Sample of tourist leaflets

While none of the leaflets from the sample are written in French only, the remaining three are bilingual in English and French:



Picture 2.18 Bilingual tourist leaflets

Advertising around Port Vila often uses Bislama:



Picture 2.19 Digicel advert, Port Vila

[Facebook on your phone, only with Digicel]
(‘lo’ and ‘blo’ are non-Standard written versions of ‘long’ and ‘blong’, respectively, reflecting common pronunciation; Digicel’s main tagline in the bottom corner is in English)



Picture 2.20 Ice cream advert, Port Vila

[Switi: Vanuatu’s best ice cream]

Bislama also predominates in health and other public information signs around the towns and the rural areas.

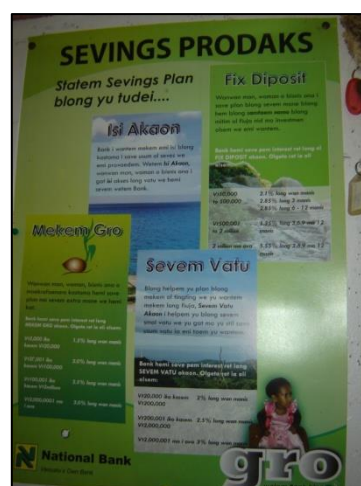


Picture 2.21 HIV awareness board in Luganville

[Welcome to Santo. Enjoy your time, but remember! STIs and HIV/AIDS are here already. Unless you are in one of these boats, you will drown in the sea and the sharks will eat you. Take extra care!]



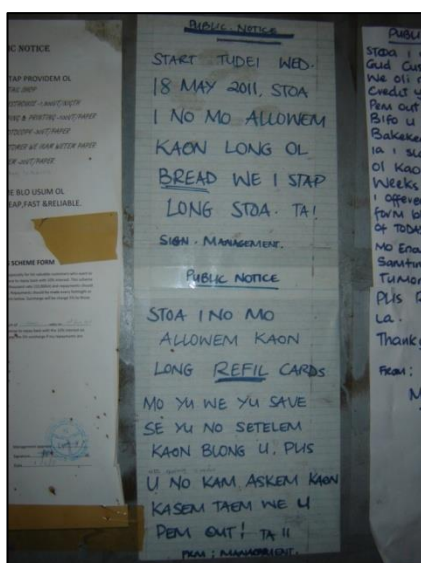
Picture 2.22 Poster for Flu A H1N1 national vaccination campaign



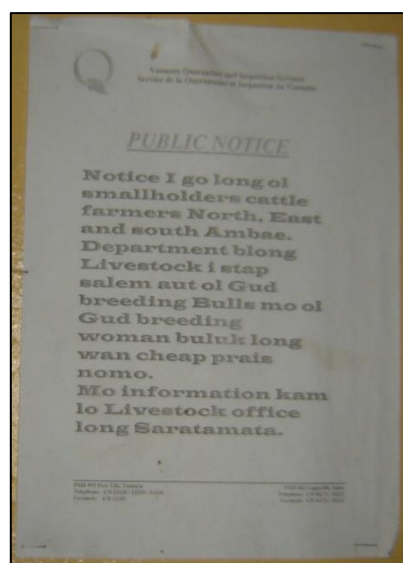
Picture 2.23 National Bank of Vanuatu poster for savings products

[lit. stick medicine]

Less formal, handwritten or typed notices are also likely to be written in Bislama, in urban areas and the commercial centres of rural areas.



Picture 2.24 Credit reminder outside a store on Ambae



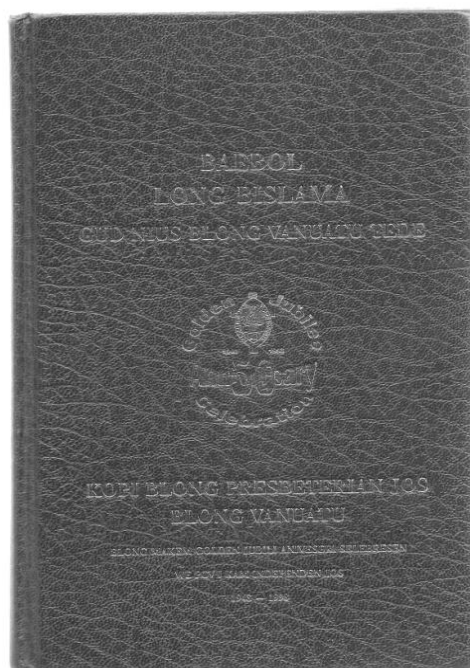
Picture 2.25 Notice of livestock sale on Ambae

[Public notice: Starting from today Wed 18 May 2011, this store no longer allows credit for bread sold in the store. Thanks! Sign. Management. Public notice: This store no longer allows credit for refill cards and if you know that you haven't settled your account please don't come and ask for credit again until you have paid it off! Thanks. From management.]

[This notice goes to smallholder cattle farmers in North, East and south Ambae. The Department of Livestock is selling Good breeding Bulls and Good breeding cows (lit. woman bullock) at a cheap price. For more information come to the Livestock office in Saratamata.]

2.2.3.4 Religion

Several languages are used in the domain of religion. Sections of the Bible, prayer books and other religious materials are written in many vernaculars as well as Bislama (see Thomas, 1990), and many church services are conducted in these languages. Picture 2.26 to Picture 2.29 illustrate the front covers and contents pages of texts in Bislama and North-East Ambae.

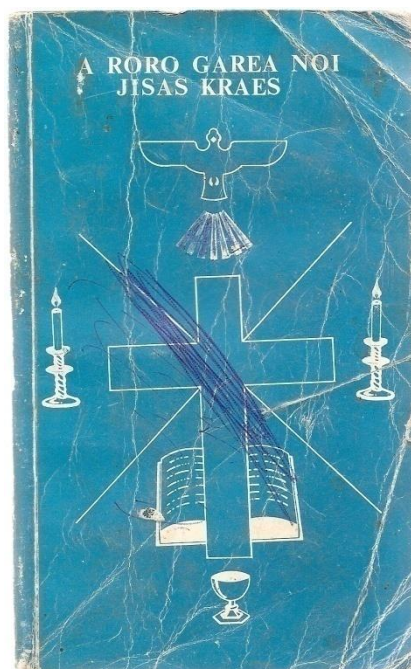


Picture 2.26 Front cover of *Baebol long Bislama: Gud nius blong Vanuatu tede*

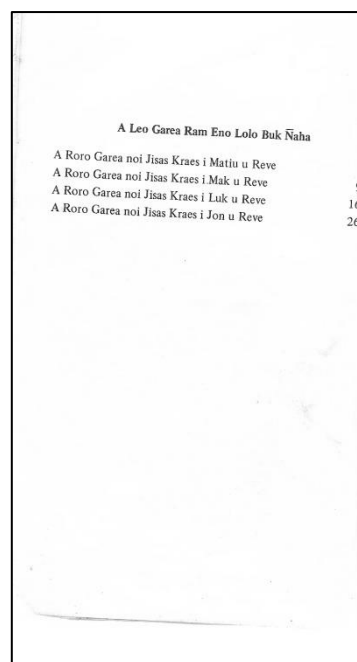
OL PEJ WE OL BUK OLI STAP			
Ol Sotfala Nem	Pej	Ol Sotfala Nem	Pej
<i>Oltesteman</i>			
Jenesis	1	Habukuk	1619
Eksodas	95	Sefanaea	1625
Levitikas	173	Hagae	1631
Namba	230	Sekaraea	1634
Dutronome	301	Malakae	1653
Josua	371	<i>Niutesteman</i>	
Jajes	414	Matiu	1
Rut	459	Mak	74
Fas Samuel	466	Luk	119
Seken Samuel	523	Jon	195
Fas King	572	Ol Wok	250
Seken King	628	Rom	320
Fas Kronikel	683	Fas Korin	352
Seken Kronikel	736	Seken Korin	382
Esa	797	Galasia	402
Nehemaea	817	Efesus	413
Esa	847	Filipae	425
Job	861	Kolosi	434
Ol Sam	924	Fas Tesalonaeka	442
Ol Proveb	1097	Seken Tesalonaeka	449
Prija	1144	Fas Timoti	454
Sing Blong Solomon	1160	Seken Timoti	464
Aesaea	1173	Thetas	471
Jeromaea	1300	Filimon	475
Ol Krae	1416	Hibrus	477
Isikel	1429	James	502
Daniel	1521	Fas Pita	511
Hosea	1549	Seken Pita	520
Joel	1568	Fas Jon	526
Amos	1577	Seken Jon	534
Obadaea	1593	Namba Tri Jon	535
Jona	1597	Jud	537
Maeka	1603	Revelesen	540
Neham	1614		

Picture 2.27 Contents page of *Baebol long Bislama: Gud nius blong Vanuatu tede*

[*Bible in Bislama: Good News in Vanuatu today*, which is a translation of the entire old and new testaments]



Picture 2.28 Front cover of *A Roro Garea Noi Jisas Kraes*



Picture 2.29 Contents page of *A Roro Garea Noi Jisas Kraes*

[*The Good News of Jesus Christ*, containing the four Gospels, written in the Lombaha dialect of North-East Ambae]

English or French is also widely used, depending on the denomination – principally, English for Anglican, Presbyterian, Apostolic, SDA and Church of Christ denominations, and French for Catholic. This domain challenges the notion of family affiliation with either English or French: it is quite common for some children to be enrolled in each stream of the education system, but it is usual for the whole family to attend the same church, meaning that some family members may use one language in school and another in church.

It is not uncommon for more than one language to be used within the same service. For example, the sermon, prayers and announcements may be conducted predominantly in the vernacular shared by the community, while Bible passages are read in either English or French; in another scenario, the two Bible readings of a service may be delivered in different languages, depending on the copy of the Bible that each reader possesses. Meyerhoff (2000, p.55) notes the convention for language choice in religion on the island of Malo to be influenced by the linguistic repertoire of the congregation, such that Bislama is likely to be used if outsiders to the community are present.

2.2.3.5 Media

On the radio, Bislama dominates, although language distribution depends to a certain extent on individual stations and their DJs. For example, DJs on FM107 and Paradise FM tend to draw on at least two languages throughout their shows, incorporating elements of English or French together with Bislama, fairly fluidly. Radio Vanuatu divides its programmes up more explicitly, so that there is a 'French hour' and an 'English hour' each day, and the remaining time given to Bislama. DJs on this station tend to display more monolingual usage of each language throughout the different slots. There are regular slots throughout the day on most stations, in which news bulletins are given in either Bislama or English. DJs also often read out individual news stories of interest which have been obtained from international sources, and these tend to be read verbatim in English. Radio Vanuatu also includes a number of interviews in either English or French, about topics such as the laws of Vanuatu. Public information about matters such as disruption to electricity supply, ship departures, examination results, public health advice, and cyclone warnings are given in Bislama. Radio advertisements may be in either English or Bislama, or occasionally in French. Public call-ins (to request songs, give shout-outs to friends, or enter competitions) are made in Bislama.

The government publishes a trilingual weekly newspaper, under the bilingual name *The Independent/L'Indépendant*. Two other trilingual weekly newspapers, *The Vanuatu Times* and *The ni-Vanuatu* have recently been established. The only daily newspaper, the *Vanuatu Daily Post*, is predominantly English-medium but contains a small number of articles in Bislama.

Figure 2.5 provides an overview of the percentages of articles in each of the three languages within these four newspapers, based on the sample discussed in 2.2.3.2.

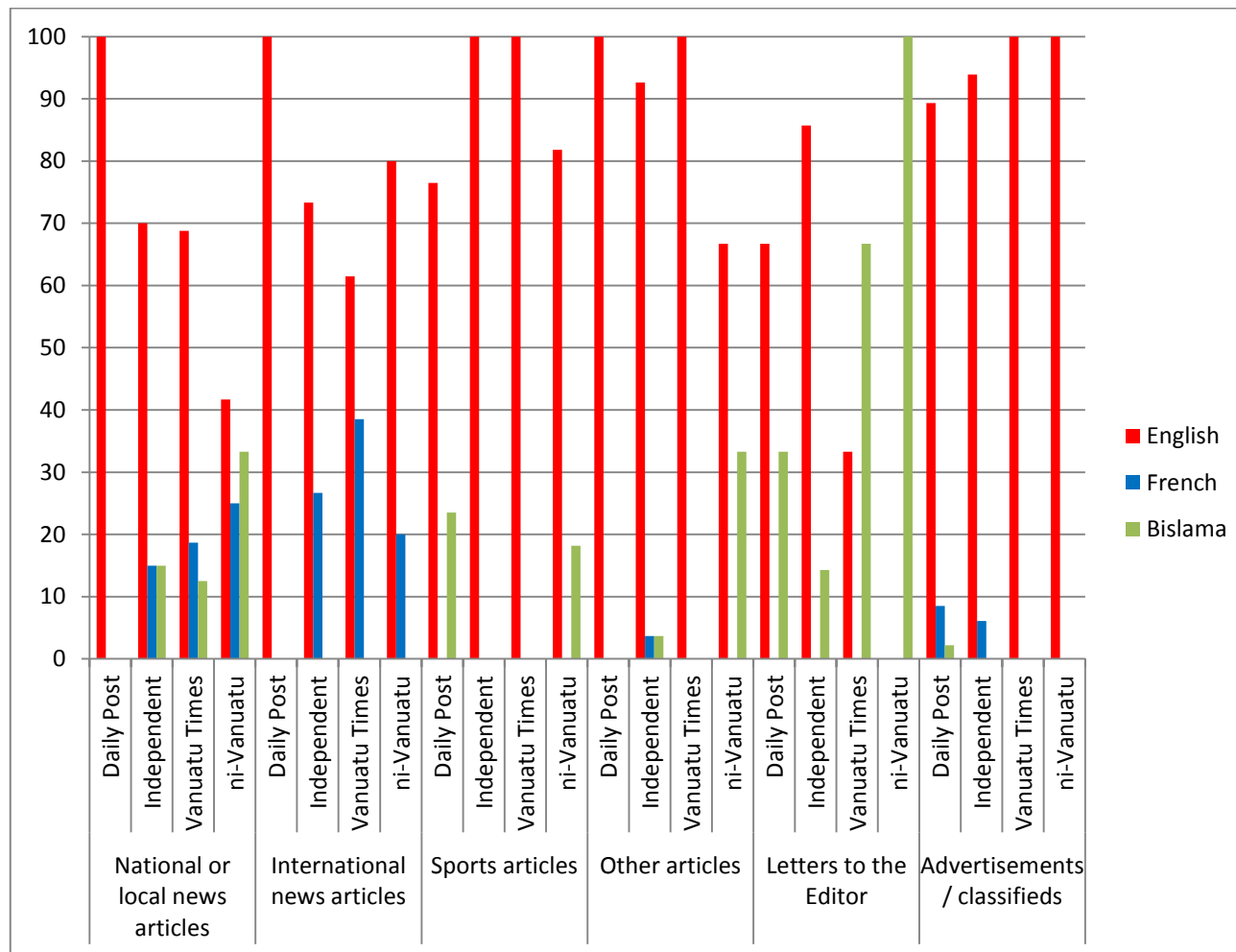


Figure 2.5 Distribution of languages in Vanuatu's four newspapers

There is one nationally-owned television channel, Television Blong Vanuatu (TBV). It broadcasts only for a few hours each evening, with a programme comprising a national news bulletin of approximately half an hour, some local music videos, and sometimes other items produced by organisations such as the local theatre group Wan Smolbag Theatre [lit. a pocket theatre] or Alliance Française. The majority of items are in Bislama. Other television channels can be accessed (without subtitles) via satellite from Australia, New Caledonia and China.

2.2.3.6 Popular culture

The majority of music played on the radio is in English (approximately 70%, based on a sample of programmes from Radio Vanuatu, Paradise FM and FM107), with the remaining in French, Bislama or, less frequently, a vernacular or another Pacific language such as Fijian. Live music in a number of bars in the two main towns, and concerts such as the week-long Fest' Napuan held in Port Vila, combine music sung in Bislama, English, French, vernaculars from Vanuatu, and other languages from the Pacific region, such as Fijian. Vanuatu's local 'string band' music has typically been performed using Bislama lyrics, although an increasing number of groups sing in a vernacular language, particularly when singing about a specific island.

To my knowledge, no full-length film has been produced through the medium of Bislama or any vernacular. International films are shown at a few venues around Port Vila, predominantly in English. Wan Smolbag performs message-based dramas about issues of topical importance, such as prevention of HIV or the importance of clean drinking water. Dramas are staged in Port Vila and throughout the islands, where members also give workshops. Wan Smolbag also broadcasts some productions on television, including a relatively new soap called 'Love Patrol', which deals with issues such as domestic violence. This soap is English-medium, and broadcast outside Vanuatu, but the majority of its productions use Bislama.

2.2.3.7 New media

The final domain in which Bislama is becoming increasingly used is that of mobile phone messaging and social media. Mobile phone networks have, until recently, covered only the two urban areas of Port Vila and Luganville, but the past five years have seen coverage extend throughout much of rural Vanuatu. The end of a monopoly held by Telecom Vanuatu Limited in 2008 enabled a second operator, Digicel, to enter the market, thus improving the service delivery throughout the country to 90% coverage (Joshua, 2012). At the time of my fieldwork in 2011, there was coverage of both network providers at the Anglophone school, and at a point approximately 15 minutes' walk from the Francophone school. Although students were not allowed to keep their own mobile phones with them during term time, a phone is now a very common possession for ni-Vanuatu of all ages. From my observations, Bislama appears to be the dominant language that is used in text messages.

Extract 2.6 and Extract 2.7 show two exchanges I had via text message during the fieldwork, which provide examples of the way Bislama is used. K is Anglophone and H is Francophone. Both use similar non-standard Bislama forms, including abbreviations (such as 'lo' for 'long', and 'wntm' for 'wantem') and the substitution of numerals for homophonous syllables (such as 'umi2' for 'yumitu' and '2moro' for 'tumoru'). The content of the two exchanges also gives a flavour of the way transport and communication work for teachers on Ambae.

Extract 2.6 Text message exchange with an Anglophone teacher

Original messages	English translation
<i>K: fi spos u ko ship bae i oraet lo u: efate queen wan new ship. m i stp ko lo ambae mo santo. vila to santo i ron 8 hour. wat do u think?</i>	K: fi if you go by ship is that okay with you: efate queen is a new ship. It goes to ambae and santo. vila to santo takes 8 hours. wat do u think?
<i>F: Yes hem i oraet wetem mi. Bae i aot long wanem dei?</i>	F: Yes that's okay with me. What day does it leave?
<i>K: IT SHOULD LEAVE 2NITE SO DEPARTURE 2NITE WAS CANCELLED TILL AFTA THE CYCLONE N AN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS PUT OUT ON THE RADIO THAT THERE IS STILL SPACE SO I THINK WE SHOULD TRY ON TUESDAY.</i>	K: IT SHOULD LEAVE 2NITE SO DEPARTURE 2NITE WAS CANCELLED TILL AFTA THE CYCLONE N AN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS PUT OUT ON THE RADIO THAT THERE IS STILL SPACE SO I THINK WE SHOULD TRY ON TUESDAY.
<i>F: ok stret. Bae yumi pem in advance o taem yumi jiam lo ship nomo? Ticket i hamas?</i>	F: ok cool. Do we pay in advance or just when we board the ship? How much is the ticket?
<i>K: mas pem in advance be bae umi2 check lo tuesday afta umi2 pem tket.</i>	K: have to pay in advance but we'll check on Tuesday and then buy the tket.

Extract 2.7 Text message exchange with a Francophone teacher

<i>H: Gud naet Fiona. Mi wntm askm spos i possible se accontain blo skul i kam wtm printer blo skul 2moro blo ---- i fixim? Ba emi putum lo sto blo ---- then truck blo ufala i jes pass blo pickim up.</i>	H: Good evening Fiona. I want to ask whether it's possible for the school accountant to come with the school printer tomorrow for ---- to fix it? She'll leave it at ----'s store then your truck can just pass to pick it up.
<i>F: Mi askem ---- finis be hem i se hem i no save fixim ol printer. Hem i save fixim ol samting olsem virus long computer nomo. Sore.</i>	F: I've asked ---- but she says she can't fix printers. She can only fix things like viruses on computers. Sorry.
<i>H: Gud naet fiona. Look ---- i putum printer blo skul i stap lo sto blo ---- i fixim. Problem blo emi power i no go tru taem i on. Spos truck i save pas blo tkm lo ----. Ta.</i>	H: Good evening fiona. Look ---- has left the school printer at the store for ---- to fix. The problem is that power doesn't go through when it's on. If the truck can go to collect it from ----. Thanks.

Extract 2.8 shows a sample of messages received from my network provider Digicel. Note the inconsistent orthography of 'i ko'/'iko' and 'tankio'/'thank yu'.

Extract 2.8 Text messages received from Digicel (Bislama)

<i>Texem nem mo address blo yu i ko lo 770 blo rejista lo Nasonal Directri blo yia ia. Tex emi 100vt mo entri i klos lo 18 Maj. Tankio blo usum Digicel!</i>	Text your name and address to 770 to register in this year's national directory. Texts cost 100vt and entry closes on 18 March. Thank you for using Digicel!
<i>Likem blo Toktok? Sendem "tok" iko lo 9988 mo blo 100vt nomo yu save kasem UNLIMITED FRI kol iko lo ol Digicel fren blo ful dei. Hariap – Ofa i limited nomo.</i>	Like to talk? Sent "talk" to 9988 and for only 100vt you receive UNLIMITED FREE calls to all Digicel friends throughout the day. Hurry – Limited offer only.
<i>Top-Up blong 200.00 i bin go gud. Niufala balens blong yu hemi 223.37. Thank yu blong jusem Digicel!</i>	Your top-up of 200.00 has been successful. Your new balance is 223.37. Thank you for choosing Digicel!

The only three messages I received from Digicel in English during the fieldwork are shown in Extract 2.9. The first two messages were received eleven hours apart, shortly after the March 2011 earthquake in Japan triggered a tsunami warning across the Pacific. Although information about the tsunami warning was also broadcast in Bislama on the radio, English was the chosen language in which Digicel sent the advice.

Extract 2.9 Text messages received from Digicel (English)

Tsunami Advisory in effect. Move to higher grounds. Listen to all radio outlets
Tsunami Advisory cancelled. All safe and clear
You have 1 missed call(s) from 678----- at 21:08 on 21/03/11

Internet providers currently do not cover such wide areas, and computers are rare commodities in rural parts of Vanuatu, where most communities have either no electricity or only small generators used on occasions. There is Internet coverage in Port Vila and Luganville, although it is still relatively rare to find computers in individual homes. Unsurprisingly, one of the largest groups of Internet users is the university student population, particularly those on scholarships in other countries.

The following is a screenshot taken from Facebook, showing the wall posts of a student in Fiji who is about to return to Vanuatu for the holidays. He and his friends use elements of Bislama and English, using abbreviations and colloquial forms typical of social media conversations.

Extract 2.10 Facebook sample 1 – a ni-Vanuatu student in Fiji

	<p>[three more days...</p> <p>three more days, you'll see [redacted] drinking kava (lit. killing light) in Vila lol</p> <p>Counting down 4 what?!...</p> <p>going back now????</p> <p>So time to play ..lolzz</p> <p>safe trip tawi (voc. address form for an in-law) & c u nxt yr.. happy holidays....:-))</p> <p>Bro.....show off (lit. you're flash) hehehe jealous nways safe trip.....]</p>
---	--

Extract 2.11 comes from the Facebook page of a political party (17/03/13). Many of the posts relate to an attempt to suspend the leader of this party, Ralph

Regenvanu, from parliament, combining excerpts of other media extracts written in English with comments that are predominantly in Bislama.

Extract 2.11 Facebook sample 2 – a political party

facebook Search for people, places and things

Graon mo Jastis Pati Timeline Now Like

Like · Comment · Share 3

18 people like this.

View 3 more comments

Florenze Karu hmmm ... any update la court hearing today?
22 March at 09:42 via mobile · Like · 1

Pakor Roots It's better to got one good leader as our leader of GJP..
23 March at 00:53 · Like

Write a comment...

Graon mo Jastis Pati 17 March · 1

1st ODINERI SESEN BLONG PALAMEN i pasem badjet blong 2013 finis long Fraede 15 Maj.
Be 1st Odineri Sesen i on yet blong mekem 2 samting:
1) tokbaot Mosen blong stanemap ol Komiti blong Palamen, long 1600h long Tyusde 19 Maj ;
2) tokbaot Mosen blong Nogat Trast long PM Kilman, long 1600h long Tasde 21 Maj.
Ofis blong Spika i no risivim yet eni mosen blong saspendem MP Ralph long Palamen, be sipos mosen ia i kasem Ofis blong Spika tade (Mande 18 Maj), bae Palamen i tokbaot long 1600h long Tasde tu, be afta we oli tokbaot Mosen blong Nogat Trast fastaem...

Like · Comment · Share 1 2

Graon mo Jastis Pati 16 March · 1

GJP fandresing TEDE Satede namba 16 Maj lo Galaxy Nakamal, hemia kolosap long Grin Laet long Freswota 2, lo rod i go insaed lo Freswota, fes nakamal long raet saed.
KAM SAPOT !

Like · Comment · Share 6 1

Graon mo Jastis Pati 16 March · 1

Graon mo Jastis Pati shared a link.
14 March · 1

GAVMAN I WANTED SAsPENDEM MP RALPH LONG PALAMEN

Toktok blong MP Ralph:
Gavman "caucas" (miting blong evri MP long Gavman saed) i bin mit long Tyusde long aftenun mo long miting ia i bin gat wan resolusen blong putum wan mosen blong saspendem... See more

Vanuatu govt presents motion to suspend MP over no-confidence move
www.rnz.com

Radio New Zealand International is a Shortwave Broadcaster. Our broadcasts are beamed to the island nations of the Pacific but can also be heard in other parts of the world.

Like · Comment · Share 3 8 1

Graon mo Jastis Pati 12 March · 1

Long foto yu save luk ol niufala kaonsela we oli formem niufala

ANUATU DAILY POST FIRST WITH THE NEWS Published since 1983

Don't miss the 2013 Daily Post Dining Guide FREE in this Saturdays Daily Post. The Daily Post Dining Guide explores the wealth of culinary experience that is available in Vanuatu.

v't moves to suspend P Ralph Regenvan

The following posts were taken from a requests page on Vanuatu FM107's website (23/3/2012). The radio station can be listened to online, and is therefore popular among ni-Vanuatu students based overseas in Fiji and New Caledonia, who often make requests for songs to be dedicated to their families back home. Again, a number of non-standard Bislama and English forms are used.

Extract 2.12 Posts from online request page

Original post	English translation
<i>bula dj. shout out iko lo ol boys blo umi we oli stap ple naia lo new zealand. shoutout also to d family lo --- and last but not the least, --- lo ---. ta</i>	greetings (Fijian) dj, this shout out goes to our boys who are playing now in new zealand, shoutout also to the family in ---- and last but not the least, ---- in ---- . Thanks
<i>Hi dj, mi wantem mekem wan special request blong mi i ko long ol family blo mi long Port Vila and Santo. Special request blong mi i stap ko long ol family blong mi long ----. Ol family blong mi especially baby blong mi ---- and olgeta sister blong hem long house and long santo ol family - ----. . Mi missim yufala everi wan back long vanuatu .thanks God bless...</i>	Hi dj, I want to make my special request to my family in Port Vila and Santo. My special request goes to my family in ----. My family especially my baby ---- and all his sisters at home and in Santo the ---- family... I miss you all back in vanuatu .thanks God bless...
<i>hi DJ, mi jes wantem requestm wan song i ko lo sister blo mi naia we smok i sta kamao lo hed blem naia mo tu i ko lo ol families bak to vila. ta</i>	hi DJ, I just want to request a song for my sister now who is angry/stressed (lit. smoke is coming out of her head) and also for my family back in vila. ta
<i>ih dj...gud afternun lo vanuatu, me laekem 2mas ol song blo 107, taem me stp lisen lem me rm olsem me stp lo vanuatu nmo,,, fm 107 e mekem me stp fil at home oltaem nmo,,,,me jes wantm mekm sout aot blo me e ko lo olkta ya:- uncle -- -- we m stp lo fiji, ol group blo ----, ol family ---- lo ifira, ol x student blo ---- we oli stp stady lo usp</i>	ih dj....good afternoon to vanuatu, I really love all the songs on 107, when I listen to them I feel like I'm just in vanuatu,,, fm 107 makes me feel at home all the time,,,I just want to give my shout out to the following: uncle ---- who is in fiji, the group from ----, the family in ----, ex students from ---- who are studying at usp
<i>Hi dj, Mi wantem mekem wan specel request i ko lo ol family blo mi lo santo lo - --- mo ol family ---- lo port vila lo ---- ;;; mo no fogetem ol frens blo mi lo ples ia lo noumea....hope c oli no mkm tmas leg blo faol..... like to wish them a happy sunday n happy week</i>	Hi dj, I want to make a special request for my family in santo at ---- and the ---- family in port vila at ---- ;;; and not forgetting my friends here in noumea.... hope that they're not wandering around too much (lit. making too many chicken legs)..... like to wish them a happy Sunday n happy week
<i>hi dj mi itm mkm 1 special request go lo ol ex 13 lettre blo ---- 2011 mi wishm ol happy sunday .mo next ol boys lo fiji(---) hope se oli no sleep 2mas 4rm 2mas kava last naet.</i>	hi dj I want to make a special request for all ex Year 13 literature (French) students from ---- 2011 I wish them a happy Sunday . and next the boys in fiji (----) hope they're not feeling the effects of too much kava last night.

2.2.3.8 Summary

This overview of the language configuration outside education has been included in order to show the roles of different languages across a number of domains. There is a disjuncture between what goes on in school and outside, as only one language is welcomed within the school gates, and multilingualism is the norm beyond them. Within each school, one of the two former colonial languages is the only language considered appropriate, but this is clearly not the way language is used elsewhere. The resources of a number of different languages are made use of together across the different domains.

In particular, the section has shown the variety of contexts in which Bislama is used. Its role as the sole national language is reflected in its wide usage in both rural and urban areas, although English and French are also reflected in the linguistic landscape of the latter. In 'formal' non-school domains, such as parliamentary debate and religion, pragmatic decisions often result in the use of Bislama as the primary language. These decisions appear to defy or resist ideologies that position Bislama as a language incapable of fulfilling a diverse range of functions. This again challenges the grounds on which Bislama is marginalised from formal education.

2.3 Turning the problem into a research problem: Looking back into the system from the outside

I began the current study with the following sense of the situation:

Secondary boarding schools in Vanuatu are multilingual sites, as they are attended by students and staff speaking a variety of languages.

Bislama is banned (inconsistently) from many school campuses in order to promote the use of the medium of instruction.

The medium of instruction for all subjects and assessments is *either* English *or* French, and adequate levels of competence in this language are considered essential.

Some schools therefore promote English to the exclusion of all other languages, while others promote French to the exclusion of all others.

Families often become divided between those who learn English and those who learn French. There are often practical implications of these divisions, due to limited availability of school places in both streams in all areas.

The study has emerged from observation of this complexity, and therefore takes an exploratory approach, with a primary consideration for working out 'what is going on'. It foregrounds the schools, their students and teachers – the 'users' of language in education – as well as taking an interest in the more 'official' discourses of policymaking.

The situation described in this chapter is that each school presents itself as a *monolingual* part of a *dual* education system, in an officially *trilingual* state, situated within a highly *multilingual* reality. Within each stream, students are expected to learn solely through the medium of a language that they have limited exposure to outside school, and they are often punished (albeit inconsistently) for the use of more familiar languages. Bislama is particularly controversial, despite its high constitutional status and widespread usage outside school. At the family level, children are often divided into 'Anglophones' and 'Francophones', sometimes due to deliberate parental choice, but sometimes due to factors beyond their control. Language-in-education policymaking in Vanuatu is thus similar to situations elsewhere, but faces the additional complexity of a double colonial legacy.

At the policymaking level, a number of reforms have been made to the education system as a whole, including an extension of the number of years of 'basic education' offered and a new national curriculum statement, but any such changes appear to have sidestepped questions of language. Proposals that have been put forward for changes to language-in-education policy have led to widespread debate, but the status quo that was inherited from the colonial period remains. Political instability over the past twenty years has the potential for, at best, directionless within the Ministry of Education, or, at worst, the politicising of language-in-education issues for some other purpose.

This study searches for ideological and implementational spaces for change within this domain. The debates about language that have circulated in Vanuatu since Independence create potential for many such spaces to exist. In particular, the consultations and briefings carried out during 2009-2011 by both the Education Language Policy team and the National Curriculum team appear to have opened up certain spaces for the consideration of different possibilities. Indeed, if the key ingredients for the existence of such spaces are debate, controversy and inconsistency in discussions leading up to, and the texts resulting from, policy decisions (as Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p.515, suggest), Vanuatu's language-in-education policy domain should be bubbling with ideological and implementational potential! This study examines the extent to which potential for realistic change can be identified.

3 Methodological and analytic approach

3.1 Ethnography of Language Policy

Martin-Jones (2011, p.5) notes that “ethnography has come to occupy the centre ground in research on language education policy in multilingual settings”. An ethnographic approach is considered appropriate for this study, given that the research is problem-driven, and motivated by considerations of the potential for change. In advocating the use of ethnography as a lens into the phenomenon of policy, McCarty (2011a, p.4) reshapes this broad starting point into other questions, such as: What does language education policy ‘look like’ in social practice? Who does it, with what purposes, to and for whom, and with what consequences?

The approach taken here is that of Ethnography of Language Policy, which owes its origins as a distinct approach to the work of Nancy Hornberger and David Cassels Johnson (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2011; Johnson, 2009). The approach thus has foundations in two areas – the anthropological tradition of Ethnography and the field of Language Policy and Planning (LPP). The following two sections of this chapter will examine these two foundations.

3.1.1 The ‘ethnography’ in Ethnography of Language Policy

The Ethnography of Language Policy builds on the anthropological foundations of ethnography. “At its core, an ethnographic analysis is a cultural analysis – a peeling back of tissues of meaning to answer the question, ‘what is going on here?’” (Wolcott, 2008, pp.73-74). The stated goal of Ethnography of Language Policy is thus to “reveal agentic spaces in which local actors implement, interpret, and perhaps resist policy initiatives in varying and unique ways” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p.509). It “is not so much about uncovering how macro-level LPP acts on people at the micro-level, or even about conveying on-the-ground information back to policy-makers, but rather it is about how people themselves actively create, contest, and mediate LPP at multiple levels – micro, meso, and macro” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011 p.285).

Canagarajah (2006) suggests that ethnography can enable LPP work to take note of subtle ways in which power differences, language attitudes, classroom practices, renegotiation of policies, and so on, actually happen in specific contexts, and thus calls for scholars in this field “to listen to what ethnography reveals about life at the grass-roots level – the indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated” (p.154). McCarty (2011a, p.17) notes that this perspective provides “a view into LPP processes in fine detail – up close and in practice – and the marbling of those processes as they merge and diverge, constantly configuring and being (re)configured within a larger sociocultural landscape, which they in turn (re)shape”.

3.1.1.1 Minimal requirements to count as ethnography

Many authors have attempted to set out minimal requirements that must be met in order for a study to be considered ethnographic (e.g. Hammersley, 1998; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Rampton, 2006; Walford, 2003; Wolcott, 2002). Four common elements that are included in such lists are that studies are natural, rather than set up by the researcher; they require a direct and close relationship between the researcher and participants, privileging the views of the latter; there is a focus on the particular or local, rather than the general; and the process of theory building is cyclical, so that hypotheses are continually reformulated and open to the emergence of new data.

These four elements have been considered integral aspects of this study. The only other feature that will be discussed here is longevity, since this seems to be a criterion that sets apart some types of ethnographic study from others. I initially considered a period of only one school term (three and a half months) sufficient for the fieldwork, since I was already relatively familiar with the context. Having lived on the island on which the schools are located for three years, I already had an understanding of Melanesian culture, spoke Bislama well, and was known to many of the participants. I also had a good background to the education system of Vanuatu, although I was far more familiar with the Anglophone stream than the Francophone stream. My knowledge of both the context and the education system enabled a more compressed design (Jeffrey

& Troman, 2004; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999), since data collection could begin from certain 'known' aspects. One school term was also considered to be an appropriate "cycle of activity" (Wolcott, 1995, p.69) for a study set in an educational context, given that its structure is understood by students, teachers, policymakers and researchers alike. However, as will be explained in 4.2, the timeframe was not long enough to complete all the anticipated data collection, and the research design was therefore modified to include a second period of fieldwork.

3.1.1.2 An inductive approach to description, analysis and interpretation

Hammersley (1998, p.8) stipulates the importance of discovery in ethnographic research, with a focus on inductive approaches, rather than the testing of hypotheses. In this view, ethnographers should start out with as few assumptions as possible. However, it is also clear that we do not enter the field without any assumptions or knowledge whatsoever, and that we begin with an idea as to what we may find, as well as an awareness of what other people have found in other contexts. "Ethnographic work is dialogic between existing explanations and judgments ... and ongoing data collection and analysis" (Heath, Street, & Mills, 2008, p.57).

For Wolcott (2009), the process is built up through the conceptually distinct elements of description, analysis and interpretation. The first of these "provides the foundation upon which qualitative inquiry rests" (p.27). In particular, "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) enables the researcher to describe phenomena as they occur within their specific contexts, encompassing as much of the detail and complexity as possible. Wolcott (2009) then defines analysis as "the examination of data using systematic and standardized measures and procedures" (p.29), and interpretation as "a human activity that includes intuition, past experience, emotion", involving "the reflection, the pondering, of data in terms of what people make of them" (p.30). He stresses the 'human' of the latter stage, making clear that different people will draw different interpretations from the same data that has been analysed in the same way. Although conceptually distinct, these three elements do not take place in separate phases. Analysis does not wait until description has finished, and

choices of what to describe are contingent on interpretations of previous data and the wider situation. However, this chapter and the next set out the way the phenomenon of language policy was broadly investigated, through *description* of the way language was used, taught, learnt, regulated and talked about at two schools; *analysis* of these practices and discourses through the Discourse-Historical Approach; and my *interpretation* of what such analysis reveals about potential spaces for change.

Such an inductive approach can also provide a different way of understanding a problem that may appear to be straightforward. For example, as noted in 2.2.2.2, Vanuatu's Education Language Policy team currently recommends a complete overhaul of the education system, presenting a choice between three almost identical proposals, implying that they already know broadly what the solution should be. An ethnographic approach allows a more in-depth description of how languages are actually being used and talked about in schools and how policy is being negotiated, thereby allowing these assumptions to be examined and challenged. It enables us to "look beyond what we are told" (Greathouse, 2001, p.102).

3.1.1.3 Reflexivity

Indeed, ethnographic approaches should challenge the assumptions on which the research was originally conceived, enabling changes of direction throughout. Reflexivity is a key component of the approach, so that the researcher constantly revisits prior interpretations of the situation, and builds new understandings into the account of what is happening. Reflexivity goes beyond reflection, requiring a complete "turning-back of experience of the individual upon himself" (Mead, 1962, in Babcock, 1980, p.2), being able to "regard oneself as an other and to be aware of oneself as his own instrument of observation" (Babcock, 1980, p.3).

Throughout the study, I have kept memos in which I have recorded the steps I have taken, changes of direction I have made, questions I have asked myself, and reflections I have made on my role within the research. I have tried to draw on these memos throughout the discussion of my data, attempting to show the processes through which I have arrived at my analysis and interpretation of

what I present. I also summarise a number of issues concerning my own position within the research in 4.4.

3.1.2 The ‘language policy’ in Ethnography of Language Policy

3.1.2.1 Foundations in the field of Language Policy and Planning

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) present Ethnography of Language Policy as an approach that can capture the intricacies of language policy that other models cannot adequately address. *Rational* models encompass early language planning frameworks (e.g. Haugen, 1966) that were characterized by goals of problem-solving, particularly in response to complex language issues arising from the emergence of new nations. Within these frameworks, language diversity was generally understood to be problematic, while homogeneity was considered beneficial (Ricento, 2000). These assumptions were based on ideologies about languages as monolithic systems, about monolingualism as necessary for national unity, efficiency, and development, and about the equal availability to all of linguistic resources (Ricento, 2006, p.14). Later LPP research has criticised such rational models for ignoring issues of power and inequality, highlighting the fact that ‘policy’ can never be ideologically neutral (McCarty, 2011a; Tollefson, 2006).

The resultant critical models thus “view policies as ideological constructs that both reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within the larger society” (McCarty, 2011a, p.6). Critical scholars have attempted to reveal the hegemonic views about language implicit in rational frameworks, in order to find ways of achieving social change and to deconstruct dominant ideologies such as that monolingualism is the norm. These issues are particularly relevant in the investigation of postcolonial education policies in multilingual contexts. Critical LPP “acknowledges that policies often create and sustain various forms of social inequality, and that policy-makers usually promote the interests of dominant social groups” (Tollefson, 2006, p.42). It follows critical theory in investigating “the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of

social justice” (Tollefson, 2006, p.44); it attempts “to uncover systems of exploitation, particularly those hidden by ideology, and to find ways to overcome that exploitation” (Tollefson, 2006, p.44).

As Canagarajah (2006, p.154), working within this paradigm, makes clear, “considerations of language allegiance, linguistic identity, and linguistic attitudes are not necessarily rational, pragmatic, or objective. They are ideological”. LPP models thus cannot be based on the assumption that policies are implemented on the basis of rational needs and objectives. Indeed, a clear finding of my study will be shown to be that a traditional, rational approach to LPP fails to capture several different aspects of what people in Vanuatu want, with regard to language policy.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007, p.510) note that, despite the positive steps that have been made through these types of research, they still fail to account adequately for how “microlevel interaction” fits in with other aspects investigated. Human agency still tends to be sidelined from the more critical approaches, so that those outside the traditionally powerful *policymaker* roles (teachers, students, parents, for example) are characterised as helpless. The danger is now that “an (over)emphasis on the hegemonic power of policies obfuscates the potentially agentic role of local educators as they interpret and implement the policies” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p.510).

A move has been made towards policy research that focuses on this agency of actors who do not hold traditional policymaker roles. Hornberger (1988) conducted one of the earliest ethnographic studies of language policy, focusing on bilingual education and language maintenance in Peru from the perspective of the local community and its classrooms, rather than the national government. Another seminal study is Canagarajah’s (1993) critical ethnography of compulsory English teaching in Sri Lanka, that focused on the student point of view rather than the programmes themselves. Martin-Jones (2011, p.4) documents the research of the Bilingualism Research Group working in the 1990s at Lancaster University, who took similar classroom-based approaches to language and education policy in various contexts (e.g. Arthur, 1996 in Botswana; Martin, 1996 in Brunei Darussalam; Ndayipfukamiye, 1996 in

Burundi). During the same period, Hornberger (1995, p.245) called for “sociolinguistically-informed approaches to ethnographic research” that prioritised school-based investigation.

More recent studies that follow similar lines include those of Heugh (2003), who examines the way inequality is mediated through multilingual policies in South Africa; Blommaert (2005b), who examines the use of Swahili as medium of instruction in Tanzania from an ethnographic exploration of language use; Chimbutane (2009, 2011), who examines the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique; Blackledge and Creese (2010), who examine multilingual practices in complementary schools in four UK cities, and the contributions to a special issue on ethnographic and discourse-analytic perspectives on multilingual classroom research, edited by Saxena and Martin-Jones (2013).

However, it appears that a perceived choice between constraining power at the top and reactionary power at the bottom is still pervasive within the field. Hornberger and Johnson (2011, p.279) note that current work is still characterized by these dichotomies and the tensions they imply. The *Ethnography of Language Policy* is one such attempt to resolve these tensions more explicitly, by setting out a goal of “marrying a critical approach with a focus on LPP agency, and by recognizing the power of both societal *and* local policy texts, discourses, and discourses” (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011, pp.279-280). It does maintain critical orientations, but aims to move beyond binaries of structure and agency, and between critical focuses on power and action-oriented focuses on practitioner roles. ‘Power’ is therefore considered not only with reference to those in traditionally ‘powerful’ roles, i.e. policymakers. The ethnographic focus enables flexibility to look at and “slice through” the different layers of policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p.510).

3.1.2.2 Towards a definition of policy

Current understandings of policy within education tend to draw on the work of Stephen Ball and others from the 1990s. Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) describe three distinct, although interrelated, stages of a policy *cycle*, rather than considering a policy to be a static set of directives to be implemented. These

stages are the *context of influence* which gives rise to any particular policy, through collaboration and/or dispute between different parties; the *context of policy text production*, during which the original intentions and interests are transformed in some way in order to present the policy that they represent in a meaningful way to the recipients; and the *context of practice*, which is the site of application of the policy, the situation in which it is expected to take effect. Throughout these stages, the policy is constantly renegotiated and transformed. Ball (1994, p.10) draws attention to the fact that policy is “both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended”. This work has been expanded more recently within a framework of policy enactment, described as the “creative processes of interpretation and translation, that is, the recontextualisation – through reading, writing and talking – of the abstractions of policy ideas into contextualised practices” (Braun, Ball, Maguire, & Hoskins, 2011, p.586).

Despite this elaboration in terms of the complexity of what policy actually is, it appears that the policy process is still often conceptualised as linear. As Johnson (2009, p.142, following Levinson et al 2007) notes, there remains a conceptual distinction between the formation and the implementation of policy, and he argues instead for policy to be considered a “dynamic process”, to recognise that policies are “socially constructed and dynamically negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis” (García & Menken, 2010, p.257).

Similarly, in the introduction to a special issue on the media, multilingualism and language policing, Blommaert et al. (2009) reveal that this binary view has by no means been broken down, and problematise the practices that are hard to account for within traditional dichotomies of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’. They argue for a more dynamic and unstable view of policy (Androutsopoulos, 2009; Blommaert et al., 2009; Kelly-Holmes, Moriarty, & Pietikäinen, 2009). They consider it more productive to consider language policy to be “continually evolving, emergent and influenced by norms of specific communities and cultures” (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009, p.261). Drawing on Foucault’s understanding of power and control, they reconceptualise policy as a form of ‘policing’, defined as “the rational production of order” (Blommaert, 2009, p.245), and as “the orderly management, negotiation and (re)construction of

norms for language choice and use” (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009, p.262). These definitions stress that policing practices are “rational” or “orderly”, but that the agency is shifted from macro-level institutions to the coexistence of “multiple policing agents” (Androutsopoulos, 2009, p.288), who “never operate alone, but always have to work in a polycentric environment in which different norms need to be negotiated and balanced against each other” (Blommaert et al., 2009, p.206). According to this view, actors at different levels operate in “complex webs of language policing activities” (Blommaert, 2009, p.244), which take place and are contested through discursive action (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009).

The studies within a recent volume on ethnographic approaches to language policy (McCarty, 2011b) draw on a sociocultural approach, which takes a similar starting definition of language policy as “processual, dynamic, and in motion” ... “best understood as a verb” (McCarty, 2011a, p.2, following Heath and Street, 2008, on culture). In summarising the contributions of the volume from this perspective, Hornberger and Johnson (2011, p.284) define language policy as “language-regulating modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production”. They elaborate:

A sociocultural approach to language policy focuses on how people make policy in everyday social practice, thus emphasizing local agency to potentially challenge hegemonic discourses which privilege some languages and speech communities while marginalizing others. A sociocultural approach to language policy redefines notions of ‘bottom’ and ‘top’, since individual agents are allowed to ‘make’ or ‘enact’ policy through everyday interaction (Hornberger & Johnson, 2011, p.281).

In this study, I draw on this sociocultural approach in order to focus on what goes on at several points within policymaking. I focus predominantly, but not entirely, on school-based language practices in an attempt to understand what ‘language’ and ‘languages’ mean to teachers and students within the context of education. I also include the more traditional ‘policymaker’ voices through the analysis of written policy texts and interviews with employees at the Ministry of Education. It is therefore important to make clear that ethnography is not something to be done solely ‘at the bottom’, despite it having been championed as a way to take account of how things play out ‘on the ground’. If we are to take seriously the notion of multiple agents, we must not swing so far in the

other direction that we assume a complete lack of influence of those in traditional positions of 'policy power'. I consider Ethnography of Language Policy to be the best way to understand language practices and discourses throughout the broad domain of education, whilst still keeping in mind policy structures, such as school rules, professional guidelines and teacher-student relationships, within which participants are generally very aware of their places.

3.1.2.3 What is *not* policy? Policy and policies

Hornberger and Johnson note that, while a sociocultural approach solves some problems, it creates a new one: by saying that policy happens at every level (instead of only at the top), then, they ask:

What *isn't* language policy? How does this conceptualization of policy distinguish itself from other sociolinguistic terms already in existence, such as 'discourse' and 'norms of interaction'? Certainly language policies can appropriate and/or resist dominant discourses, and can influence or be influenced by norms of interaction, but are discourses and norms of interaction, in and of themselves, language policies? (2011, p.285)

For me, discourses and norms of interaction are not *policies*, but phenomena through which *policy* is produced and sustained. In this study, I take *policy* (as an abstract noun) to mean the 'rational production of order' that Blommaert refers to as 'policing' (see above), which may well materialise as *policies* (a concrete noun). These policies can be written down in documents, sent to schools, debated in meetings, implemented and evaluated, and so on. Thus a (concrete, particular) language policy that states which languages are to be taught as subjects in a particular school is a specific instance of (abstract, general) language policy. A number of personnel at the Ministry of Education commented to me during my fieldwork that the Education Language Policy team have never come up with an actual language policy (specific), but I would say that they have certainly been engaging with the phenomenon of language policy (in its general sense) during meetings and consultations that have cost considerable time and money. I thus consider policy to be the constantly evolving process, created and sustained through discourse and practices, from which specific policies can be formulated, debated, implemented, and so on.

In this study, I therefore look for instances of language policy that can shed light on the issues outlined in Chapter 2. I began the research aware of some examples of specific language policies that would certainly be relevant, such as the school rules explicitly banning Bislama, mentioned in 2.1. However, there was no single language policy that I set out to investigate, as has been the case in some studies that utilise the Ethnography of Language Policy (such as Johnson (2007), who examined the implementation of the US No Child Left Behind Act of 2002). Indeed, as noted in 1.1.3 and 2.1, my research was motivated to a certain extent by the volume of debate about language in Vanuatu that never seemed to provide any action – this observation might be rephrased here as policy without any policies.

However, the situation is slightly more complicated than a total absence of policies. In fact, while chatting to someone at the Ministry of Education, I was startled when he opened a filing cabinet drawer to reveal an array of documents that indicated an incredible flurry of policymaking: The Education Master Plan, The national EFA plan, The Education Sector Strategy, The Education Road Map, and so on (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, 2004, 2006b, 2009). Closer inspection revealed many references to language throughout these documents, and certain concrete instances that could be considered to be language policies. Extract 3.1, from the Vanuatu Education Sector Strategy (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006b, p.20), is one such example:

Extract 3.1

Policy: Bi-lingual Schools

Confirm language of instruction in the formal education sector to include:

- Use of vernacular as language of instruction in pre-school and first two years of basic education to develop literacy and conceptual skills and cultural identity in mother tongue.
- Phased introduction of either French or English from Year 3 as the language of instruction.
- Phased introduction of the second global language (English or French) as a language of instruction from Year 7.
- Bi-lingual instruction from Year 9.

Encourage merger of Anglophone and Francophone schools to form bi-lingual schools. No new single language schools to be approved.

Support introduction of other languages as subjects.

The overall policy to create bilingual schools subsumes a number of sub-policies relating to language(s) of instruction, physical merging of Anglophone and Francophone schools, and the teaching of languages as subjects.

In a post-fieldwork memo, I noted:

Extract 3.2

With soft copies of these (apparently publicly-available) documents on my USB stick, I suddenly had a wealth of data that I didn't know what to do with. In one sense, these texts were nothing to do with my study, since they didn't appear to have much effect on anything outside their filing cabinet, and certainly hadn't made it as far as the schools where I was conducting my case study (an impression that was confirmed when I arrived at the schools, and the only post-1998 document in evidence was the newly published 2010 National Curriculum Statement). In another sense, however, this data told me a lot about one aspect of 'policy', providing a window into the discourses circulating within one domain of policymaking. From a policy vs. practice perspective, it could be said that a lot of time was being wasted 'up the top end' of policymaking, given that the Ministry appeared to be putting a lot of effort into producing paperwork that was irrelevant to schools; at the same time, it provoked questions about where the 'top' really is, as the documents reveal the pervasiveness of the 'expert' discourse of supranational bodies such as the World Bank. The Ministry of Education can be seen to be answerable to bodies far further 'up' the metaphorical policy ladder, with clear financial implications; as well as to the Government of Vanuatu, who needs to be able to repackage this 'expert' discourse in ways that appear to the voting public that they are in control and moving in the right direction for the country; while trying to do what is actually best for students and teachers at the schools. Financial and political pressures inevitably clash with pedagogical priorities.

As I make clear here, this series of policy documents are both nothing and everything to do with my concern with language policy in education. External agencies appear to be imposing some form of top-down policymaking, but there is also a gap between the concerns of the Ministry of Education and those of the schools themselves. I cannot ignore the existence of top-down macro policy documents, and yet I cannot be sure that they have any influence at all on what goes on elsewhere. It is therefore very hard to draw boundaries around 'policy' to find a starting point or end point, or to predict the influence of one element on another.

3.1.2.4 Onions, webs, and networks

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) introduced the metaphor of the 'onion' to conceptualise "a multilayered construct, wherein essential LPP components – agents, levels, and processes of LPP – permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways as they enact various types, approaches, and goals of LPP" (p.419). They describe an outer layer composed of legislative or other formal policymaking bodies, and various institutional and interpersonal layers within the 'onion'. This conceptualisation encompasses what is going on in classrooms and schools, rather than assuming that what is handed down from 'above' is accepted unquestioningly. It enables the focus to shift inwards from the 'outer layer'.

This has been a powerful way of conceptualising the interrelatedness of different layers and levels of policymaking, and it is useful in understanding the complexity involved. However, I feel that reference to an onion's layers does not do enough to move beyond a top-down/bottom-up view of policymaking, given that one layer can only be located on top of (or beneath) another layer, albeit in close connection. Secondly, however carefully the analyst peels back the layers of the onion, a centre will inevitably be reached, leaving one element at the core. Despite its usefulness in understanding how complex the connections are between this core and other layers, the metaphor prioritises what lies at the 'heart' of the onion. Finally, it suggests an outer layer that can be imagined to contain everything within "the LPP whole" (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p.402), which is too neat to capture the complexity that it aims to describe. It makes it difficult to see connections between, for example, very similar policymaking processes going on in different countries, influenced by the same supranational body.

A more realistic model of LPP needs to, firstly, take into account the multidirectionality of the connections between different elements (rather than layers, which can only pile on top of one another) and, secondly, have the ability to prioritise a number of these different elements at any given time, rather than maintaining the binary opposition between top-down and bottom-up that still preoccupies the LPP field. In this way, potential for change can be examined at

a number of different points, rather than as a form of (singular and unidirectional) 'bottom up' process that can only ever be positioned in opposition to a more powerful 'top'.

The quotation at the end of 3.1.2.3 from Blommaert et al. (2009) refers to the way policing works within "complex webs". Others have used the same metaphor, although each in slightly different ways. So, while Mora (2002) describes how Latino students are "caught" by the web of California's Proposition 227 that "by its very complexity and multifaceted nature ... is much harder to combat than a single initiative or policy that affects the academic achievement and access to sound programs for Latino students" (p. 41), Winton (2011, drawing on Joshee and Johnson 2005) considers a "policy web" to be a conceptual tool that enables her to map out the influences of local, state/provincial, national, and international actors on local safe school policies in the USA and Canada. She concludes that, "while influenced by international beliefs about unsafe schools and youth violence, affected by local social, economic, and historical contexts, and constrained by state/provincial and federal policies, local school districts are nevertheless able to exercise some agency" (Winton, 2011, p.247). In this account, she notes the variety of different potential influences on what schools do (rather than a single 'top' that holds all the power), and allows for agency in a number of different school districts. It becomes clear that a web can be viewed in many different ways (depending, to continue the metaphors, on whether you are the spider that created it or an insect caught up in it, or an observer who may see it either as a thing of beauty or a sign of poor cleaning).

Winton's use of a 'web' as a conceptual tool is helpful in that it enables description of what goes on at different points, without neglecting to show how these fit into the whole of which they are part. It allows the multidirectionality that is missing from a policy 'onion'. For me, a visual shortcoming of making use of this metaphor, however, is that a web still converges on a central point and has fixed edges, thus making it hard to link new insights into the model.

Vidovich (2007) employs the model of a policy 'network', which shares many similarities with this 'web'. Vidovich bases this model on Bowe et al.'s (1992)

policy cycle, discussed in 3.1.2.2. However, she, firstly, expands the boundaries of the cycle to incorporate elements beyond a nation's borders, i.e. international and supranational influences. Secondly, she re-emphasises the state-centredness that many post-modern models reject, although stressing that this does not mean 'state-controlled'. She argues that governments do play key roles in policymaking that should not be removed from models, although this emphasis does not preclude focusing on agents elsewhere. Finally, Vidovich stresses "the two-way interrelationships between the different levels and contexts of the policy process by examining the dynamics of how these contexts continually relate to each other" (ibid., p.290). Rather than envisaging a distinct 'context of influence' (cf. Bowe et al., 1992) in which LPP plays out, there is constant interplay and blurriness between this context and those that Bowe et al. position before (or above) it. As Vidovich (ibid., p. 291) argues, for example, "the localized context of individual institutions can directly influence the nature of practices/effects at that site, rather than operating through the official policy text".

For Vidovich (ibid., p.292):

The intention of this framework is to begin to depict the messiness of the policy process (a post-modern perspective), but not to be so overwhelmed by the messiness that the policy process is rendered beyond systematic analysis. The 'bigger picture' (modernist perspective) should not be lost.

Although Vidovich, herself, critiques the use of 'policy network' models, and notes several weaknesses (namely, that a more critical orientation is needed; that governments should be seen as something more than just one actor among many; and that networks must be seen to be unstable and changeable, see p.294), the model provides a more useful conceptual tool for my purposes than either an 'onion' or a 'web'. It enables description of several different points within the network, allowing a number of points to be prioritised simultaneously, or to varying degrees at different times. I can thus describe what goes on in a particular classroom or within a school community, without this approach being considered the panacea to the whole policymaking problem, as can sometimes appear to be the case with many models of 'bottom-up' LPP. I can relate what I see in the schools to what is going on outside, whether in the villages, at the

Ministry of Education, or at an international conference. My study is obviously able to describe only very small parts of this network, and does prioritise two particular school communities, but I attempt to keep a more holistic overview in mind.

Useful elements I take from these metaphors are therefore the interrelatedness of different “agents, levels and processes” (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996); the variety of different influences that come from many origins (Winton, 2011); and the multidirectionality of the connections between these different contexts, levels and influences (Vidovich, 2007). Adding the metaphor of ‘ideological and implementational spaces’ introduced in 1.1.3.4, I will examine the potential ‘spaces’ that can be identified within the ‘network’ of policymaking in Vanuatu.

3.2 Discourse analysis within this framework

Within the Ethnography of Language Policy, I incorporate a discourse analytic focus. A key way in which I examine potential spaces for change is through the analysis of the discourse of various actors within the network of language-in-education policy in Vanuatu. This section will give an overview of the way I use the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘text’, and an introduction to the Discourse-Historical Approach used here.

3.2.1 Discourse(s) and texts

Language policy has been defined in 3.1.2.3 as a constantly evolving process that is created and sustained through practices and discourse. This perspective is underpinned by the view of discourse as social practice (Blommaert, 2005a; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995). Discourse is considered to be constitutive rather than purely representational or reflective of reality, thereby “construct[ing] a *version* of social reality” (Wetherell, 2001, p.17). Policy is thus *created* through practices and discourse, rather than simply being talked about, enforced, and displayed on walls. It must also be remembered that, in being present in the schools and showing an interest in policy(ies) and language(s), I also contributed to this process. Some issues may have been talked about in

different ways from usual, and practices may have been altered that, in themselves, became part of the policy enactment.

In its most general usage, discourse is taken to refer to “language-in-action” (Blommaert, 2005a, p.2) or to “language use in speech and writing” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258). However, from a social practice perspective, it becomes hard to separate the linguistic from the non-linguistic elements of social action. It becomes important to consider “the many material resources beyond speech and writing which societies have shaped and which cultures provide as means for making” (Kress, 2011, p.208). It is thus quite common to extend the definition to encompass “all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use” (Blommaert, 2005a, p.3). While agreeing that non-linguistic resources may be deployed to convey as much as, if not more, information than linguistic resources alone, for the purpose of this thesis, I do prioritise the linguistic. I am interested in the way language policy comes into being, particularly through the historical and social use of language, but in conjunction with its non-linguistic accompaniments. I therefore define discourse as ‘language – and other semiotic resources – in use’.

In the same way that I distinguish between ‘policy’ and ‘policies’, I use the term ‘discourse’ in two ways, to make a distinction between the general and the specific. When I refer to, for example, ‘my participants’ discourse’ or ‘discourse within the domain of language-in-education policymaking’, I refer in a fairly general way to the language – and other semiotic resources – in use of my participants, or to that of others within the broad domain. Following Fairclough (2003), this sense of discourse is an abstract one. In contrast, when I refer to ‘a discourse of economic opportunity’ or ‘two conflicting discourses’, I refer to specific arrangements or configurations of the more general ‘language-in-use’ version of discourse. These discourses relate to specific topics such as economic opportunity or human rights.

I consider *texts* to be concrete, observable instances of *discourse* (in its general sense), which may or may not be captured through actions such as audio-recording, photocopying, or photographing. I do not differentiate between

written or spoken texts, so examine interview data, policy documents, handwritten signs, and so on. Following the points just raised, a text comprises more than the words that are used, i.e. it is more than the talking and writing itself. Aspects such as the size of a sign, the proximity of a teacher to a group of students, or the volume at which a rebuke is made contribute to the shaping of each text, and must thus be taken into account alongside the linguistic aspects.

The means through which texts are produced must also be taken into account. As Gumperz and Hymes (1972) made clear, language is inseparable from the social action in which it is used, and the relationship between them is dynamic. Patterns of interaction produce social structures or norms that then guide what is and is not possible in subsequent talk or interaction, and it therefore makes no sense to analyse the words used in any interaction as though they are anything but a part *of that interaction*. Teachers and students in a classroom activity are thus doing more than *using* a language such as English; they are working within structures that dictate who gets to speak when and about what. If I want to examine how language is being used in a classroom, I need to take into account that these patterns are in place, and that all classroom participants are aware of them. They may not conform to these situated norms and practices, but it is helpful to keep them as a reference point when analysing and interpreting what participants do. Similarly, knowing something of the process through which a written text is produced helps to make sense of it. So, for example, to understand the language provisions that were included in Vanuatu's constitution, I found it useful to read the minutes of the meetings in which it was drafted in 1979.

3.2.2 The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

Implicit in my definitions of discourse as social practice and of policy as a phenomenon produced through practices and discourse (serving to create, sustain, reproduce and reflect forms of power and inequality) is an understanding of the importance of history. Policy is a phenomenon that comes into being through complex processes, and even an apparently radical policy does not suddenly appear from nowhere. Thus, school rules about Bislama both have a *history*, in the sense that their origins can be traced to earlier attitudes

towards the language, and have been *historically produced*, in the sense that they have been formed out of and by that history.

The particular approach taken within this study is therefore the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2001). Blommaert (2005a, p.37) criticises “the absence of a *sense of history*” in most approaches to critical discourse analysis and states that “an expression of interest in historical backgrounds or intertextuality [will not] serve as a substitute for a genuine historical analysis of the ways in which power regimes come into place”. DHA prioritises historical context within its analysis and interpretation, although Wodak and Meyer (2009, p.30) state that “there is no clear procedure for this task”. In analysing each text, I therefore try to keep in mind all of the aspects discussed above that have shaped that text as a product of historical and social action. For example, a comparison of the treatment of English and French within the rules at two schools initially suggested that, while the Anglophone school promoted both languages equally, the Francophone school prioritised French, perhaps due to a contemporary need to protect and bolster the status of this language in Vanuatu. However, by considering the differences in the original purpose of the Anglican and Catholic missions on which these two schools were founded, it is possible to understand the discrepancy in terms of a fundamental difference in what is meant by ‘school’ (see 5.2.2.2).

The DHA is situated within the broader approach of Critical Discourse Analysis. It is therefore located within the field of critical social research, concerned with understanding possibilities for social change. This objective fits well with my focus on ideological and implementational spaces that hold potential for policy change. Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Ethnography of Language Policy enables discourse and power to be examined within the multiple layers and contexts of language policy (Johnson, 2009, p.151). Attention can thus be paid to counter-discourses as well as to the macro discourses that might be assumed to be the most powerful, following the principle that “local educators are not helplessly caught in the ebb and flow of shifting ideologies in language policies – they help develop, maintain, and change that flow” (Johnson, 2011, p.128).

The approach has tended to be driven by political critique. It was developed for the analysis of anti-Semitic images in Austrian public discourse in the late 1980s, and has since been used to analyse other aspects of political discourse in various European contexts (as summarised in Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.95), and elsewhere (e.g. Lawton, 2008, who analyses English-only discourse in the US; Ricento, 2003, who analyses the construction of 'Americanism'). I extend the focus on the 'political' to refer not only to what goes on in the formal or official 'domain of politics' but also to "dynamics that operate in the everyday, the domestic, and the mundane" (Besnier, 2009, p.7). I analyse the discourse of teachers and students whose role is not, on the face of it, a 'political' one, as well as what might be considered more typical 'policy discourse', i.e. that which shows up in policy documents and interviews with personnel at the Ministry of Education.

The key principles underlying the approach of DHA are as follows (summarised from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p.95):

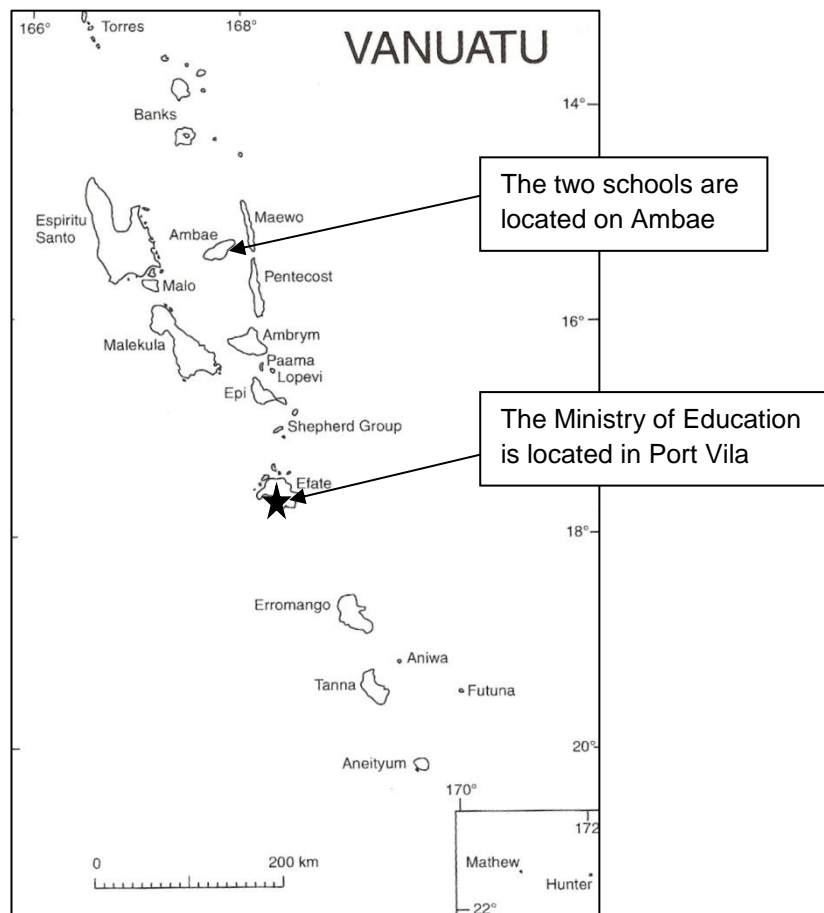
1. The approach is problem-oriented;
2. It is interdisciplinary, and combines a variety of theories and methods in order to understand the problem under investigation;
3. It incorporates fieldwork and ethnography where necessary, and requires moving recursively between theory and empirical data;
4. Numerous genres and public spaces are investigated, as well as the links between them; historical context is taken into account;
5. Categories and tools must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem;
6. 'Grand theories' may serve as a foundation, but 'middle-range theories' frequently supply a better theoretical basis in the specific analyses;
7. The application of findings is important.

The specific 'categories and tools' (cf. point 5) used in this study will be set out in 4.3, once the research design has been introduced.

4 Research design

4.1 An ethnographic case study as an approach

The initial research design comprised data collection at two schools on Ambae Island (Angolovo College and Collège de Faranako⁵) over the period of one term, supplemented by one background interview at the national Ministry of Education (see Map 4.1).



Map 4.1 Location of the research sites

However, the design changed in three ways. Firstly, I was given greater access at the Ministry than I had anticipated, so managed to collect quite a large data set at that source (see 3.1.2.3); secondly, I had insufficient time at the schools to carry out the final interview component as planned (see 4.2.1.1), and

⁵ Following academic convention, these are pseudonyms. For reader convenience, they are derived from 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone', respectively, modified to fit local pronunciation norms. However, with full agreement from participants, I have not disguised the locations of the schools (see 4.4.7).

therefore built in a second fieldwork period; finally, I had the opportunity, during this second visit, to follow up the themes that had emerged from the first period of fieldwork in interviews with participants both at the schools and at the Ministry, as a way of tying together what was happening at the schools with what the Ministry priorities were. Participants' *talk* about language and languages revealed unexpected insights into the potential for multilingual education that I wanted to explore in greater detail, thus shifting much of the emphasis towards this interview data in the final analysis.

The final research design therefore comprised two fieldwork trips. The first was conducted from February to May 2011, during which I spent three weeks in Port Vila and three months (one term) at the schools on Ambae. The second trip took place in October and November 2011, during which I spent one week in Port Vila and two weeks on Ambae.

4.1.1 The research sites

Ambae has a population of approximately 9,000, traditionally speaking two distinct languages – North-East Ambae and West Ambae. The island's interior is covered by dense forest, rising steeply to a volcano, thus keeping the two parts of the island separate. The two schools are located on the north-eastern tip, approximately seven kilometres apart on the single road that runs around the northern and eastern coasts. The airfield on this part of Ambae is serviced by flights from Port Vila and the surrounding islands several days a week, and ships call with similar frequency. The north-eastern part of the island also holds the headquarters for the provincial government, including the Provincial Education Office, with administrative control of the three islands of Penama Province (Pentecost, Ambae, Maewo). There is also a hospital, and a commercial centre with seven small stores and a combined post office and bank.

Like most secondary schools in Vanuatu, both are boarding schools, which presents three implications for the study. Firstly, students and staff come from islands all over Vanuatu, resulting in significant linguistic diversity; secondly, observation took place throughout the week and around the whole campus, rather than only in classroom hours and settings; thirdly the whole community of

each school was of interest to the study, including teachers' families. This is therefore an ethnographic investigation of language use within two school communities, rather than a classroom-based study.

Given that 79% of secondary schools are located in rural areas (Ministry of Education statistics), I deliberately chose two rural schools for my case study. Students living in Vanuatu's two towns are likely to be exposed to very different language patterns than those in the rural areas, so I wanted to focus on something closer to (if not 'typical' of) the experience of the majority. Ambae itself was, primarily, a convenient rural choice, given that I have previously lived and taught on the island. However, the particular location of the schools is appealing because they are neither too close to the two towns (in contrast to schools such as Collège de Montmartre and Matevulu College that are classified by the Ministry of Education as 'rural', but known to be well resourced due to their proximity to Port Vila and Luganville, respectively), nor too remote and therefore unusually isolated (such as Arep in the Banks Islands, serviced far less frequently by flights and ships).

4.1.1.1 Angolovo College

Angolovo College is an Anglophone secondary boarding school, part-maintained by the Anglican Church. It was established in 1902 as an Anglican mission school, initially located on a different island. It houses 304 students from Years 9 to 13 (aged approximately 14 to 19). There are new intakes of students into Years 11 and 13, and current students need to be reselected in order to continue at these levels.

73% of the students come from the three islands of Penama Province but with few schools in the country offering senior secondary education (particularly up to Year 13), the remaining students come from approximately 22 other islands. Questionnaire data suggests that 44 vernaculars are spoken. There are 25 teachers, ten teaching junior students (Years 9 and 10), and 15 teaching senior students. These teachers also come predominantly from Penama, although, at senior level (offering more specialised subjects), four teachers have been recruited from the Solomon Islands, including a couple originally from India, and

another is from a different province of Vanuatu. There is also a Peace Corps volunteer teaching Computer Studies.

From 2004 to 2006, I was an English teacher at Angolovo College. I also conducted research at the school in 2002, 2006 and 2008. I was therefore known to the majority of the teachers, and they had some idea about what I meant when I asked if I could come back and do research. I was introduced to the students and any new teachers as an ex-teacher, thereby providing me with a certain 'way in' to my research (see 4.4.5 for discussion of the implications of this).

4.1.1.2 Collège de Faranako

Collège de Faranako is a Francophone secondary boarding school, part-maintained by La Direction d'Enseignement Catholique, the Catholic Education Board. The school was established in 1964 as a Catholic mission primary school, to which a secondary school was added in 1995. It houses 89 students from Years 7 to 10 (aged approximately 12 to 16), while the primary school on the same site caters for Kindergarten and Classes 1 to 6. Since the policy changes to Basic Education (see 2.2.2.2), students progress automatically from the primary school to the secondary school, and then sit a national exam at the end of Year 8 in order to be reselected to Year 9. There is also a new intake at this point into Year 9. Due to administrative problems and disputes with the local community, provision for Years 11 and 12 was withdrawn in 2008. As a result, after the national Year 10 exam, successful students can only continue to Year 11 on a different island, since there is no Francophone provision at this level on Ambae.

97.6% of the students come from the three islands of Penama Province and there is therefore a less diverse mix of languages than at Angolovo College. Questionnaire data suggests that seven vernaculars are spoken. There are seven teachers at the school, only two of whom come from Penama. After the problems of 2008, the school was reopened with a new principal and several new teachers from different islands, possibly to avoid further problems with the local community.

I had previously visited Collège de Faranako, but I did not know any of the staff or students personally. However, they knew of me from staff at Angolovo College and I was welcomed as somebody who had spent quite a long time on Ambae.

4.1.1.3 The Vanuatu Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education is located in Port Vila, the capital city. It is a national structure that administers all schools within both language streams, although many schools are still part-maintained by religious bodies. The Ministry is part of the wider national governmental structure, and must align its strategies with those of the government. For example, the Priorities Action Agenda of 2006 (Government of the Republic of Vanuatu, 2006) sets out national concerns that individual ministries must respond to. The Ministry of Education must then develop internal strategies specific to its sector, such as the Vanuatu Education Sector Strategy (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006b). Vanuatu has also signed a number of international agreements, such as commitment to the Education For All goals (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2004) and education policy is thus also influenced by supranational policy. Due to the constant changes in government described in 2.2.1.5, this policymaking process is very unstable, and three different Ministers of Education were in post throughout my fieldwork.

As an ex-teacher in Vanuatu, I am a former employee of the Ministry of Education, and I was known to some personnel. I was introduced to others as an ex-teacher from Angolovo College.

4.2 Methods used

4.2.1 Fieldwork 1

4.2.1.1 Observation, informal discussions and fieldnotes

In the literature, observation is often seen as the “hallmark of ‘classical’ ethnographic methodology” (Harklau, 2005, p.180), since it is through observing what goes on that a researcher attempts to understand a phenomenon in its natural setting. Research was carried out at both schools throughout the whole

term, rather than observing one during the first half, and the other during the second half. I divided my time fairly equally between the two schools, staying for approximately one week at a time at each school. I slept in a teacher's house at Angolovo and at the end of a dormitory at Faranako, and spent no nights away from the schools. I therefore lived as a member of each school community throughout the term, dealing with water shortages, generator breakdowns, and transport and communication difficulties with everybody else. I followed the schools' daily routines from early morning to late at night, and was thus fully immersed in the practices of interest.

To begin with, I spent as much time as possible in classrooms. As well as giving me a starting point for my observations, this enabled students to get used to me in a defined 'observer' role, rather than just hanging around. During the first few weeks, I attended at least one lesson with each class in each school, so that I could explain what I was doing. I later focused my attention on Year 10, since both schools had students of this level. There is a national curriculum up to this level, so I observed similar topics taught at the two schools. I observed content lessons taught through the medium of instruction of the school; and language lessons, for both L2 and L3. From the third week onwards, I audio-recorded these lessons.

Outside the classroom, I attended church services, staff meetings, and a number of 'one-off' events, such as the celebration of *La Journée de la Francophonie* at Collège de Faranako. I also observed activities such as sports practices, mealtimes, evening study sessions, and work parties (sessions of manual work, in which students collect firewood for the kitchen, cut grass, sweep the classrooms and so on). I took photographs of written texts around the school campus, which ranged from official notices on the noticeboards to graffiti on desks and walls, and collected copies of other relevant texts.

The extent to which I participated in events could, according to Schensul et al. (1999, p.92), be conceptualised along a continuum ranging from simply being present to being actively involved in the activity. As Heath and Street (2008, p.31) note, "only rarely can we shed features of ourselves to be a 'real' participant". However, being a member of a community does not have to mean

doing every activity, and it would in fact be unusual for a single member to participate in all activities that are collectively identified as being done in that community. Some activities are typically gender-specific, or carried out by people who hold certain roles or status, while others are whole-community activities in which different members may play different parts. As a female researcher, I gained unexpected insights from mothers about their concerns for their children's education (see 2.1.2), but only rarely joined groups of male teachers drinking kava in the evenings, which a male researcher would find easier to do.

The Melanesian predilection for 'storying' presents ample opportunity for an ethnographer to do the very activity that is key to the research – hanging around and chatting. I spent hours at a time in the shade of various trees, either while waiting for something to happen, or simply stopping for a chat on the way somewhere else. In this environment, I began to ask questions, prod for thoughts about language(s), and simply listen to the sort of topics that were discussed. I became engaged in many very interesting conversations about language and education, and began to formulate ideas about what was important to these participants.

My initial research design had included a series of more structured, audio-recorded group interviews in the last few weeks of the term, focused on themes that appeared to be important. However, I did not reach a point during the three months at which I felt I knew the key themes that I wanted to address in such a way, as I felt that each new conversation was still showing me fresh insights at the very end of term. I also felt that it would seem artificial within the timeframe to suddenly sit the same people down that I'd been chatting to every day and ask them to talk about exactly the same things but with a microphone. As a result, I held only informal conversations during the first fieldwork period, seizing opportunities as they arose and relying on fieldnotes, usually written straight after the event. The follow-up interviews were eventually carried out during the second fieldwork period.

Finally, some discussion of the fieldnotes themselves is important. Rather than being simply a post-hoc account of what I did, my fieldnotes are a part of the

ethnographic product, becoming a platform for post-observation narrative and analysis of the data. Geertz (1973, p.19) describes the way an ethnographer “turns [something] from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscription and can be reconsulted”. Fieldnotes are a record of moment-by-moment description and interpretation of different events, rather than a coherent account of the overall situation told with the benefit of hindsight. Choosing what to include required me to react both to what I had already observed and to what happened at the time. Such notes were written as soon as possible after an event, if not during the event itself. There were therefore practical difficulties involved in either writing whilst present in a situation, or being able to walk away and write up what had been observed.

A further pragmatic decision had to be made regarding language, since my fieldnotes were written in English, but described events involving interactions using elements of English, French, Bislama and vernaculars. I attempted to use a combination of short direct quotations in other languages and clear annotations about which languages were being used, although there were certain problems with this. In particular, I noted (fieldnotes 24/3/11) that, when I was surrounded by conversations predominantly in Bislama, for example when working at the end of the dormitory at Collège de Faranako, my attention would only be attracted when someone used French or English. In the case of the former, it was often too late to write down exactly what had been said, while I was more able to include a direct phrase in English in my notes. I wrote that I was concerned that I might skew my impression of how much English was used at Faranako, compared to French.

Emerson et al. (1995) describe the process of writing fieldnotes as moving from initial jottings, to writing these up, to processing the information, and finally to writing the ethnography. My notebooks contain a combination of little thoughts, quite detailed summaries, and more rigorous ‘observation notes’ taken, for example, during a lesson. I used different colours to separate original notes and later annotations of these notes, as well as to begin to identify certain things of interest. I also wrote summaries every seven to ten days. Finally, I started writing post-fieldwork memos on return to the UK, in which I continued to

document and develop my emerging thoughts and ideas in a similar way to that of my fieldnotes. The process was ongoing throughout, between, and after the two periods of fieldwork, and these notes, summaries and memos have very much formed the basis of the analysis and interpretation.

I have had to be selective in deciding which, and how much, ethnographic data to include in the written thesis. In some chapters, my own descriptions of the language use I observed have been employed predominantly to provide a stark contrast to my participants' accounts of such language use, with interesting insights emerging from the discrepancy between these different versions. However, while interview data from the second fieldwork period may appear to have been prioritised in certain chapters, the three and a half months spent living in the two school communities during the first period certainly provide far more than a backdrop to this interview data. I have attempted to show throughout the thesis how linguistic practices that include the display of official notices and symbols, the scribbles of graffiti high up on dormitory walls, the interaction patterns used within classroom activities, and the interruption of school routine in order to 'do Francophonie' for the day interact with (and juxtapose) the discourses that are in circulation about these very same practices.

4.2.1.2 Questionnaires

I used a written questionnaire to investigate students' ideas about language. This enabled me to elicit ideas from a wider number of student participants and in a less intimidating way than was possible through face-to-face discussions, which were easier to initiate with other adults. A preliminary English version of the questionnaire was piloted in advance via email with some ex-students, before being translated into French, and the French version checked via back translation. See appendix VII for the final questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered to each class of students at the end of a lesson or during a homework session. 211 out of 304 students at Angolovo College and 85 out of 89 students at Collège de Faranako completed the questionnaire.

4.2.1.3 Assessment of student language competence

A recurring comment I heard early on in the fieldwork was that Francophones learn English far more readily than Anglophones learn French. This came up so many times at both schools and with participants from outside the school communities that I wanted to get a sense of how true this was amongst my participants. With the help of the language teachers, I therefore devised some writing and speaking tests for the Year 10 students at both schools that enabled me to consider this issue.

The writing task contained two questions, one written in each language. Students were asked to write at least one paragraph for each question, answering in the language in which the question was written. The speaking task required students to speak without preparation for as long as they could, based on simple vocabulary items written on prompt cards that they selected at random. The first set of vocabulary items were written in the students' L2, requiring them to speak in this language, before the task was repeated in L3.

One French teacher and I worked together to assess both speaking and writing at both schools. In order to compare two groups of students' use of two different languages, we developed a simple set of descriptors based on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), assigning levels from A1 to C2, (subdivided into sub-levels to suit our purposes). I do not claim any validity or reliability in terms of the instruments or the descriptors, but our procedure enabled us to talk about the students' ability to write and speak at length about familiar topics in the two languages.

4.2.1.4 Collection of other background data

Finally, a collection of background data was collected, guided by a pragmatic principle of gathering as much as I could carry that might turn out to be relevant, without having the intention of analysing everything in depth. This became a set of data to dip into for triangulation purposes, as a way of contextualising what participants said. It included policy documents, historical papers, newspaper articles, job advertisements, religious texts, statistics from various sources, and photos of the area outside the schools. In some way, this data enabled a form of 'validity check' on participants' explanations of language use. For example,

assertions that job advertisements ask for candidates to have competence in particular languages can be contextualised with a sample of such advertisements printed in the press; comments about the number of English-speaking and French-speaking tourists can be compared with visitor arrival statistics. Although no attempt is made to build in a positivist notion of validity, where impressions of language use (including my own) seem to differ from other measures or depictions of language use, an interesting issue arises of how my participants and I have come to have these impressions.

4.2.2 Fieldwork 2

I returned to the UK at the end of May 2011 with a large amount of data about the way language was used, learnt, taught, regulated and talked about at the two schools; with a series of fieldnotes and memos from which I could begin to identify themes of interest; and with a collection of official policy documents that appeared to contain some examples of the way language issues might intersect with other education policymaking concerns. As well as feeling some need to ‘tie together’ data gathered from the schools and from the Ministry, without creating a dichotomy between official policy and school practice, I was particularly interested in gauging participants’ reactions to the themes that I felt were of interest.

Language(s) appeared to be talked about in a number of different ways, by different people at different times, but also by the same people at almost the same time. I decided to conduct follow-up interviews with a variety of different participants (Anglophones and Francophones, students and teachers, school-based and Ministry-based employees), in which I could explore some of these different ways of talking about language(s) with reference to the key themes I had identified during Fieldwork 1. The interviews therefore enabled me to test out some of my ideas about which ideas were indeed relevant to participants, and sought to engage participants at all ‘data sources’ with topics that may have been raised by those at other ‘sources’ during Fieldwork 1.

4.2.2.1 Group interviews

Group interviews were carried out with two groups of teachers at Angolovo and one group at Faranako, and with one group of students at each school. A group

format was chosen in the hope that discussion of different viewpoints might occur. Attempts to interview students individually during previous research at Angolovo College (Willans, 2008) had produced stilted responses, so I was also hoping to engender a more relaxed atmosphere.

A question list (see appendix VIII) was given at the start of the interview and, having had time to read through the questions and check any unclear meaning, participants were asked to discuss their ideas together in whichever languages they wished. I sat just slightly to one side of the group throughout the main part of the discussion, joining in only if participants asked me to, or if I felt I needed to address any operational issues, such as asking participants to speak louder or to give reasons for their answers. Once the groups had covered the questions, I took a more active role, following up certain parts with further questions.

4.2.2.2 One-to-one interviews

I carried out one-to-one interviews with the two principals, the Director of Policy and Planning, the Director of Education Services, the Director of Basic Education, and the former Minister of Education (who had been Minister during some of the earlier period of fieldwork). These interviews were structured by the same question topics as for the group interviews, although the order in which these topics were covered was more flexible.

4.2.2.3 Design of interview questions

Following Krzyżanowski (2008), I drew up a list of ‘specific areas of inquiry’ to guide all interviews, which derived directly from the themes of interest from the first period of fieldwork:

1. The school language (in which the focus is on L2, rather than English and/or French in particular)
2. English and French (in which the focus is on the notion of “bilingualism”, a term frequently used in policy documents and recorded several times in my fieldnotes from Fieldwork 1)
3. English or French (in which the focus is on any difference between English and French, and/or between Anglophones and Francophones)

4. An appropriate education system for Vanuatu (in which the focus is on any links between language and other issues)

I then set out 'area-specific questions' (Krzyżanowski, 2008) and prompts that were used to engage the different participants in discussion about these areas. The questions put to each group of interviewees were phrased slightly differently (i.e. to be relevant to Anglophones or Francophones, to teachers or students, and so on), but all questions addressed the same topics (see Appendix VIII).

Rather than treating interviews as opportunities to gather objective information about a situation, I take the view that they are discursive events. Following Gubrium and Holstein (2001, p.14), an interview is seen as "an occasion for purposefully animated participants to *construct* versions of reality interactionally rather than merely purvey data". The policy and language issues we talked about were thus constructed through our discourse. I was very much a part of this co-construction. Interviewees were not talking about topics that were necessarily important to them, and thus my questions forced certain issues into the discussion that would not have arisen during 'normal' conversation between the same participants. For example, an adult Anglophone who does not use French at all, but who tells me in an interview that French is essential for every ni-Vanuatu (as was frequently the case) may thus have constructed this need based on their awareness that I know it is an official language, or that I am also doing research at a Francophone school. I therefore try to remain reflexive about what I was told, based on the questions I asked, the relationship I held with each interviewee, prior conversations we had held, and other data I had collected.

4.3 Analytic procedure

4.3.1 Development of categories and tools

Within the overarching framework of DHA, a useful approach followed to 'get into' the data was that of Krzyżanowski (2008), who deals with analysis at two different textual levels:

- (1) the general level of the key topics of discourse stratifying its contents and
- (2) the in-depth level, which focuses on discourse elements such as rhetoric, different argumentation patterns and other means of linguistic realization supporting the key arguments (p.169).

The first level deals with the substantive content of the discourse, the things that were spoken and written *about*. Following the first period of fieldwork, I used NVivo software to code the range of topics within fieldnotes, policy documents and questionnaire answers. I used an open coding system, enabling the establishment of recurring themes, which then fed into the design of the interview guides. Following the second period of fieldwork, I used the same categories to code the interview data, although these were expanded and reshaped as necessary.

The second level of analysis deals principally with discourse strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) – the ways and means through which these things were spoken and written about (see Table 4.1). However, it was pointed out in 3.2.2 that the DHA requires categories and tools to be developed according to the nature of the specific problem under investigation. In this study, categories are needed that go beyond the linguistic aspects of discourse. As well as the words used within written and spoken texts, my ethnographic descriptions of the way language was being used, taught, learnt, regulated and talked about led me to focus on a range of ways in which the texts themselves were shaped. In keeping with the principles of DHA set out in 3.2.2, I therefore drew to varying extents on a range of other frameworks to make sense of the data.

My fieldnotes show that I was implicitly drawing on such additional frameworks during the data collection itself. For example, I wrote several comments during classroom observations about chorus answers, sequences of teacher-student-teacher turns, and teachers doing most of the ‘language work’ of lessons. I was clearly examining classroom interaction patterns in terms of what Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) introduced as the Initiation-Response-Feedback framework. At other times, I simply described something in my fieldnotes, without knowing whether it would be relevant, but then later analysed this piece of data using a framework that I had since identified as useful.

Various analytic frameworks thus shaped the description of my data in a fairly eclectic way. Following the fieldwork, it was helpful initially to draw on a single framework, which is why I followed the two-level approach taken within the DHA, and focused on discourse topics and strategies. This close attention to what was said, and how it was said, enabled me to approach the phenomenon of language policy according to four conceptualisations of language:

1. a symbol of appropriate behaviour within a school
2. a tool for learning within the classroom
3. a gateway to opportunities beyond school
4. a marker of national identity

These became the four thematic strands of the thesis. However, within each strand, I fleshed out the analysis using other frameworks. In the remaining two sections here, I therefore first discuss the framework of discourse strategies, which provides a robust set of questions to ask in the analysis of what is said and written within a specific text; I then set out a similar set of questions used in order to examine the way in which the texts themselves were shaped. In the actual analysis, I did not distinguish so crudely between the words themselves and everything else, but it seems logical to set out the primary framework used by DHA first, followed by my extension of this framework.

4.3.2 Discourse strategies

The five discourse strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) are nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification/mitigation. An overview of these strategies, the guiding questions posed by Reisigl and Wodak, and the linguistic devices through which they may be realised is presented in Table 4.1. The table also provides some examples from the data of this study, although this summary is not exhaustive.

Table 4.1 Discourse strategies

<i>Discourse strategies</i>	Guiding questions (Reisigl & Wodak (2009, p.93))	Linguistic devices, with examples from my analysis
<i>Nomination strategies</i> <i>(Discursive construction of social actors, languages, and other processes or phenomena)</i>	How are referents named and referred to linguistically?	<p>Naming of precepts and propositions, e.g. medium of instruction, second language, foreign language, official language</p> <p>Professional anthroponyms, e.g. teachers, students</p> <p>Ethnolinguistic anthroponyms, e.g. Anglophones, Francophones</p> <p>Synecdoche, e.g. Government, Vanuatu</p> <p>Deictics, e.g. I, we (inclusive/exclusive variants in Bislama), you, they</p> <p>Semantic role, e.g. agent, experiencer of language difficulties</p> <p>(Suppression: no nomination within the text)</p>
<i>Predication strategies</i> <i>(Discursive characterisation / qualification of social</i>	What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to the referents?	<p>Metaphors of teaching, e.g. transferring knowledge</p> <p>Metalinguistic metaphors, e.g. tool for learning, door to opportunity</p> <p>Explicit predicative adjectives, e.g. hard-working, strong, weak, smart (students), easy, hard,</p>

<i>actors, languages, and other processes or phenomena)</i>		<p>complicated, useful, living, chaotic, (un)sophisticated (languages)</p> <p>Explicit comparisons between contexts, social actors, and languages</p>
<i>Argumentation strategies (Persuading addressees of the truth and normative rightness of claims)</i>	What arguments are employed? (see Table 4.3 for a full list of the specific topoi used here)	<p>Claims that teachers can or should use and allow L1 in the classroom (based on the rationale that students struggle with L2, and following the topos of <i>successful learning</i>)</p> <p>Claims that L2 should be used as much as possible, and L1 should be used as little as possible (based on the rationale that L2 is the medium of instruction, and following the topos of <i>successful learning</i>, in conjunction with the topoi of <i>target language</i> and <i>interference</i>)</p> <p>Claims that Francophones can pick up English (L3) very easily (based on the rationale that Bislama and English share lexical similarities, and following the topos of <i>positive transfer</i>)</p> <p>Claims that Bislama should not be used in the classroom (based on the rationale that it has an underdeveloped vocabulary and is rapidly changing, and following the topos of <i>linguistic adequacy</i>)</p> <p>Claims that both English and French are important to learn (based on the rationale that these languages are needed for jobs, scholarships, mobility and wider communication, and following the topos of <i>international languages</i>, and its extension to the topos of <i>double opportunity</i>)</p> <p>Claims that English/French 'bilingualism' should be encouraged (based on the rationale that the duplication and need for translation arising from the current dual-medium system are inefficient and costly, and at the same time that there are unequal opportunities for Francophones, and following the topoi of <i>efficiency</i> and <i>equality</i>)</p>

		<p>Claims that both English and French are an essential part of being ni-Vanuatu (based on the rationale that they are no longer colonial languages, that these languages have been spoken for a long time in the land, that they unite all ni-Vanuatu, and that Vanuatu is the only country in the Pacific to use both languages, and following the topoi of <i>postcolonial national identity</i>, <i>traditional national identity</i>, <i>united national identity</i> and <i>unique national identity</i>)</p> <p>Claims that both English and French must be retained in Vanuatu (based on the rationale that French is less commonly used, and following the topos of <i>heritage</i>)</p>
<i>Perspectivization strategies (Positioning speakers' or writers' points of view and expressing involvement or distance)</i>	From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?	<p>Overt use of personal opinion</p> <p>Reference to (shared) professional experience as a teacher or student</p> <p>Anecdote</p> <p>Reported speech or indirect reference to others' claims</p> <p>Dismissal of an utterance made by an interlocutor, or of a topic under discussion</p>
<i>Intensification/Mitigation strategies (Modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect of their epistemic or deontic status)</i>	Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?	<p>Deontic:</p> <p>Concession clauses to mitigate strength of statement</p> <p>Hyperbole or repetition to intensify strength of statement</p> <p>Epistemic:</p> <p>Hedging language or concession clauses to mitigate certainty about a statement</p>

This framework enabled me to approach my data with a sense of the type of phenomena I might find, such as certain ways in which speakers may intensify or mitigate the force with which they make a claim. However, I did not examine the occurrence of each and every potential discourse strategy within the data, focusing only on those that gave insights into ideological and implementational spaces for policy change.

4.3.3 Extending the framework beyond discourse strategies

Although the DHA has generally prioritised analysis of the words themselves, the problem-oriented nature of the approach, along with its commitment to historical analysis, means that the lens must be widened to take into account other aspects of the social action through which texts and discourses come into being. Much CDA work has also shifted its attention “beyond language, taking on board that discourses are often multimodally realized” (Van Leeuwen, 2006, p.292) so, although the majority of DHA studies have not paid explicit attention to the non-linguistic aspects of discourse, this element is not incompatible. My analytic procedure thus also included asking questions about how texts were shaped.

Table 4.2 sets out what I refer to here as ‘text-shaping moves’, along with the questions I paid attention to, and some examples of the devices through which these moves were realised.

Table 4.2 Text-shaping moves

Text-shaping moves	Guiding questions	Devices
Interaction moves	How is the text (co-)produced within social interaction?	<p>Taking or relinquishing 'the floor'</p> <p>Setting out expectations for who can speak to whom (e.g. asking students to work in groups, or maintaining whole class interaction)</p> <p>Avoidance strategies through which interaction could be minimised</p>
Code moves	What codes can be identified within a text? How many are used? How do these codes pattern together?	<p>The presence of one or more languages within a text</p> <p>Clear separation between codes, or the fluid use of features from different codes, within a text</p>
Paralinguistic moves	What non-linguistic features accompany the linguistic features within the production of a spoken text?	Hesitation, changes of volume, or the use of gestures within the production of a text
Visual moves	What non-linguistic features accompany the linguistic features within a written text?	Shape, colour, size, layout of texts
Locational moves	Where do activities, rules, norms apply or take place? Where are texts and social actors located?	<p>The physical location of school rules and notices</p> <p>Spaces within schools to which the rules apply</p> <p>Proximity of the teacher within a group activity in the classroom</p>
Temporal moves	When do activities, rules, norms apply or take place? What time constraints are posed?	<p>Frequency of public reminders about the use of language</p> <p>Times of day to which the rules apply</p>

These text-shaping moves helped me to examine a number of other aspects that work alongside (or in apparent contradiction to) the strictly linguistic elements of the discourse. Paying attention to these non-verbal aspects, as Blommaert (2012, p.7) notes, “compel[s] us towards historicizing sociolinguistic analysis”, given that any discourse is a social activity (and any physical space is

a social space) that has come into being through a history of semiotic activity. Paying attention to interaction, code, paralinguistic, visual, locational and temporal moves provides additional categories through which I can begin to understand how the object of study – here, language policy – is “the outcome of historical processes of becoming” (Blommaert, 2012, p.16). Attention to such aspects thus provides one procedure through which the sense of history (Blommaert, 2005a) can be incorporated within DHA.

4.3.4 Making connections within and beyond the data

Having identified what was said and how it was said, the next step was to draw connections between the topics, strategies and moves, in order to “locate varying contexts and areas in which different issues become prominent and different experiences are gathered (at the ‘real-life level)’” (Krzyżanowski, 2008 p.175). I needed to build up an understanding of how the very small observations I had made fed into and were bound up in the policy network, as an attempt to interpret the claims made about language(s) with reference to the complex phenomenon of policy.

One aspect of this work was to draw connections between the different parts of the data set itself. Again, NVivo was helpful in keeping track of the way similar topics were dealt with in data associated with different participants (e.g. teachers and students), in different groups (e.g. Anglophones and Francophones), at different locations (e.g. at the Ministry of Education and on Ambae), and in different types of text (e.g. policy documents and interviews). This also enabled me to see connections between different discourse topics. For example, I could see that the discourse topic of ‘learning both English and French’ was linked both to ‘economic opportunities’ and to ‘feelings of pride and regret’, and I began to see patterns across the interview data in the way arguments invoking the latter would often be reformulated in terms of the former. As well as helping me organise the ‘overall story’ into the four thematic strands identified above, such connections gave me insights into potential spaces for change (as well as the lack thereof).

A more important aspect of this work was to draw connections with topics and discourses beyond my immediate data set, in order to identify where some of

these ideas and arguments were coming from. This interest stems from awareness I built up through my fieldnotes that all participants were doing and saying what seemed perfectly rational, which seemed to go against my reasons for starting out on the research in the first place. I wrote the following memo shortly after returning from the second period of fieldwork (20/12/11):

Extract 4.1

It has really struck me how much sense everyone has made in every interview – students, teachers, principals and MoE officials all seem to be saying something that sounds rational, well thought out, relevant etc. I also saw fantastic teaching from all teachers, apart from possibly in language subjects.

So why do I have a picture of utter chaos and why is it so easy to ridicule what's going on?

- *What seems strange to outsiders has come to be normal? e.g. Sending some children to each school for the collective good of the family.*
- *Everybody talking sense but different sense at different times? Particularly at the Ministry, individuals seem to draw on own personal thinking and personal experience. There is no commitment to a party line, despite the fact that many employees have been there for a very long time.*

In this memo, I suggest two possible explanations to account for why I started out looking at contestation, but found that everybody seemed to be doing something rational. The first is that my ability to consider the 'big picture' (as I did when I started the research) provides a different version of events to what I see when I come back into the everyday realities of school and look at much smaller parts of the whole. This links to Bourdieu's (1990) 'logic of practice', in which he notes the need to separate the analyst's and the practitioner's views of practice, given the totality implied by the work of the former. Individual teachers, policymakers, and so on, will never address the 'whole' within a single instance, even if they do address each part of the whole at different points in time. In order to avoid the analytic totality that I have access to, I need to keep remembering the operation of individual parts. (I also note that my outsider perspective complicates my view. See 4.4.1).

The second explanation I give is that my participants make sense of different aspects of what we talked about in different ways, without there necessarily being a conflict of interests. Recent work on identity would argue that "people

do orient towards entirely different logics in different segments of life”
(Blommaert & Varis, 2011, p.2). As Blommaert and Varis note:

An individual life-project so becomes a dynamic (i.e. perpetually adjustable) complex of micro-hegemonies within which subjects situate their practices and behavior. Such complexes – we can call them a ‘repertoire’ – are not chaotic, and people often are not at all ‘confused’ or ‘ambivalent’ about their choices, nor appear to be ‘caught between’ different cultures or ‘contradict themselves’ when speaking about different topics. The complex of micro-hegemonies just provides a different type of order, a complex order composed of different niches of ordered behavior and discourses about behavior. (p.3)

I therefore try to put aside my original perceptions of ‘chaos’ and look, instead, at what is logical. I examine participants’ arguments with the assumption that they base these on what they consider to be rational in that instance. I can later look at points of conflict that may occur between the different ‘logics’, but I try to postpone this interest in contradiction. Consideration of each of *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity*, *recontextualisation* and *topoi* enables me to do this. Each of these elements will be introduced briefly here.

Intertextuality can be defined as the links between different texts, which may include reference within one text to the topic of another, or elements within one text that purport to report on what was said in another (Wodak, 2008, p.3). For example, Vanuatu education strategies make reference to earlier texts, such as the constitution or education acts, but also to contemporary texts such as those of supranational agencies. Texts may include direct quotations from other sources, citations of evidence such as from international research, and reference to summits at which policy was discussed.

Interdiscursivity can be defined as the links between discourses (Blommaert, 2005a), or “the presence or trace of one discourse within another” (C. Lewis & Ketter, 2011, p.129, drawing on Fairclough, 1992). For example, the current widespread global discourse of ‘Education for All’ (UNESCO, 1990, 2000) reveals the presence of a discourse of human rights that is prevalent in a number of other contemporary discourses, as well a discourse of education for economic development, associated with early language planning attempts. Identifying such traces gives me an indication of the wider discourses to which

participants have been exposed, and thus insights into how their viewpoints may be being shaped as one aspect of the production and reproduction of language policy.

A process that helps ground and make sense of the identification of these intertextual and interdiscursive links is *recontextualisation*. This is defined by Fairclough (2003, p.222, drawing on Bernstein, 1990) as “a matter of how elements of one social practice are appropriated by, relocated in the context of, another”. Wodak (2008, p.3) considers this a form of intertextuality, as it is the “transfer of main arguments from one text into the next ... restating it in a new context”. The key variable is the new context in which the argument is relocated, “thus adding new metapragmatic frames to the text” (Blommaert, 2005a, p.254). Blackledge (2005, pp.12-13) demonstrates the potential effects of this process, examining the way discourse can gain power and legitimacy as arguments are transformed in increasingly authoritative settings along chains of discourse until they become non-negotiable. Thus, looking out for similar chains of discourse enables me to look at how directives about language in Vanuatu’s schools have been recontextualised from official Ministry of Education guidelines to school rules to everyday policing practices.

Topoi are means of argumentation that often take prominence in DHA analyses. They can be defined as “generally used and generally accepted arguments, also called commonplaces” (Wodak & Krzyżanowski, 2008, p.208). Their three key features are that they are the “conclusion rules” that are used to explain or justify arguments made; that they draw on “common sense reasoning”; and that they have “occurred elsewhere” (Blackledge, 2005, p.67-8). This usage follows the work of Wodak and others (e.g. Wodak & Meyer, 2001, following Kienpointner, 1992). The identification of such common sense argumentation enables me to consider how my participants seemed to put forward coherent arguments that either drew explicitly on what had been said in other contexts, or that were familiar to me from elsewhere.

The process by which I have identified topoi is inductive, based on justifications given for arguments within the data. I examine claims that appear to be logically connected back to some evidence or rationale, and consider whether the

conclusion rule that makes this connection is recognisable as having occurred elsewhere, as represented in Figure 4.1.

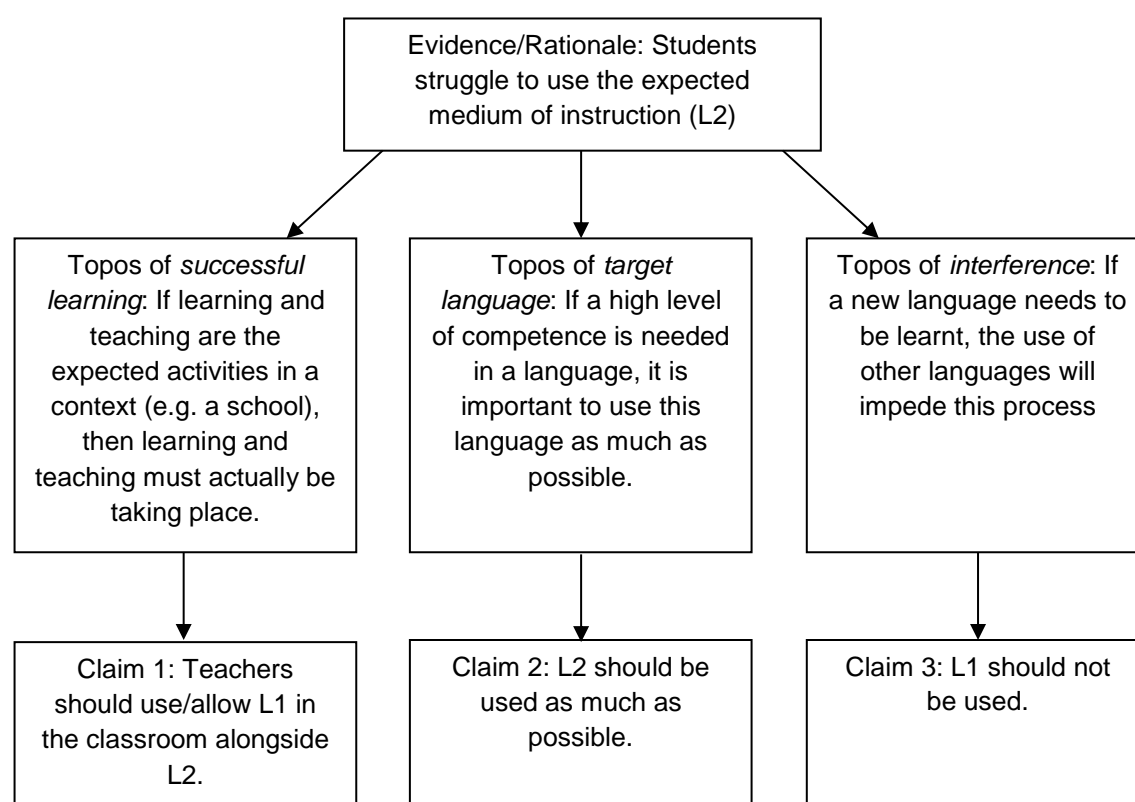


Figure 4.1 An example of three different topoi

Teachers referred frequently to students struggling to learn through L2, which is labelled as the evidence or rationale in Figure 4.1. However, a number of different claims were made by participants in reaction to this same concern, three of which are included in the diagram. The first claim, that L1 should be used alongside L2, was used by teachers in arguing that they had to do whatever they could to ensure that the students could understand. They appeared to draw on the common sense reasoning that it was their duty, as teachers, to ensure that learning took place, and this is a conclusion rule recognisable from specific contexts such as teacher training or development, as well as general contexts such as media or public discourse about the duty of teachers and schools. However, this logic is in a certain amount of tension with the second and third claims, that L2 should be used as much as possible, and that L1 should be used as little as possible, in attempt to improve students'

competence in L2. These claims resonate with longstanding issues within the field of Second Language Acquisition about exposure to the target language, and interference, or negative transfer (Sharwood Smith, 1994). The teachers may or may not be aware of these as SLA perspectives, but they appear to be making reasoned arguments that draw on the same principles.

The identification of topoi enables me to focus on what 'conclusion rules' are employed by the different participants, and where else these arguments have been made, in order to see the extent to which arguments (or conflicts between different arguments) may be closing down ideological and implementational spaces for alternative practices. Table 4.3 lists the different topoi that are identified within the data.

Table 4.3 Topoi used in the study

Claim or argument made in the data	Rationale given for this argument	Topos that links the argument to the rationale	Other contexts in which this topos can be identified
Only L2 (and/or) L3 should be used in the classroom.	L2 (and/or L3) is the language in which books and exams are written.	<i>Successful learning:</i> If learning and teaching are the expected activities in a context (e.g. a school), then learning and teaching must actually be taking place.	Used with reference to any kind of teaching context (typical of the discourse of teacher education texts, policy texts, professional discourse within school contexts, and public discourse about education)
It is sometimes necessary to use L1 in the classroom in order to ensure understanding.	Students often struggle to learn through L2.		
It doesn't matter which language is used as long as learning is successful.	Language is just a tool through which knowledge can be transmitted.		

Claim	Rationale	Topos	Other contexts
L2 should be used at all times in school.	Students need to be able to understand and express themselves in L2 (particularly since this is the medium of instruction).	<i>Target language:</i> If a high level of competence is needed in a language, it is important to use this language as much as possible.	Language teaching contexts (particularly those influenced by the principles of Communicative Language Teaching) Language teaching contexts
L1 should not be used at all in school.	Students need to speak the 'correct' version of L2.	<i>Interference:</i> If a new language needs to be learnt, the use of other languages will impede this process.	
Bislama should not be used at all in (particularly Anglophone) schools.	Bislama and English share many lexical similarities.		Typical of discourses specifically about pidgins and creoles, in which "L1" has lexical similarities to "L2"
Francophones can pick up English very easily.		<i>Positive transfer:</i> If two languages are closely-related, knowledge of the first will make it easier to learn the second.	Discourses about certain languages being easier to learn than others, based on similarities with L1

Claim	Rationale	Topos	Other contexts
Bislama cannot be used for teaching.	Bislama has a limited range of lexical items.	<i>Linguistic adequacy</i> : A language must have a sufficiently developed and stable lexical range before it can be used for teaching and learning.	Discourses about stigmatised linguistic varieties, such as pidgins, creoles and minority dialects
	Bislama does not have direct lexical equivalents of all English (and French) words.		
	The lexical stock of Bislama is constantly changing.		
The Vanuatu government should create more opportunities for Francophones.	Francophones currently have fewer opportunities than Anglophones to find jobs or scholarships, and there is no regional Francophone curriculum for senior secondary students.	<i>Equality</i> : A service that is provided for citizens must be available equally to all citizens.	Discourses of democracy
The University of the South Pacific and South Pacific Board of Education & Assessment should cater for Francophones as well as Anglophones.			

Claim	Rationale	Topos	Other contexts
Languages such as English and French should be learnt.	Languages such as English and French are needed for jobs, scholarships, mobility and wider communication.	<i>International languages:</i> If certain languages are considered to open up opportunities that cannot be accessed without knowledge of these languages, they should be learnt.	Instrumental discourses of language learning for greater economic opportunities and mobility
Both English and French are important to learn.	English is used for some jobs, scholarships, mobility and communication opportunities, while French is used for others.	<i>Double opportunity:</i> if one element provides opportunities, then two such elements must provide twice these opportunities.	
English/French 'bilingualism' should be encouraged to avoid the need for translation and duplication.	The current dual-medium system is inefficient and costly, due to duplications in training, materials and personnel, the complexities of teacher postings, and the need for translation.	<i>Efficiency:</i> If actions reduce cost and inefficiency, these measures should be taken.	Typical of discourse in management and economics (prevalent in Structural Adjustment programmes)

Claim	Rationale	Topos	Other contexts
Traditional languages and cultures must be preserved.	Traditional languages and cultures have existed in the islands that are now Vanuatu since they were first populated.	<i>Heritage</i> : If something has historical value, then it must be retained.	Discourses of endangered cultures and languages
English and French must be preserved.	English and French have a long history in Vanuatu.		
Speaking both English and French is a part of a ni-Vanuatu identity.	English and French are no longer colonial languages.	<i>Postcolonial national identity</i> : If a nation exists, it must be different from any previous (colonial) condition in which it was not recognised as a nation.	Discourses typical of emerging new nations, or nations that need to re-establish the values and attributes considered important
	Vanuatu is the only country in the Pacific to use both English and French.	<i>Unique national identity</i> : If a nation exists, it must be different from other nations.	
	English and French have been spoken for a long time in the land.	<i>Traditional national identity</i> : If a nation exists, it must have historical foundations.	
	English and French unite all ni-Vanuatu.	<i>United national identity</i> : If a nation exists, its people must be united as a common people of that nation.	

4.4 My position in the research and in the thesis

I have already outlined the extent to which I was known to participants, both on Ambae and at the Ministry of Education. It is likely that they will have held perceptions about who I was and what I represented, which may have affected the way they reacted towards me, answered my questions, and so on. Most obviously, I am white, and therefore stand out as a foreigner, albeit one who has spent a lot of time on Ambae. I am also English-speaking, British, Anglican, and a former teacher of English at Angolovo College, all of which might have marked me out as being associated with one 'side' of the research problem. I cannot change this, and can only attempt to be reflexive about any issues arising from who I am. At the same time, I consider any reactions to these factors to be revealing of the extent to which they were important. Below I discuss the extent to which each factor appeared significant.

4.4.1 My foreigner problem?

There were certainly times when students, in particular, drew attention to my foreignness. For example, one evening at Collège de Faranako, I was drawing water from the school well when a girl left the classroom in which she was supposed to be doing her homework, because she wanted to check that I had been able to get enough water. She was being helpful, but managed to make it clear that she didn't think I could manage by myself, thereby highlighting my outsider-ness. In terms of my work, however, it is hard to separate being a foreigner from being a researcher, since the latter is not a role that the school participants were particularly familiar with. Research in Melanesia has a far longer association with Western than local interests, as summarised by Tonkinson (2011). The combination of what I looked like and what I was doing doubly marked me out as an outsider.

There has long been a question of whether an 'outsider' to a context can gain understanding of the culture under study. One way to deal with this issue is with the logic that "an inside view is not the only view and that there is no single inside view, anymore than there can be a single outside one" (Wolcott, 1995, p.131). The researcher's version of what is happening does not represent some kind of 'reality'; it can only be considered one of many possible interpretations.

Indeed, my prior experience in my context gives me a slightly different 'view' from one I might have had if beginning fieldwork in a new place.

Canagarajah (2006) also notes a problem created by the traditional ethnographic attempt to prioritise the 'insider view' as the correct way of understanding. He gives an example of local preferences that might exist for discarding traditional languages in favour of those associated with economic mobility and asks, "should the ethnographer simply validate these views in the interest of articulating the native perspective?" (p.163). A similar issue in my study is the denigration of Bislama as a language, which is a position that I do not want to validate. Canagarajah's solution is for researchers to "move beyond passively listening to the local informant [to] conduct a reflexive rethinking of their own and the informant's positions", enabling both parties "to interrogate conflicting viewpoints on language relationships from a macro-social perspective" (p.164). I consider that recognising the negative perceptions of the language held by 'insiders', without necessarily validating them, is a necessary step in working out whether or to what extent Bislama might play a part in education.

4.4.2 My Anglophone problem?

Two concerns here were whether I would be perceived as 'on the English side' (i.e. potentially anti French), and whether I would have sufficient competence in French, which is for me a foreign language.

Although concerned initially about being identified as English-speaking, I felt that my position as a researcher in this particular study actually created a different role for me than I had expected. I was an Anglophone who was interested in French or, for some people, an Anglophone who *spoke* French. For example, the principal of Collège de Faranako complimented me on the French I had used in letters I had written prior to the fieldwork and when introducing myself to the students, saying explicitly "blong wan Anglophone i yusum French" [for an Anglophone to use French] (fieldnotes 2/3/11; 17/3/11). Similarly, the French teacher at Angolovo asked me to teach a Year 11 French class. She wanted to use me as an example of an Anglophone who speaks French, to encourage her students that it was possible (5/5/11). Despite me

having to do very little to actually prove this competence in French, I was constantly told that it was surprising or good that someone like me ‘knew’ French.

Regardless of the way I was perceived, my actual language competence did have some effect on the way I conducted the research. I am a native speaker of English, I am a near-fluent speaker of Bislama, and I am an intermediate-level speaker of French. Although I have studied Pacific Linguistics, and therefore have a good understanding of the structure and typology of the vernaculars of Vanuatu, I do not speak either of the languages of Ambae. I felt confident introducing my research and explaining questionnaires to students in the medium of instruction at each school, but I was concerned that my French would not be sufficient for talking about a range of less predictable topics outside the classroom. I worried that my competence might affect participants’ language choice in reaction, and I did not want Francophones to switch from French to Bislama for my benefit.

However, as will be outlined in Chapter 5, Bislama dominated spoken interaction at both schools, apart from in the classroom and in official situations. It therefore seemed appropriate that I used Bislama for much of the time at both schools, and I conducted all interviews in this language. I also found few difficulties in understanding the French of the Francophone teachers when observing lessons. In fact, Extract 4.2 from my fieldnotes demonstrates an advantage I felt I gained by having a less than perfect knowledge of French:

Extract 4.2

10.55: I’ve been in class since about 8.00 listening to French and trying to write notes. I’ve learnt about force and pressure, grammatical agreement of French subjects and verbs, the Holy Trinity, and breeds of cattle. I’m zoning out, possibly after not enough sleep. Tells me what it’s like to be a student as the French is easy to understand if I force myself to focus but it’s v. easy to let it wash over me.
(17/3/11)

I realised that I was gaining an understanding of what is like to learn through an L2, which I hadn’t fully appreciated whilst teaching at Angolovo College. I was an adult who already knew much of what students were learning for the first time, and I had a vested interest in concentrating as hard as I could for the

purpose of my research. Even in this situation, and even when there were few occasions on which I felt I lacked vocabulary, I still found it incredibly tiring to focus on understanding what the teachers were saying for such a long period of time and about so many different subjects in succession.

4.4.3 My British problem?

Strangers would often assume I was from Australia or New Zealand. The only reaction to finding out that I was British was usually that I had come from further away than expected. Throughout my fieldnotes, I recorded only three instances in which Britishness was explicitly mentioned. The first occurred near Collège de Faranako:

Extract 4.3

En route to the store, an olfala sitting outside his house called out to me and wanted to know whether I spoke English or French, and then where I was from. He told me all about meeting the Queen in 1974 and shaking hands with her on the 200 year anniversary of Captain Cook's arrival. (23/3/11)

In the second, an Anglophone teacher revealed his opinion that British standards of education had been high, although he had actually been born after Independence:

Extract 4.4

Mr Anton said today that he was proud to have been educated at the former British primary school at Sarakata and then Malapoa (originally called British Secondary School), making specific ref to British education. (23/3/11)

In the third reference, from an episode in an interview, another Anglophone teacher explains that she thinks English is more widely spoken than French, since there were more areas colonised by the British. On this occasion, she reveals a negative association with Britain, and draws attention to the fact that this is where I am from:

Extract 4.5

Like we know English through (.) like (.) <turns to me> no offence (.) British colonising Vanuatu.

From these examples, it can be seen that my Britishness triggered a number of different reactions. Unlike my interest in French, discussed in 4.4.2, there was

no consistent theme that emerged here, and I did not feel that any particular issue was caused within my research.

4.4.4 My Anglican problem?

Religion appeared to raise no issue at all. Angolovo College is an Anglican school, while Collège de Faranako is Catholic. However, 44% of students at the former were a denomination other than Anglican, while 47% of those at the latter were a denomination other than Catholic (all were listed as belonging to some Christian denomination). I attended Church services at both schools and, while non-attendance might have marked me out in some way, I do not believe that the specific denomination created any issue. Indeed, the Catholic priest responsible for the community in which Collège de Faranako is situated was always one of the more eager community members to *storian* with me about language and education issues, and he was keen to point out that English and French were not tied to being Anglican and Catholic. He insisted that he was a 'bilingual' Catholic (by which he means knowing both English and French), rather than 'Francophone' (fieldnotes 17/3/11).

4.4.5 My (English) teacher problem?

A benefit of my previous role as a teacher was that my interest in education made sense to participants. It was easier to explain that I was asking about language(s) because of the relevance for education policy, rather than simply out of curiosity. My background also meant that I was very familiar with both one of the schools and the (Anglophone stream of the) education system, thus making me more of an 'insider' than I might otherwise have been.

The fact I had previously taught English, in particular, might have positioned me 'in favour of' this language, potentially influencing participants' voicing of opinions about language. Whilst collecting the data, I did not feel any sense of this from any of my participants, and this has been something I have been more aware of whilst writing the thesis. For example, when writing about the two school languages together, I have decided to be consistent in writing 'English and French' rather than 'French and English'. I am aware that my interpretations may be read as those of an 'Anglophone'. However, as the research has

progressed, it has become less about English *versus* French, and more about their *co-existence*.

4.4.6 Making use of the ‘problems’

As Hymes (1996, p.13) notes, “since partiality cannot be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in interpretation”. The impact of the researcher on what is observed is not necessarily disadvantageous, however. As Emerson et al. (1995, p.3) state, “relationships between the field researcher and people in the setting do not so much disrupt or alter ongoing patterns of social interaction as reveal the terms and bases on which people form social ties in the first place”. Through understanding the way participants react to my presence – as a foreigner, as a teacher, as an Anglophone, and so on – I can begin to uncover several aspects of the way language(s) are conceptualised. For example, the following incident was recorded in my fieldnotes:

Extract 4.6

Heard one student outside a classroom at break time call out “stop speaking in Bislama” [in English] at another student inside the class. This is the first time I’ve heard any such directive from either a student or a teacher. He was definitely speaking in a jokey way and I assume it was purely for my benefit as I walked past. (11/3/11)

I am in no doubt that this student was reacting to my proximity, rather than doing what he would have done ‘naturally’. However, this tells me something about the way students believe they are expected to behave, and about the way adults or teachers may influence students’ language use, as much as it interrupts the activity. It gives me an insight into the regulation of language at Angolovo College.

It is rarely possible to be so sure of the extent to which my presence affected an interaction. However, since I have previously taught at one of the schools, I had some knowledge of the dynamics of an ‘unresearched’ situation. I also sometimes asked participants whether something I had observed had seemed usual. For example, when language policy was an item on the agenda at an Angolovo College staff meeting, I asked whether my presence had influenced this. The principal laughed and said that my research had made him think about

language while he had been writing the agenda, but that he would normally include the item anyway at the start of the year. From my previous experience, I believe this is true.

A further consideration in this particular case study is the effect created by me physically moving between the Anglophone and Francophone schools. This became advantageous since it provided a topic of discussion through which participants talked about the dual-language system, their opinions of members of the other school community, and their attitudes towards the two European languages. This provided more natural starting points for discussions than decontextualised questions about English and French. However, if I had been carrying out fieldwork at one site only, it is possible that the other school or L3 would not have been mentioned at all in informal conversations, and opinions would only have been elicited through direct questioning.

4.4.7 Ethics

I have tried hard throughout to ensure that my participants have understood exactly what participation involves for them, both at the time, and after the event. There are a number of issues that arose.

The first was ensuring that participants who gave consent to use their data appreciated how far it would 'travel', via international conferences and, particularly, through publications accessible on the Internet. When I explained to school participants that people at both the Vanuatu Ministry of Education and the University of the South Pacific had read a paper that I had published from my previous school research in Vanuatu, without me sending it to them, they were very surprised. I believe they had understood my request to carry out research to mean that I would use their data in order to complete my PhD, but had not understood the nature of the academic community in which I would also participate. In particular, I felt they had thought I would take their data 'back to England', at which point it was far enough away that it didn't matter. Having realised this, I spent a lot of time explaining exactly what I meant by asking to

take a photograph or write down participants' opinions and words. See Appendix IV for a copy of the information posters I made use of to do this.

A second issue relating to consent was fulfilling university requirements to obtain signed consent forms, while ensuring that I really was being given consent. On quite a few occasions, potential participants would tell me in advance that they were willing to take part, but then would fail to turn up at the appointed time. Regardless of whether I thought they had forgotten or been held up for some reason, I made a point of never trying to find them or asking them later why they had not come. I decided that their physical presence was a far more reliable method of judging willingness to participate than the signing of a form. For this reason, I made sure that we dealt with formalities regarding consent at least the day before any interview or classroom observation.

The final issue has been my inability to hide the identity of the two case study schools. There are only 57 Anglophone secondary schools and 27 Francophone secondary schools in the whole country, and the only way to ensure anonymity would be to give no contextual detail at all about the schools or their locations. As soon as I give information about the age range of pupils, the number of vernaculars spoken on the island, and the religious affiliation of each school, their identity is immediately obvious. The people from whom it might be considered most necessary to protect schools' identities are those at the Ministry of Education. However, given that I am known to many employees there, and it is well known which school I used to teach at, my own name on the thesis is just as likely to reveal the identities of the schools.

For this reason, and with full permission from the principal and teachers of the two schools, I have chosen to be explicit about the location of the two schools, so that I am able to give this type of contextual information which is so relevant to the way language(s) are talked about. The individual identities of all students are anonymised (where individual interviewees are referred to, names beginning with 'A' and 'F' have been chosen for students at Angolovo and Faranako, respectively. The names of teachers are never used (pseudonyms beginning with either 'A' or 'F', and prefixed by Mr, Mrs, Miss, Mme or Mlle have

been used⁶), but there are some occasions on which I have referred to, for example, 'the French teacher' or 'a teacher at the Anglophone school who was educated in the Francophone system', thus making it possible to trace their identities. For the same reason, holders of unique positions such as the principal of each school, as well as holders of specific posts at the Ministry of Education, can easily be identified. However, despite these concerns, I am confident that the data I present is not of a sensitive nature, and does not implicate any participants, professionally or otherwise.

4.4.8 Representations of different 'languages'

Interview transcripts can be found in Appendices XI-XXI. As the principal language used for all interviews was Bislama, albeit incorporating elements of English and/or French, two versions of each transcript are given: the first is a representation of the original words that were spoken (labelled with uppercase Roman numerals), while the second is an English translation (labelled with the corresponding lowercase numerals). Thus, the reference (XI:170-5/xi:159-63) after an extract in the main body indicates that the extract comes from lines 170-5 in the original version of the Angolovo Student interview (Appendix XI), and that its translation can be found in lines 159-63 of Appendix xi.

The transcripts are understood to be representations that are neither natural nor objective (Roberts, 1997), so I try to make explicit the decisions I have taken in their composition. A particular issue I have faced is deciding whether to represent a phrase, word or morpheme as 'Bislama' or 'English', given the lexical similarities between the languages. Blackledge and Creese's (2010) solution is to use the same font for the transcription of resources from all languages, thereby avoiding such boundaries. However, the practical task remains of choosing which orthography to use, since different orthographic systems are used in Standard Bislama and Standard English. Attempts to establish consistent 'rules' to determine when I will write one phrase as Bislama and another as English appear to resist the very essence that 'flexible

⁶ It is common practice for teachers to be referred to by their title and first name, e.g. Miss Agnes, Mr Felix.

bilingualism' encompasses. I discuss some of the choices available and their implications in a conference paper (Willans, 2012), included in Appendix XXII.

5 Language as the emblem of a school

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers how language contributes to the construction of appropriate school behaviour, enabling students and teachers to act as members of that school. It examines the way one language is constructed as appropriate at each school – English at Angolovo College and French at Collège de Faranako – through the existence of publicly displayed school rules, a range of practices that demonstrate the idealisation of L2 only, and the construction of a far more draconian version of rules and punishment than is really the case. However, it will be suggested that, despite this construction of a strictly-enforced policy, brief displays of L2 appear to suffice in enacting institutionally appropriate behaviour without interrupting the heteroglossic flow of daily life.

5.2 Policy on the noticeboards

5.2.1 The existence of school language rules

Both schools include a section on language in their school rules, integrated with other aspects of behaviour. These rules were displayed on the school noticeboards. The relevant extract from each set is highlighted in Extract 5.1 and Extract 5.2⁷.

⁷ The words themselves will be discussed in detail in 5.2.2, at which point a translation of Extract 5.2 will be given.

Extract 5.1 from Angolovo College rules

student. The college management has the right to confiscate these items and return them to the owner at the end of the school term.

- 1.6 Students are to rise on their feet when the flag is raised or lowered as a sign of respect.
- 1.7 Students are expected to be considerate and courteous to fellow students, to their teachers and visitors to the College. Every student is expected to show good manners, such as politeness and kindness to all of the above mentioned at all times.
- 1.8 Time wasting Games such as playing cards, playing coins and spear throwing are not permitted in the College.
- 1.9 Students are not allowed to posses mobile phones in this college. The college management has the right to confiscate these items and returned them to the owner at the end of the school term

2 LANGUAGE

- a) Foul languages are not allowed in the College at any time.
- b) English and French and **or** any other approved languages are the only approved languages are the only languages allowed to be used during school terms, in the College compound.
- c) Vernacular languages or Bislama may be used during the holidays, cultural activities, when authorized by the College for special purpose and when conversing with outsiders.
- d) Bislama is not allowed at all times, except when conversing with outsiders and during concerts only.

3 FIGHTING OR BULLYING OTHERS IN THE COLLEGE

- a) Fighting or bullying other students and use of inappropriate gesture to others in the **College** is not allowed. Anyone who fails to comply with this rule will be dealt with seriously.
- b) Paragraph. 3.1.(above) also applies to threats – that is any intentional attempt to hurt another student, whether it be by foul language as in paragraph.2.1 or physically using dangerous items.
- c) No student shall threatened, insult, abuse or injure any member of the College Community or visitors to the College.
- d) Students are not allowed to involve outsiders in matters that will put student's security at

Extract 5.2 from Collège de Faranako rules

4.6 L'étude supplémentaire pendant le week-end et pendant l'heure de la sieste est autorisée.

5. La langue de communication

- 5.1 Pendant les journées de classe, les élèves s'expriment en français de 6h30 à 12h20, de 13h15 à 15h30 ainsi que pendant les heures d'étude.
- 5.2 Pendant les horaires non-mentionné ci-dessus et pendant les week-ends les élèves peuvent se communiquer dans les autres langues de leurs choix.
- 5.3 La communication entre les élèves et les professeurs ne se feront uniquement qu'en français sauf à la résidence d'un professeur.
- 5.4 Pendant les périodes d'études, dans des situations difficiles, la communication peut se faire en bichlamar.

6. La formation spirituelle

- 6.1 Tout élève est obligé de participer à la prière.
- 6.2 La visite à l'église est libre à chacun.
- 6.3 Les prières personnelles sont encouragés.

7. Les scolarités

- 7.1 Elles varient d'une année à l'autre suivant la situation de l'établissement en fonction de ses besoins.
- 7.2 La scolarité ne comprend les autres frais.
- 7.3 Tout élève doit se présenter avec ses droits de scolarités le jour ou il arrive à l'internat.
- 7.4 Les frais de scolarités peuvent se régler de différentes manières.

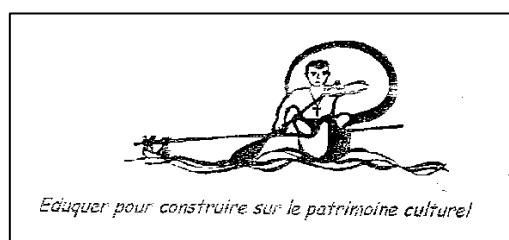
8. La formation humaine

Les responsables d'internat s'assurent que les élèves apprennent à être autonomes. Ils doivent pouvoir :

Since language is listed as one aspect of appropriate behaviour, it becomes part of the construction of what it means to be a member of a school. The rules exist as official texts, which are displayed on school noticeboards. Through their physical placing in prominent spaces, as well as the words they contain, language becomes a public symbol of appropriate behaviour, alongside other institutional symbols such as school uniforms and the mottos and crests displayed on school entrance boards, official notices, and letterheads (Picture 5.1 and Picture 5.2).



Picture 5.1 Angolovo crest and motto



Picture 5.2 Faranako crest and motto

5.2.2 From the Ministry to the noticeboards

The school rules derive from Ministry of Education guidelines (1998a, 1998b). I am interested in the way each school constructs certain languages as appropriate for use, so begin by comparing the school rules with these guidelines, in order to examine the choices each school has made. I therefore examine the way different elements of the Ministry's guidelines have been recontextualised within the school rules.

I find it helpful to separate three key components: reference to the languages themselves (with a particular focus on the nomination strategies used); the nature of the directives that state how these languages should be used (paying particular attention to intensification and mitigation of such directives, as well as explicit argumentation strategies); and the domains in which these directives are intended to apply (i.e. focusing on locational moves). Table 5.1 gives both language versions of the Ministry guidelines, while Table 5.2 and Table 5.3 give the school rules. These tables are organised according to these three components.

Table 5.1 Ministry of Education guidelines⁸

	(Directive)	Language	(Directive)	Domain
1	<i>Teachers and students must use</i>	<i>the medium of instruction of the school</i>		
	<i>Les élèves et enseignants doivent suivre les instructions de l'école</i> [Pupils and teachers must follow the school rules]			
2	<i>All information and notices must be in</i>	<i>the language of instruction of the school</i>		
	<i>Toutes notes et informations seront communiquées (orales et/ou par écrit) dans</i> [All notices and information must be communicated (orally and/or in writing) in]	<i>la langue d'enseignement</i> [the language of instruction]		

⁸ A number of differences between the two versions of the Ministry guidelines suggest a translation from the English version to the French version. For example, it is more likely that 'medium of instruction' from the English version has been mistranslated as 'les instructions de l'école' (school directives) than the other way round, given that the guideline appears under the sub-heading of 'Language'.

	(Directive)	Language	(Directive)	Domain
3		<i>English and French</i>	<i>should be used interchangeably where possible, in order to create competency in both languages</i>	
	<i>Afin de mieux maîtriser chaque langue, encourager</i> [In order to improve each language, encourage]	<i>les langues d'enseignement</i> [the languages of instruction]		<i>dans les échanges inter-élèves</i> [in inter-pupil interaction]
4		<i>French</i>	<i>must be encouraged, taught, and learnt</i>	<i>in English-speaking schools</i>
		<i>English</i>	<i>must be encouraged, taught, and learnt</i>	<i>in French-speaking schools</i>
		<i>Le français</i> [French] <i>L'anglais</i> [English]	<i>sera enseigné et utilisé</i> [must be taught and used] <i>il en sera de même</i> [should be the same]	<i>dans les écoles de langue anglaise</i> [in English-medium schools] <i>dans les écoles de langue française</i> [in French-medium schools]

	(Directive)	Language	(Directive)	Domain
5		<i>Local languages</i>	<i>should be used only</i>	<i>at the week-ends or out of schools hours</i>
		<i>Les dialectes ainsi que le Bislama</i> [Dialects and Bislama]	<i>seront seulement autorisés</i> [are only authorised]	<i>en fin de semaine</i> [at weekends]
6		<i>(Bislama)</i>	<i>Although Bislama is an official, national language, it is not a language of instruction. Where possible it should not be used,</i> <i>However, punishment is probably inappropriate, in view of human rights views on indigenous languages</i>	<i>when either English or French is appropriate</i>
		<i>(Le Bislama)</i>	<i>Bien que le Bislama soit une langue nationale officielle, elle n'est pas une langue d'enseignement ; elle ne doit pas être utilisée dans des écoles afin d'éviter l'appauvrissement de la langue d'enseignement.</i> [Although Bislama is an official national language, it is not a language of instruction; it should not be used in schools in order to prevent negative effects on (lit. the impoverishment of) the language of instruction.] <i>Toutefois, il faut éviter de punir les élèves qui enfreignent cette règle, mais plutôt leur expliquer le bien-être de cette interdiction.</i> [However, pupils who break this rule should not be punished, rather the purpose of this ban should be explained to them.]	

Table 5.2 Angolovo College language rules⁹

	Language(s)	Directive	Domain(s)
a	<i>Foul languages</i>	<i>are not allowed</i>	<i>in the College at any time.</i>
b	<i>English and French and or any other approved languages</i>	<i>are the only approved languages are the only languages allowed to be used</i>	<i>during school terms, in the College compound.</i>
c	<i>Vernacular languages or Bislama</i>	<i>may be used</i>	<i>during the holidays, cultural activities, when authorized by the College for special purpose and when conversing with outsiders.</i>
d	<i>Bislama</i>	<i>is not allowed</i>	<i>at all times, except when conversing with outsiders and during concerts only.</i>

Table 5.3 Collège de Faranako language rules

	Directive	Language(s)	Domain(s)
1	<i>les élèves s'expriment en</i> [students should speak in]	<i>français</i> [French]	<i>Pendant les journées de classe ... de 6h30 à 12h20, de 13h15 à 15h30 ainsi que pendant les heures d'étude.</i> [During school days ... from 6.30 to 12.20, from 13.15 to 15.30, and during study periods.]
2	<i>les élèves peuvent se communiquer dans</i> [students can communicate in]	<i>les autres langues de leurs choix.</i> [other languages of their choice.]	<i>Pendant les horaires non-mentionné ci-dessus et pendant les week-ends</i> [Outside the hours mentioned above and during weekends]
3	<i>La communication ... ne se feront uniquement qu'en</i> [Communication ... should be only in]	<i>français</i> [French]	<i>entre les élèves et les professeurs ... sauf à la résidence d'un professeur.</i> [between students and teachers ... except for at a teacher's house.]
4	<i>la communication peut se faire en</i> [communication can be in]	<i>bichlamar</i> [Bislama]	<i>Pendant les périodes d'études, dans des situations difficiles,</i> [During study, when in a difficult situation,]

⁹The addition of the rule prohibiting foul language at Angolovo College is not directly relevant to the research, but it raises two points of interest. Firstly, it appears that Bislama and 'foul languages' are treated with the same lack of tolerance. Secondly, the fact that it has been included in one school's rules, but not the other's, reveals that schools have the freedom to decide on their own language policy, rather than simply reproducing government guidelines, thereby revealing a certain amount of *space* to shape policy locally.

5.2.2.1 The construction of certain languages as (in)appropriate

The first aspect of interest is the way that L2 is dealt with. The Ministry guidelines refer to “the medium of instruction of the school”, “the language of instruction of the school”, “*la langue d’enseignement*” (language of instruction) and “*les langues d’enseignement*” (languages of instruction) thereby directing attention to the academic function of certain languages. The English version emphasises that each school will have a particular L2, while the French version does not, treating both L2 and L3 as languages of instruction. The directives are given that all information and notices must be in this language (both versions), that L2 must be used by teachers and students (English version), and that the languages of instruction must be encouraged (French version).

The Angolovo rules make no mention of the academic function of any language, and they do not treat L2 (English) any differently from L3 (French). The Faranako rules, however, make L2 (French) prominent. They stipulate explicit academic contexts in which French must be used, referring to classroom hours and study periods (Rule 1), and teacher-student communication (Rule 3). They thus narrow the meaning of and intensify the force of the Ministry guidelines that state only that information must be communicated in this language (Guideline 2) and that the languages of instruction should be encouraged (Guideline 3). The importance of L2 in particular is thus intensified in the Faranako rules but downplayed in the Angolovo rules.

The second aspect of interest concerns the way L2 and L3 are referred to together. The English version of Ministry Guideline 3 names the two languages “English and French”, while the French version labels these as “*les langues d’enseignement*” (the languages of instruction) and “*chaque langue*” (each language), which, although referring to two languages, does not emphasise L3 so clearly. Guideline 4 does name both languages in both versions, stating that competency in both is the intention. However, there are slight differences in the extent to which these languages are promoted. In the English version, Guideline 3 states that they should be used “interchangeably”, although this is mitigated by the use of “where possible”, and Guideline 4 directs Anglophone schools to *encourage*, teach and learn both languages. In the French version, Guideline 3

is applied to “*les échanges inter-élèves*” (inter-pupil interaction - possibly due to mistranslation of ‘interchangeably’), and Guideline 4 directs Francophone schools to teach and *use* them. The expectation to actually use both languages is thus intensified in the French version.

The Angolovo rules never mention English without French. They label the two languages equally as the default “approved languages” (rule b), although do not actually state that both *must* be used. They thereby neither emphasise L2 nor actually promote the use of L3 as much as the Ministry does. However, Angolovo further specifies the context to which these rules apply as “during school terms, in the College compound”, which can be contrasted with the specific academic contexts in which Faranako rules apply. The Faranako rules omit all reference to L3, thus erasing English altogether. Thus neither school emphasises L3 to the extent that the Ministry guidelines suggest they should, and Faranako omits all reference to this language.

Finally, the directives relating to L1 are also recontextualised in various ways, although there are again differences between the two versions of the Ministry guidelines. The vernaculars are referred to as “local languages” in the English version of Guideline 5, and “*les dialectes*” (dialects) in the French version. Both terms serve to position these languages as less important than French and English. The strength of the directive is mitigated in the English version by the use of “should be used”, as opposed to “*autorisés*” (authorised), and by the inclusion of “out of school hours” in addition to the weekends. The French version of this guideline treats Bislama in the same manner as these languages, while the English version does not mention Bislama until the following guideline.

At the start of both versions of Guideline 6, Bislama is described as an “official, national language”, but this is immediately followed by the qualification that it is not a language of instruction, thus overriding the relevance of its high status. The second element of this guideline states that Bislama should not be used, but this is mitigated in the English version by “where possible” and by the vague qualification of “when either English or French is appropriate”. In the French version, there is no such mitigation in the phrasing, although the guideline is justified by concerns that Bislama will influence L2 (the topos of *interference*).

The final part of Guideline 6 reveals a conflict between different ideologies about punishment. In the English version, it is discouraged, but the phrases “however” and “probably” serve to mitigate this, suggesting the ingrained acceptability of such punishment. This version also employs a linguistic human rights argument but, crucially, only with reference to the indigenous languages. The implication is that punishing students for speaking languages other than English or French would be acceptable, but the problem is that this prevents them from speaking these indigenous languages (invoking an ideology of language maintenance, rather than an anti-punishment stance). The French version is more direct, stating without mitigation that students should not be punished, suggesting that it is better to explain the rule, rather than punish its infringement. The overall message from the Ministry is that L1 is not appropriate in schools, but neither a total ban nor punishment is advocated. This is significant when examining the way rules are discussed at the two schools (see 5.3.2.4).

L1 is dealt with rather differently in the two sets of school rules, although both devote a significant amount of attention to it. At Angolovo, Rule b appears to grant space to L1, through the addition of “or any other approved languages”, but, in Rules c and d, the specific situations in which these languages (“vernacular languages or Bislama”) may be spoken are set out. The strength of the statements about L1 is intensified by the repetition of very similar points, and by the use of “only” and “at all times”. L1 is not banned completely, and there seem to be a number of occasions on which these languages may be spoken, but the level of detail devoted to them makes clear that they are not intended to be used. The treatment of L1 is thus similar to that in the Ministry guidelines.

At Faranako, the stance towards L1 appears more lenient, as a number of exceptions are specified. The strength of Rule 3, for example, is mitigated by “*sauf à la résidence d’un professeur*” (except at a teacher’s house), revealing that teacher-student interaction is only considered bound by the rules in the ‘school’ domain, from which staff houses are excluded. The prepositional phrase in Rule 2, “*pendant les horaires non-mentionné ci-dessus et pendant les week-ends*” (outside the hours mentioned above and during weekends), and a

number of verbs in the positive form also shift the focus to what is allowed, rather than what is *not* allowed, while the inclusion of “*de leurs choix*” (of their choice), in Rule 2, indicates that students have control over which languages to use. Similarly, although Rule 1 states that Bislama is not officially sanctioned in study periods, Rule 4 notes that this language can be used to resolve difficulties. Space therefore exists for L1, although the way this tolerance is presented as a form of mitigation of rules about French reveals, again, that L1 is not considered ideal.

5.2.2.2 The demarcation of domains in which such usage is appropriate

It could be possible to read into the difference between the two sets of school rules that Faranako promotes only French, since it needs to construct itself as a “monolingual francophone space” (Heller, 1999a, p.338), given the dominance of English outside school. Following this hypothesis, the school cannot undermine its existence as a Francophone institution, while Angolovo is able to promote French alongside English without jeopardising its Anglophone credentials.

However, the locational and temporal moves become relevant, as we see that all eight rules stipulate specific spaces and times that different languages may be spoken. At Angolovo, the rules apply to the whole college compound and the entirety of the school term. A distinction is drawn between the term and the holidays, and between school members and outsiders, with only a few school activities given as exceptions. In contrast, the Faranako rules distinguish between academic and non-academic domains, between study times and free time, and between teacher-student interaction and (by implication) interaction in which teachers are not present. The schools appear to set the boundaries in different ways – with Angolovo counting the compound as ‘the school’, and Faranako counting only academic aspects.

These differences may stem from fundamental differences in the original ethos of each mission school from which the institutions have evolved, rather than from contemporary concerns for the protection of Francophonie. Anglican schools were founded on the principles of learning to live and work in boarding schools, at which academic work was just one part. At Angolovo, there is still a

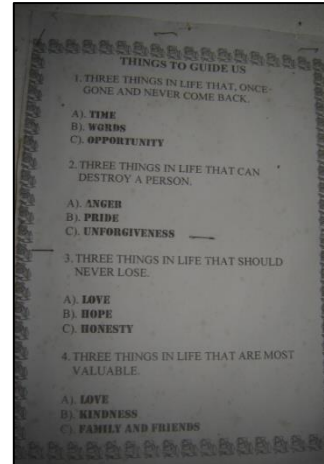
farm, and manual work sessions each afternoon are an integral part of the programme (for practical reasons, since they keep the college going, but students were frequently told that this work was an important part of their life training). The college motto of 'Educating the whole person' symbolises these foundations, and is given a high profile. For example, Picture 5.3 shows the motto written at the front of the school chapel, beneath illustrations that depict wisdom, strength, spirituality, and joy.

Picture 5.4 is a reminder notice from April 2011 that demonstrates the integration of different elements of 'school life', as problems with electricity are included alongside reminders for uniform, punctuality, and, of particular relevance here, language use. (This particular reminder will be discussed in 5.3.1.1.). Picture 5.5 and Picture 5.6 are posters displayed around the college during 2011 that give a sense of the moral guidance that is an important part of 'education' at Angolovo¹⁰.

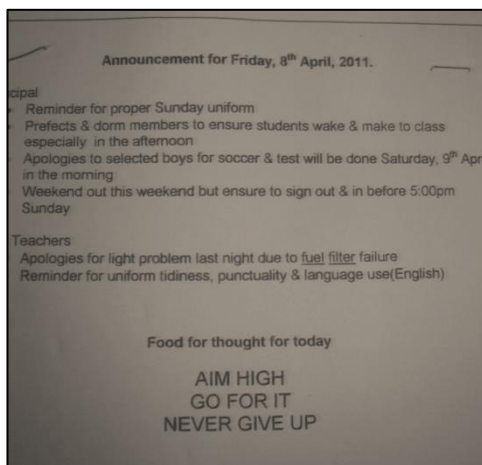
¹⁰ These posters demonstrate that the English used does not necessarily follow the norms of what might be labelled 'Standard English' although the code chosen is undoubtedly 'English'.



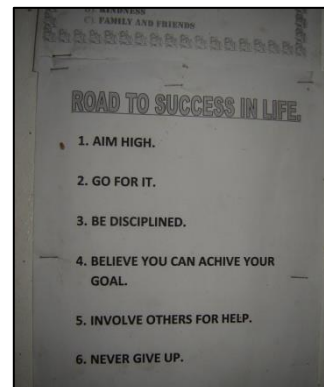
Picture 5.3 Decoration behind the altar of Angolovo College chapel



Picture 5.5 'Things to guide us' poster displayed at Angolovo College



Picture 5.4 Reminder notice displayed at Angolovo College



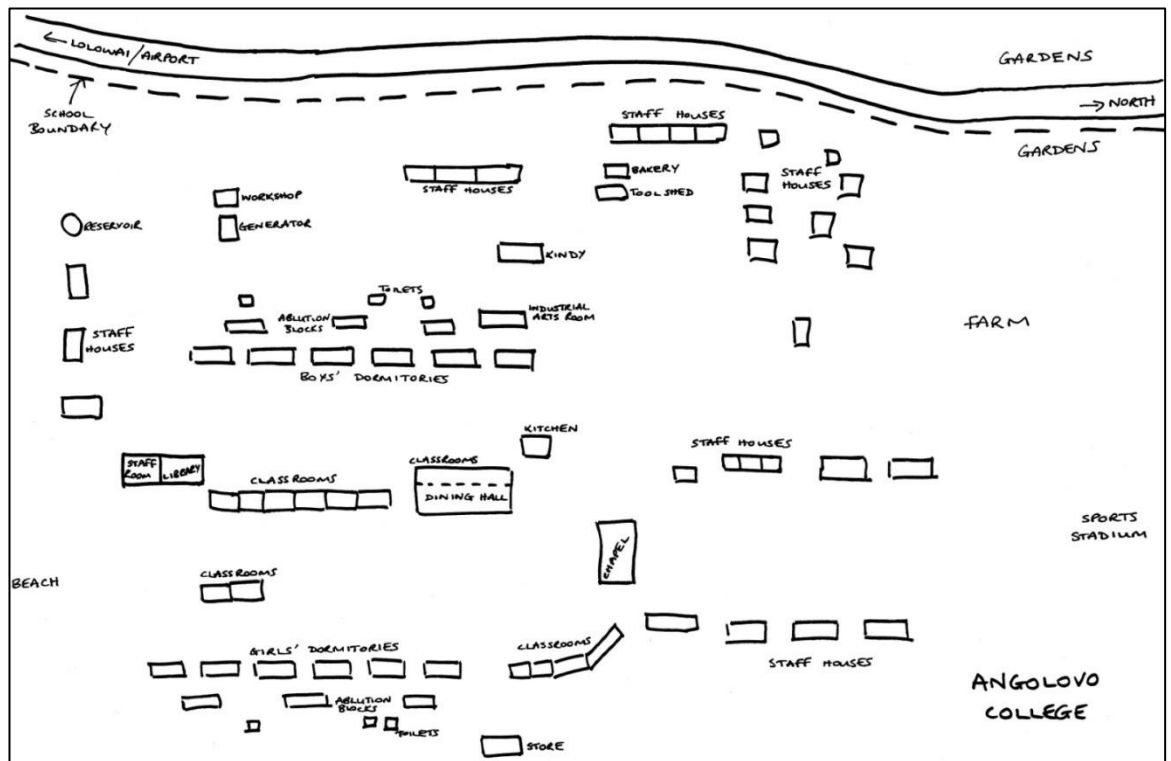
Picture 5.6 'Road to success in life' poster displayed at Angolovo College

At Faranako, I was less aware of this ‘whole school’ culture. 27% of the pupils lived in nearby villages (while all pupils were boarding pupils at Angolovo), and all students had guardians with whom they were expected to stay every other weekend when the campus closed. The students attended the local church that was looked after by the community priest, rather than having their own chapel and their own priest as a member of staff (as Angolovo did). Manual work took place only first thing in the morning, to clean the immediate area around the dormitories and classrooms. Other work generally only occurred when a task needed doing (such as collecting firewood), and lasted until the task was completed, rather than being scheduled for a set period each day, as was the case at Angolovo. In summary, boarding life appeared to be a pragmatic solution to enable students from different islands to attend secondary school. The central focus was academic, while other activities ensured that religious attendance could be continued, that the kitchen was stocked with firewood, and so on.

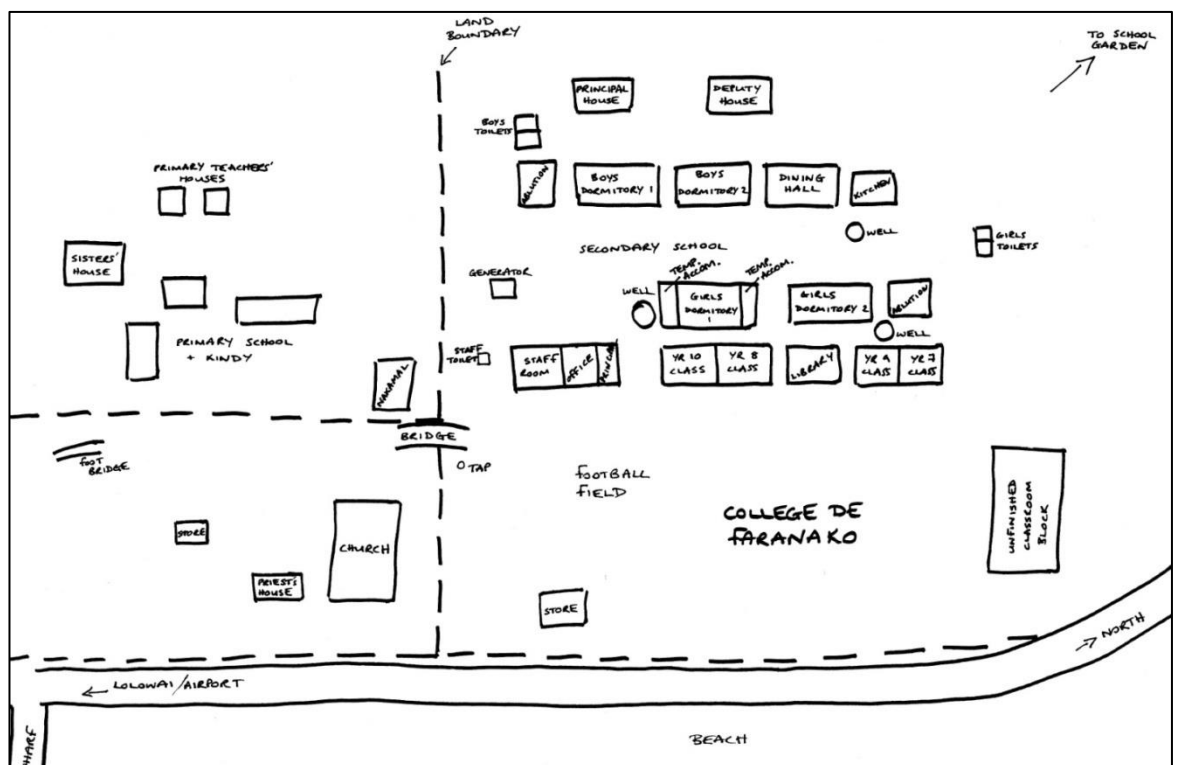
These differences can also be seen through the layout of the school buildings. Map 5.1 shows the Angolovo campus to be contained within a single plot of land, on which classrooms, dormitories, staff houses, the school chapel, gardens and the farm are all integrated within the boundary. Map 5.2 shows Collège de Faranako to be situated on a separate plot of land to the primary school and the church (although these are all leased to the Catholic Church by the same landowner). There are only two staff houses, while others walk to school from their villages, or are accommodated in makeshift rooms at the end of dormitories. The gardens are a short distance away.

Angolovo appears to consider ‘the school’ to apply to all aspects of boarding school life, while Faranako counts only academic activities. Within these two versions of ‘the school’, only certain language(s) are considered appropriate, but this does not necessarily point to different values attributed to ‘English’ and ‘French’ at the two schools. Given that Faranako’s rules relate to a concept of education that is solely academic, Rules 1 and 3 make logical reference to French, since this is the medium of instruction. English may be excluded

because it has little to do with Faranako's conceptualisation of education, rather than because it is placed in opposition to French.



Map 5.1 Angolovo College campus



Map 5.2 Collège de Faranako campus

5.3 Policy off the noticeboard:

5.3.1 Displays of using L2

It is clear that L2 (and potentially L3) is constructed as the only appropriate language. However, although the existence of a public, written text can be counted as a display of policy, I never saw anybody reading anything on these noticeboards. More importantly, the 'policy' that happened away from the noticeboards bore little resemblance to the 'policy text' that was fixed to them. However, teachers and students could still be said to use language as a symbol of institutional appropriateness, judging by the way it was used and talked about. There are distinct differences between the two schools in this regard, so they will be dealt with separately.

5.3.1.1 Constant policy noise at Angolovo College

Language policy was frequently mentioned at Angolovo, and my fieldnotes recorded frequent talk of 'policy', 'rules', 'procedures', 'punishment' and 'discipline'. Based on previous experience, this was not unusual. Whether or not my research triggered additional attention, I would argue that such attention demonstrated the desire to show me the importance of policy.

The first announcement I heard about language policy was during an orientation afternoon concerning the school rules. Staff circulated around the classrooms, each responsible for setting out a section of the school rules. I sat in one classroom throughout the afternoon, after which I wrote the following:

Extract 5.3

Having listened to an afternoon of 'rules' and 'policies', I am left with a real sense of the need to make 'policy' visible, without worrying about whether it is actually followed. Firstly, the language rules were read out verbatim from the school rules, before Mrs Angela summarised that "English and French are the only languages we should be using", and yet, of the 17 staff members who took part in the afternoon, 7 addressed the students entirely in Bislama, and 1 other in a mixture of English and Bislama. Secondly, the rule about no graffiti was read out, while there was a girl in the front row who had been writing on the desk throughout the whole session, clearly in view of the four teachers in the room. Thirdly, Mr Axley read out a rule that all teachers should be addressed by their title and surname, rather than title and forename, but he then promptly finished his section by saying 'and now I will hand over to Miss Alice', thereby ignoring exactly that rule. I got the feeling teachers were

reading out the rules because they were on the paper in front of them, rather than because anybody had any intention of following them. A common pattern was for staff to read or explain the rules, and to finish each point with 'Is that clear?'/Hem i klia?', to which the students would reply 'Yes' in chorus. (fieldnotes 7/3/11)

This provided an early insight into the conflict between the words themselves and other text-shaping moves. The code in which the rules were read out was often Bislama, despite the rules stating that it shouldn't be used.

Another mismatch throughout the fieldwork was in the treatment of French. I heard 11 announcements in assembly that Bislama must not be used, and that English was the only language allowed in school, but French was never mentioned. After one such announcement, the following was displayed on the school noticeboard (reproduced from Picture 5.4):

Extract 5.4

Reminder for uniform tidiness, punctuality & language use (English). (8/4/11)

Appropriate 'language use' is predicated here only as English, despite the equal treatment of English and French in the school rules. When I asked the principal about whether other languages, such as Bislama or French, should play a greater role in school, he said:

Extract 5.5

*AP: Um long saed long Bislama o vernacular? Ating i gat taem blong hem? Er especially **taem yumi communicate wetem ol peren/s? O yumi communicate wetem ol outsiders we oli kam? O yumi go aot? Long Lolowai o ol surrounding vilej?** Ating taem blong hem blong yumi toktok lanwis¹¹. O Bislama. But (.) **within the college** (.) personally mi ting se hem i supposed to be lanwis of medium we i stap. We **medium of instruction hem i should be Inglis.***

[AP: Um in terms of Bislama or vernacular? I think there is time for it? Er especially **when we communicate with parents? Or we communicate with outsiders who come? Or we go out? To Lolowai or surrounding villages?** I think that's the time to speak lanwis. Or Bislama. But (.) **within the college** (.) personally I think that it's supposed to be the language of instruction here. **The language of instruction should be English.**

¹¹ The term 'lanwis' (language) is used to refer to the vernacular. It is rare for speakers to use any specific language name for the language they speak at home.

And French. But French olsem i no gat noes nomo long hem.

<both laugh>

F: Mi luk skul rul/s i talem French. Olsem French o Inglis. Be taem yu go long chapel yu ever announce/em se bae yu mas toktok Inglis o French? O evri taem hem i Inglis nomo. (1) Yu ever emphasis/em French? O

AP: E::r (2) once in a while. Sometimes **i jes slip my mind** (.) taem blong emphasis/em French. But er most of the time mi emphasise long Inglis. (1) **Ating hem i supposed to be (.) both sides.** (XVI:63-76)

And French. But French is like there's no noise from it.

<both laugh>

F: I see that the school rules say French. Like French or English. But when you go to chapel do you ever announce that you must speak English or French? Or every time is it just English. (1) Do you ever emphasise French? Or

AP: E::r (2) once in a while. Sometimes **it just slips my mind** (.) to emphasise French. But er most of the time I emphasise English. (1) **I think it's supposed to be (.) both sides.]** (xvi:65-77)

At the beginning of the extract, the principal's account conforms to the domains set out in the school rules. However, although he adds French as a language of instruction along with English, the preceding pause suggests that this is something of an afterthought. He immediately clarifies that French is never used. We had previously been talking about classroom language use, so it is likely that this had led the principal to focus on English when I began to ask about language outside the classroom. However, had the principal wanted to present the school as a place in which English and French are spoken equally, he had plenty of opportunity to do so during the interview. Despite the equal promotion of English and French in the official school rules, these languages clearly do not share this status off the noticeboard.

The principal does, however, reveal the importance of applying the school rules to the whole domain of 'the school', reflecting the locational and temporal moves used in the official rules:

Extract 5.6

AP: Aot saed ia nao olsem (.) supposed to be **wan praktikel ples we pipol oli practise/im Inglis?**

F: M-m.

[AP: Outside now that's (.) supposed to be **a practical place where people practise English?**

F: M-m.

AP: *But hem i no olsem? And these people. Communication between teacher student and student student (.) teacher to teacher hem i (.) jes nao hem i come to be more in Bislama than in English.*

F: *M-m. Be yu yu wis se yu save gobak long?*

AP: ***Mi wis tumas sapos we i save gobak long Inglis? So that at least pipol oli save express/em olgeta. O oli save andastanem? O sapos oli ridim wan buk o wanem but at least oli andastan. But sapos oli continue blong olsem samtaem oli save rid? Be (.) blong toktok blong express/em olgeta nao hem i (.) i nogat.***

F: *So long wis blong yu hem i (.) Monday to Friday? Or Monday to Sunday? Or*

AP: ***Just Monday to [Sunday.]***

F: ***[Everywhere?] (.) Dormitory? Chapel?***

AP: ***Everywhere.*** (XVI:34-48)

AP: But it's not like that? And these people. Communication between teacher student and student student (.) teacher to teacher it's (.) it's now just come to be more in Bislama than in English.

F: M-m. But you wish you could go back to?

AP: **I really wish that it could go back to English? So that at least people can express themselves. Or they can understand?** Or if they read a book or whatever but at least they understand. But if they continue to like sometimes they can read? But (.) to speak or express themselves now it (.) they can't.

F: So your wish is (.) Monday to Friday? Or Monday to Sunday? Or

AP: **Just Monday to [Sunday.]**

F: **[Everywhere?] (.) Dormitory? Chapel?**

AP: **Everywhere.]** (xvi:36-50)

The principal makes use of the topos of *target language* to argue for the exclusive use of English at all times, throughout the campus. His claim is based on the rationale that students will then be able to understand and express themselves in this language, thus drawing on the conclusion rule that exclusive use of English will enable greater competence in this language. Given that students only need to understand and express themselves in French during French lessons, the argument is not applied to this language (see XVI:318-23/xvi:319-24). The school rules are again undermined in the enactment of day-to-day policy.

Language policy was an agenda item during a staff meeting (15/3/11) and, once again, it was about English rather than English and French. Extract 5.7 is a

reconstructed dialogue based on fieldnotes. The discussion was held in English. Teachers are referred to in the extract by their official role or teaching subject:

Extract 5.7

Deputy: The next item on the agenda is language. Too many people are using own language. We must prepare students for further education.

*Principal: Yes I think there is too much lanwis and Bislama. Students even feel free to use Bislama in class. Even teachers are talking in Bislama when teaching which encourages students. We must use English as much as possible and if a concept is hard, use simple English. We must come up with a solution. **Other students from other colleges are asking if this is normal.***

Economics: We should leave it to the English teachers as they are the experts and they can tell us what to do. They have methods for this.

Geography: That's true but we can play our own part. We should speak to each other in English and if a student comes to ask a question in lanwis or Bislama we just speak back to them in English.

English (1): I agree with [Geography].

*English (2): We have been talking about this for so many years but nothing works out. **The information is here and we all know it** so please can we make an effort to be a role model. I appeal to every teacher to try their best. Inside and outside class and only use Bislama outside the compound.*

Deputy: We can't make a sudden change but we must encourage the students.

Chaplain: What about a time or area for English. Like from 7.30 in the morning to 4.30 we speak English. Then you can speak Bislama in other areas or times. In the dormitories only English or Bislama should be used because others don't speak lanwis. I want to comment too that there are too many staff using lanwis which makes others feel left out.

Deputy: We must speak English in the staffroom as a starting point. We start gradually. In classes we should speak English only. Does everyone agree?

[Maths to me, in Bislama: Since 2004 we have been discussing this <laughs>]

*Principal: **The school rule we set out is that Bislama is only to be used with visitors to the college so we shouldn't change it.** First we speak English to each other as much as possible. Then to students to help them as much as possible. It is up to us now. There is a problem especially with Pentecost always using lanwis. There are some other*

things we can try like debates in English to help students. An announcement will be made tomorrow about it.

History: I suggest that Fiona¹² should talk to all the students in assembly about the importance of English because it is her language. That is really going to help.

In this extract, the principal attempts to enforce the rules on the basis that they *are* the rules. He first mentions that “other students from other colleges are asking if this is normal”, showing the need to project the right image for the school. He later states that the rule shouldn’t be changed, in reaction to other teachers’ attempts to renegotiate the places and times in which it is reasonable to enforce the use of English. The second English teacher makes a similar point that the rule is perfectly clear, so it is now a matter of teachers setting an example. The majority of other contributions relate to practical suggestions about achieving the policy, indicating agreement that it *should* be achieved.

Despite this constant attention paid to the rules, it was unusual to hear anyone actually reprimanded for using a language other than English. I noted only four such instances throughout the term, as presented in the fieldnotes excerpts below.

Extract 5.8

Heard one student outside a classroom at break time call out “stop speaking in Bislama” [in English] at another student inside the class. This is the first time I’ve heard any such directive from either a student or a teacher. He was definitely speaking in a jokey way and I assume it was purely for my benefit as I walked past. (11/3/11)

Extract 5.9

This morning when I was inside my house, I heard ‘Speak in English’ as some boys went past – this directive was at a higher volume than everything else that was being said, whether specifically for my benefit or to be heard by other people I don’t know. (19/3/11)

Extract 5.10

Today I was talking to Mr Ala in the school office. Speaking Bislama together. A student came into the office and addressed Mr Ala in Bislama, at which point he

¹² No teachers responded to the History teacher’s comment, and I wasn’t called upon. The discussion moved on at this point.

rebuked her, saying 'Speak in English. What do you want?'. Following the exchange, he turned back to me and reverted to Bislama, while the student was still in the room. (13/4/11)

Extract 5.11

Saturday evening 'outreach' programme – groups of students were assigned a staff family to visit for prayers. The Year 10 students who visited the house where I happened to be showed a confidence that I hadn't seen before in the classroom, as they took turns to lead prayers or singing, and to discuss the message from the Bible reading. It was all in Bislama except for the reading and the singing which was mainly English. At the end, Mr Andrew thanked the students for coming and said that, next time, they should try to do it in English, so that families think they are actually learning something in school. He then backtracked a bit and said they hadn't done anything wrong but they should try to practise doing it in English. Given that the message extrapolated from the Bible reading had focused on the need for families to spend evenings together, rather than all the 'papas' drinking kava, it may be that he (the only adult male present) was reacting to what can only have been targeted at him, using language as an easy thing to criticise. It may be that my presence sparked his criticism, although the use of Bislama from students in his house had never previously provoked comment on any of my other visits. Whatever the cause, it seemed to override the use of whichever language was considered most appropriate for getting the Bible message across to families whose members may not speak English well. (16/4/11)

As noted above, my presence might account for some of the displays of policy, but if this were the case, I would actually expect there to be more such incidents. There were plenty of opportunities for teachers (and students) to reprimand students, if they wanted to show me that they were following the policy, but this rarely happened.

The policy displays seemed to be more about constructing an image of appropriate behaviour than actually regulating that behaviour. Paralinguistic moves (such as raised volume), locational moves (such as commenting on language in my presence), and interaction and code moves (such as commenting on code choice in response to the different participants involved) all contribute to this image of what policy should be, as much as the explicit metalinguistic discourse. I refer to this as 'constant policy noise', in which students and teachers demonstrate their awareness of how to behave in a linguistically appropriate way, while not necessarily following these norms.

5.3.1.2 A one-day-display of French at Collège de Faranako

Unlike at Angolovo, Collège de Faranako appeared unconcerned by language. There were no announcements, reminders, or notices about it. Students were never reprimanded for speaking a language other than French. The principal appeared to support a French-only policy, but acknowledged that this was not implemented:

Extract 5.12

*FP: Taem we pikinini i go long wan
Franis skul o wan (.) ca- wan wanem ia.
Wan collège blong hemia i sud
maintain/em lanwis blong hem blong
teaching ia nao. Be mifala ol tija tu sam
long ol weakness blong mifala tu.
Hemia nao taem mifala i toktok Bislama
long olgeta? Then pikinini hem i karem.
So mifala i no fosem olgeta blong oli
mekem wanem. **Lanwis maternelle i
kam. Olsem lanwis blong ol tradition
ia? I go miksimap wetem Franis ia.
Yu harem taem oli toktok long yu?
Yu harem i (.) yu harem yu kolkol
long hem. Expression blong lanwis i
nogud.** Oli askem yu nomo se blong oli
mekem wan samting yu no andastan se
be (.) samting we yumi stap lanem long
skul be hem i no go insaed long hed
blong hem. (XVII:77-86)*

[FP: When a child goes to a French school or a (.) sch- a what's that. A school for that it should maintain its language of teaching now. But us teachers too some of the weaknesses are with us too. That's it when we speak Bislama to them? Then the children adopt this. So we don't force them in what to do. **The mother tongue comes. Like the traditional language? It goes and mixes up with French. You hear when they talk to you? You feel (.) you find it unpleasant. The expression of the language is poor.** They just ask you if they can do something and you don't understand but (.) it's something that we are learning in school but it doesn't go inside their heads.] (xvii:73-81)

Although the principal begins by stating that a school should maintain its language of teaching, thereby making the link between language policy and academic concerns, he links this to standards of French rather than to learning. He draws on ideologies of linguistic purism and maintenance of a standard language, rather than focusing on the use of French for academic purposes, as might be expected from the school rules' attention to academic contexts.

When I ask whether he wishes he could reintroduce a French-only rule (Extract 5.13), he shows further divergence from the official rules, by arguing that students should make the effort to speak both French and English in order to

enhance their future prospects (see Chapter 7 for more detailed treatment of this argument):

Extract 5.13

*F: So yu wis se yu save putumbak wan
rul we hem i Franis nomo aot saed long
klasrum?*

[F: So do you wish you could put back a
French-only rule outside the
classroom?

*FP: Mifala long ples ia? Mifala i bin
introduce/um se bambae ol pikinini we
oli kam insaed long eria blong skul? **Oli
sud toktok long Franis o Inglis.** From
naoia mifala olsem wa- only kaontri
long Pasifik we mifala i (.) bilingual.
Only kaontri long Pasifik ia. Blong
mifala long Pasifik hemia nao. So (.) mi
ting se bambae olsem (.) **sapos
pikinini hem i mekem wan effort
blong hem i (.) i wantem se i kasem
ol samting long fiuja blong hem. Mi
ting se hem i sud intres blong hem hem
wan.** (XVII:87-94)*

FP: Us here? We introduced the rule
that when the children come inside the
school area? **They should speak
French or English.** Because now we
are like one- the only country in the
Pacific that's (.) bilingual. The only
country in the Pacific. Out of us in the
Pacific that's it. So (.) I think that when
like (.) **if a child makes an effort to (.)
he want to get things in his future.** I
think that he should take an interest
himself.] (xvii:82-7)

Despite the erasure of English from Faranako's school rules, it does feature in some of the talk *about* policy. The principal introduces this language into the discussion without prompting from me (and see XVII:483-87/xvii:467-70). There is also a conspicuous presence of English in some places that might be considered the most opportune sites for symbolic displays of Francophonie, as shown in Picture 5.7 and Picture 5.8.



Picture 5.7 Bilingual sign at the entrance to Collège de Faranako



Picture 5.8 Memorial stone at Collège de Faranako

(Note the use of English on the official plaque (inset), but the scratching of the school motto in French in the concrete)

When I ask the principal about the place of L1 in the school, he reveals a certain pragmatism, drawing on the topos of *successful learning*. He claims that it is necessary to use Bislama in certain circumstances, based on the rationale that French is a hard language and that it is therefore acceptable to switch to Bislama to achieve understanding:

Extract 5.14

FP: I gat (.) i gat sam sabjek we yu nidim (.) from **explanation hem i had lelebet long French**. Olsem mi talem hem i wan lanwis we hem i had lelebet long ol pikinini? **So i gat sam (.) sam sabjek we i allow/em blong smol taem blong oli eksplenem long (.) se eria hem i talem olsem. Okei pikinini i andastan. Se ah okei long French oli talem olsem. So i gat sabjek we (.) Bislama hem i go insaed smol.** (XVII:127-31)

[FP: There are (.) there are some subjects that you need it (.) because **explanation is quite hard in French**. Like I said it's a language that is quite hard for the children? **So there are some (.) some subjects where it's allowed for a small time** for them to explain in (.) that this area they say it like this. Okay the children understand. That ah okay in French they say it like this. So there are some subjects that (.) Bislama goes inside a little.] (xvii:120-25)

Despite a greater tolerance for the use of L1 than expressed by the Angolovo principal, he also reveals that this is not an ideal strategy. It is clear from Extract 5.14 that French is the expected language. He makes similar points throughout

the interview, although he also seems uncomfortable about inconsistencies within the way policy is enacted:

Extract 5.15

*FP: Olsem blong mekem solution i kam gud? Yumi sud putum i go talem olsem (.) **wan tingting nomo. Yumi talem se pikinini hem i toktok French? Hem i French. I no narafala lanwis.** So hemia olsem mifala evriwan i sud wok tugeta wetem hemia blong mekem se mifala i achieve/im wanem nao mifala i wantem long en blong dei. Be taem we principal nomo i stap traem blong hemia olgeta i no mekem be bambae yumi mekem olsem wanem? Hem i had. (XVII:119-24)*

FP: Like to find a good solution? We should put it like to say (.) **one thing only. We say that the children speak French? It's French. It's not another language.** So then like we should all work together with it to make it so that we achieve what we want at the end of the day. But when just the principal is trying to do it they don't do it but how can we do it? It's hard. (xvii:113-7)

Despite his acceptance of L1, he feels that, if there is a French-only rule, it needs to be enforced. Tolerance of languages is not the same as support for their use, and it remains clear that L1 is not considered appropriate.

However, there was less of a focus on French than might have been expected from the rules. The only exception was on La Journée de la Francophonie, the annual celebration held by member countries of *Francophonie*. On this day, French suddenly became very visible.

As I listened to the teachers drawing up a programme for the celebrations, I wrote:

Extract 5.16

They've decided that there should be a guest speaker, that the students should march, that they should sing, and that there should be competitions. They're now spending ages trying to decide what the students should chant while marching, and trying to think of songs that would be suitable. They keep starting to sing but not being able to remember enough of the words. I get the feeling that these teachers (all relatively new in the profession) know what is expected of such a day, but they don't actually know the right kind of songs etc. (23/3/11)

I wrote the following notes in my corner of the dormitory, throughout the evening before the celebrations and the following morning:

Extract 5.17

(24/3/11) 6.30pm: *Heard a few quiet conversations about Journée de la Francophonie. One girl was explaining about the day last year, saying that they had to speak French only from the moment they woke up and no Bislama.*

7.45pm: *Girls colouring in their Francophonie flags. Talk flying around of people getting up in the night to practise singing, and then some others talking about getting up early to prepare taro. Heard singing later and it seemed to be Yr10 girls practising. The Yr7 girls complained that their teacher hadn't told them anything. Heard again that everyone had to speak French all day tomorrow from early morning. Discussion of which colours to put where on flag and how to hold it. Definite excitement about tomorrow but I wonder how much is due to Francophonie and how much is just the celebration/distraction.*

(25/3/11) 6.30am: *The girls have been awake for an hour (some longer) and have been talking since at least 5.45. I haven't heard a word of French, either as a joke or serious (not even a Bonjour).*

6.45am: *The girls are back from breakfast. Suddenly lots of admonishments amongst themselves to speak French (announcement made during breakfast??)*

Examples¹³:

Luisa: Mali i go we?

Where's Mali?

Charlotte: **Parlez en français.**

Speak in French.

Luisa: Eh Charlotte!

Danielle: **Parlez en français.**

Speak in French.

Sassi: Hu i talem?

Who said so?

Karine: <Jokey tone> **On ne doit pas parler en Bichelamar.**

We mustn't speak Bislama.

¹³ In these examples, elements in French are written in bold font, for emphasis.

<All laugh>

((4))

<Mali started speaking in lanwis>

<Conversation in Bislama outside the dormitory>

Charlotte <shouting out the window from inside> **Parlez en français.**

Speak in French.

<Conversation continued. Charlotte walked outside >

Charlotte: **Parlez en français.**

Speak in French.

Sassi: Sore.

Sorry.

A lot of lanwis being spoken. So far, 'Parlez en français' has only been said in reaction to Bislama. A few attempts to start sentences in French and a lot of laughing.

7.05am: One example of lanwis spoken, interrupted by 'Eh parlez en français; pas en langue'¹⁴. ' (Eh speak in French; not in lanwis.)

7.15am: By now, most conversation has gone back to Bislama with very few admonishments. Girls getting ready for class. Complaining about one of the teachers and discussing whether to take their flags.

During this period, the girls revealed an awareness that they were supposed to speak French, via repetitions of formulaic admonishments in this language. This was clearly not 'normal' practice, given the metalinguistic commentary.

Year 10 started the morning in the classroom. The teacher read out some information about Francophonie, asked students to devise some riddles, and then gave them time to finish colouring their flags. This was the first classroom moment when I witnessed students free to talk, rather than working silently at individual desks (see Chapter 6). This also led to the only time I witnessed a

¹⁴ Both 'langue' and 'langage' appear to be used to refer to the vernacular by French-speaking ni-Vanuatu

teacher reminding students to speak in French throughout the fieldwork, with the single command of *En français s'il vous plaît* (In French please).

The programme entailed a march around the field with chanting of *Vive la Francophonie* (Long live Francophonie), a speech from the priest on the significance of Francophonie, a quiz based on information displayed the previous day, a song that had been practised during the week, a series of riddles, a football tournament between five teams (each allocated one colour from the Francophonie logo), a special meal, and a film in the evening. Picture 5.9 to Picture 5.15 provide illustrations of some of these events. Displays of the importance of French, once again, drew on a range of non-linguistic aspects alongside the use of the language itself.



Picture 5.9 Preparing to march



Picture 5.10 Students march around the field chanting

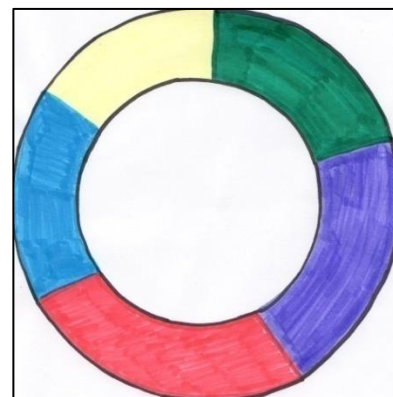


Picture 5.11 Students sing 'Levons nos mains'



Picture 5.12 Groups compete in a quiz.

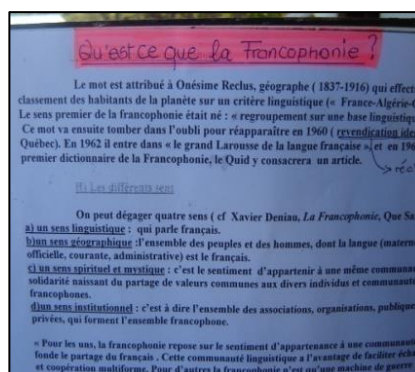
(The boy in the foreground has drawn the flag and 'Francophonie' on his shirt)



Picture 5.13 Francophonie flag made by each student



Picture 5.14 Information that had been displayed prior to the quiz



Picture 5.15 'What is Francophonie?' poster

During the evening, I asked some girls why they were not watching the film, and was told that it was boring. I discovered a few students watching *Hotel Rwanda*. I asked a teacher why that particular film was being shown and she replied that it was the only French language film that any of the teachers owned, and that they had thought it important to show a French film that evening. It was clear that students didn't enjoy the film, and it was hardly an entertaining choice for 11-16 year olds¹⁵, but the need to 'do' Francophonie became clear again.

Throughout this one day, the displays of French enabled Faranako to reaffirm its existence as a Francophone institution, before going back to business as usual for the remainder of the term. It was a one-day-display of French and, even then, not a strictly-regulated one, in terms of the actual use of language. More effort was deployed in replicating other semiotic resources associated with Francophonie, including songs, marching, and the colours of the flag. Most noticeable for me was the break in the usual running of the school that had to happen in order to 'do' Francophonie that day.

5.3.1.3 Business as usual

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the way language policy was enacted in much the same way at both schools, once the 'policy noise' was tuned out. Despite constructions of what *should* be happening, there was very little attempt at either school to enforce this. Students and teachers used several different languages on a daily basis. Judicious displays of L2 appeared sufficient to enable students and staff to conform to the school norms of linguistic appropriateness, without interrupting the flow of daily life.

Interaction outside class drew on the resources of multiple languages. Bislama dominated, but students from the same island or area tended to form close groups, providing opportunities to use the vernacular. Teacher-teacher interaction and student-student interaction rarely made use of L2 to the extent that a stretch of speech would be identifiable as this language to a monolingual speaker of either English or French, but elements of this language were certainly incorporated. Teacher-student interaction, particularly for 'on the

¹⁵The film documents the events from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and contains graphic scenes of violence. It also doesn't present the French government in a good light, and it is hard to see the film as a positive image of Francophonie.

record' school business, was more likely to be dominated by L2, although it was also common for conversations to proceed in L1. These languages were not kept separate, as speakers drew fluidly on elements of both L1 and L2. I couldn't follow conversations conducted predominantly in the speakers' vernacular, but I would still hear features that I would identify as either Bislama, English, or French. At other times, brief elements of a vernacular would be incorporated in conversations that I could otherwise follow relatively easily.

Extract 5.18 and Extract 5.19 show two examples, from interview data, of the way teachers drew on the different resources available. Elements are marked in different font type to show which 'language' they would be considered to be features of, if attempting to identify the origin of each element, as follows: Bislama (regular), **English** (bold), *French*¹⁶ (italics), Bislama or English¹⁷ (underlined). See the relevant appendices for translations.

Extract 5.18

Mr Aru: From sapos yumi talem se (.) yumi tokbaot gogo (.) yu finis i stap? **Then** yumi traem blong (.) **switch straightaway** bae i no save wok aot nomo **because** ol **human resources** ia oli nogat. I no gat insaed long **system** we i stap. So yumi nid blong se tekem **at least** (.) faef ten yia/s (.) **then** yumi **prepare/em** olgeta tija? From bae yumi nid blong trenem olgeta praemeri skul tija ol French tija nomo. **And then** ol secondary school tija? Bae hemia nao Inglis wetem French antap. **So that** olgeta i **do/im** wok ia daon ia long **behalf** blong yumi evriwan antap. (XIII:693-99/xiii:639-45)

Extract 5.19

Francophone Principal: Teti seven long (.) Teti seven o teti faef long St Michel? Fo nomo. Long *Collège*? Seventi faef ating olsem. Faef nomo. So yu luk? Okei. Mi mi no save ol pikinini se bambae hem i problem blong ol pikinini. Samtaem hem i problem tu blong ol tija. Sam tija oli no **qualify** blong tijim level ia. Yu luk? Hem i gat tu problem ia. *Soit* hem i problem blong ol pikinini we oli no andastan gud? *Soit* hem i problem blong ol tija we oli no *prépare/em* gud klas? O i no kasem level ia blong hem i tijim. Hemia tu hem i wan samting. Ol *ressources humaines* i no gat. (XVII:55-61/xvii:50-7)

¹⁶ Given that I was a co-participant, and only rarely spoke French to participants, it is unsurprising that very few features are identified as French.

¹⁷ There are a number of phrases that could be considered Bislama calques from English, such as 'yumi nid blong trenem' (from 'we need to train them'). These combine many features that could be considered either English or Bislama, but the phrases might be considered illustrative of an 'Anglicised Bislama'.

Mr Aru and the Francophone principal discuss similar topics. They both use numerals and several school-related lexical items that could be considered either Bislama or English. They both use the phrase ‘human resources’, for which there is no Standard Bislama item. The Francophone principal uses the French phrase ‘*ressources humaines*’, although preceded by the Bislama plural modifier ‘ol’, while Mr Aru uses the English phrase **human resources**. Both use a compound verb composed of the English/French stem ‘**prepare**’/‘*prépare*’ and the Bislama transitive suffix ‘-em’. Finally, both speakers use conjunctions that would be considered either English (e.g. ‘**then**’, ‘**so that**’) or French (e.g. ‘*soit ... soit*’).

Extract 5.20 and Extract 5.21 show examples from two students, marked in the same way.

Extract 5.20

Arthur: <reads> “**Is it good that you have the chance to know both English and French?**” Mi long tingting blong mi mi ting se i gud blong yumi lanem **both English and French**. From tudei long kaontri blong yumi? **Whole**/fala kaontri we i go i gat fulap wok i stap long hem? **Many people** oli yusum **both English and French**. **So** mi mi ting se hem i gud blong yumi lanem **both English and French** long skul. Blong hem i save helpem mi (.) helpem yumi **that** (.) sapos yumi go long **other places** be (.) yumi save Ingliis **and French** sapos wan **person** hem i toktok long yumi. (XI:84-90/xi:78-83)

Extract 5.21

Fylene: <reads> “*Est-ce que tu trouves que c’est facile ou difficile d’utiliser le français pour apprendre toutes les matières.*” (2) Long tingting blong mi? Se (.) from mi skul kam praemeri mo long secondary i *facile* blong (.) isi blong toktok long French. (2) Long evri *matière*. (XII:1-4/xii:1-4)

In these two extracts, the students are discussing questions that are written on the interview guide in either English or French. They read the questions verbatim, before discussing them. The majority of the discussion could be identified as Bislama, although Arthur uses the phrase ‘**both English and French**’ several times, presumably influenced by the phrasing of the question in English. Similarly, Fylene uses the words ‘*facile*’ and ‘*matière*’, and these can be identified in the question she has just read out in French. Both students integrate L2 elements within what would primarily be considered Bislama.

This type of attempt to identify the 'language' to which each element 'belongs' is clumsy and artificial, in that it does not capture the fluid way with which teachers and students draw on the different resources available to them. My purpose in doing so is to simply demonstrate that the talk is anything but monolingual.

My impression was that it was possible for students to get by with limited use of L2, and thereby navigate the school policy with relative ease. When addressing teachers, they showed awareness of a variety of norms – a teacher from the same home island was more likely to accept the use of the vernacular than a teacher from elsewhere; a student was more likely to use L2 when asking a teacher for help with school work in a clearly marked 'school' space, such as the office, than when chatting outside the store; and so on. When addressed in L2 by teachers, students drew on a range of strategies. One-word answers or raising the eyebrows to indicate an affirmative answer would usually suffice, and it was common for one student to act as spokesperson for the group if a longer exchange ensued. If students were talking to each other in L1, they might lower their voices or stop talking if a teacher came past. These interaction practices made it very clear what the policy was expected to be, without anybody needing to draw attention to it. L1 was kept sufficiently under the radar, and just enough L2 was used to construct the appearance of conforming to institutional norms.

There was no evidence that anybody had much knowledge of L3, or any reason to speak it. Through my language tests, I found very few students able to produce more than a few words (see Figure 6.3 to Figure 6.6 in the next chapter), and I heard neither talk about using L3 nor actual use of features that I would identify as L3 at either school, from either students or teachers. Most interviewees admitted speaking very little L3, and there was a lot of laughter about it (XI:69-82/xi:64-76; XII:76-90/xii:75-86; XIII:220-228, 238-49, 264-9/xiii:197-204, 213-25, 238-40; XIV:378-92/xiv:355-67; XV:162-9/xv:150-56; XVI:78-81/xvi:79-82; XVII:171-78/xvii:164-71). My presence as an English speaker at Faranako was not considered an opportunity to practise this language and, in fact, three staff members told me that they were relieved to discover that I spoke Bislama (despite assertions during the interview from one teacher that she took every opportunity to practise speaking it, XV:210-

23/xv:195-206). If my presence at either school triggered some additional 'displays' of L2, it did not appear to have a similar effect on the use of L3.

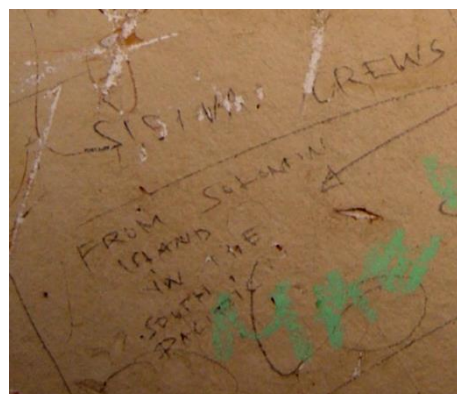
The final examples of language practices come from written texts around the schools. Four photos of graffiti demonstrate that language is used in unofficial spaces in similar ways inside and outside the school boundaries. The examples in Picture 5.16 and Picture 5.17 come from a Faranako classroom. The examples in Picture 5.18 and Picture 5.19 were scratched into the cement of the public road, when it was reconstructed with a semi-permanent surface for the first time in 2012.



Picture 5.16 Graffiti on desk at Faranako

A: 'No gat taem'

B: 'Weed of wisdom'



Picture 5.17 Graffiti on noticeboard at Faranako



Picture 5.18 Graffiti on public road, 1



Picture 5.19 Graffiti on public road, 2

A 'slogan genre' of English dominates in the pictures from both inside and outside Faranako, although some features of Bislama appear in Picture 5.16 (A), such as "no gat taem" (there's no time), a slogan popularised locally by a sticker on a truck that drives regularly to this school. There are recurring references to cannabis in the form of slogans, images, and an intertextual reference to the song 'Ganjer Farmer'. The slogan 'weed of wisdom' is found in both Picture 5.16 (B) and Picture 5.18. The music references are also consistent throughout. The absence of French is notable, particularly from the two Faranako examples.

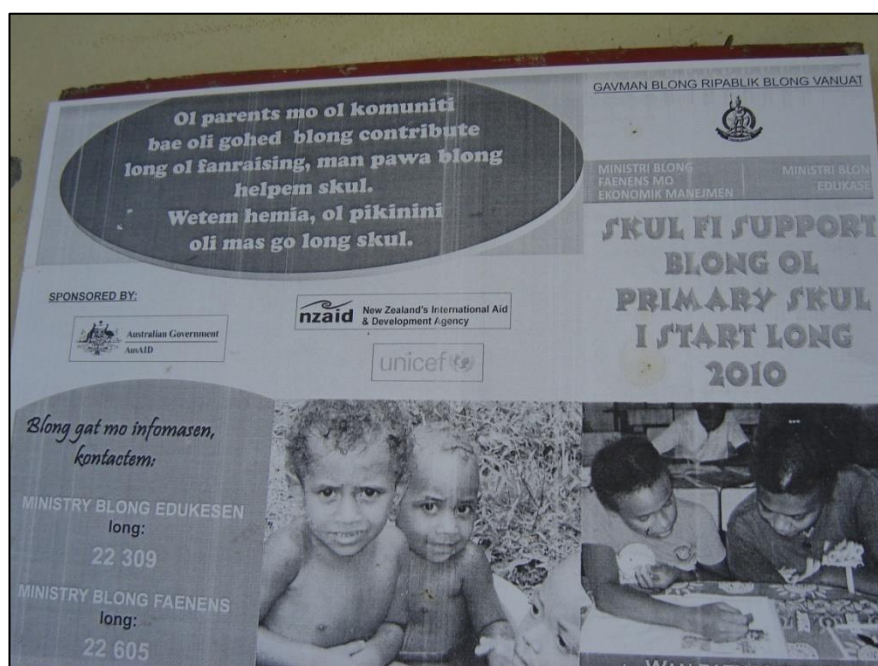
Picture 5.20 to Picture 5.22 present examples of information displayed prominently in more public spaces. The first shows a clearly demarcated 'official zone' of the Angolovo staffroom, where English announces the 'Staffroom information corner'. Just above this, and on the right-hand side of the board, there are posters in Bislama explaining about the H1N1 vaccination and savings products (see Picture 2.22 and Picture 2.23) amongst more typical school notices in English. Picture 5.21 was taken outside the Angolovo College store. Elements of both Bislama and English can be identified. Picture 5.22 shows a poster produced by the Ministry of Education, which was displayed at Faranako. It provides information in Bislama about the abolishment of school fees.



Picture 5.20 'Information corner' of Angolovo staffroom



Picture 5.21 Noticeboard outside the Angolovo store



Picture 5.22 Ministry of Education awareness poster displayed at Faranako

These examples flout the Ministry's guidelines to display information in the medium of instruction of the school, which is particularly paradoxical in the case of Picture 5.22. Bislama is the chosen language through which much of the information is presented. In each case, this ensures that the health, financial, commercial or political message reaches diverse communities most effectively.

In Picture 5.22, the language choice also serves to present a Ministry initiative as relevant to all ni-Vanuatu, rather than separating Anglophones and Francophones. The instrumental goals behind each text appear to override the need to reaffirm the status of certain languages within the school context. Once again, L2 is used as the official language of information up to a point, but other languages still permeate these spaces.

5.3.2 The idealisation of L2 only

The constant tension between the formal school rules and the heteroglossic reality was highlighted through conversations, interviews and questionnaires. I was told that L2 was the only language used, when it clearly wasn't. I was told that students were punished for breaking these rules, when they clearly weren't (see 5.3.2.4). I was told how much people enjoyed speaking L3, when they never seemed to do this. I was told that Bislama had no place, and yet this was the language which participants would have identified themselves as speaking most of the time.

5.3.2.1 The construction of an ideal school

Teachers revealed a great deal of pragmatism, recognising that it was unrealistic to expect students to speak L2 only. However, this pragmatism was in constant tension with the belief that students had insufficient competence in this language to cope with academic demands, and teachers generally wished that it was possible to enforce an L2 only policy:

Extract 5.22

Mr Ala: Oli sud jenisim polisi ia. Speak English and French at all times. From tufala lanwis ia nao oli stap talem long skul. (XIV:234-5)

[Mr Ala: They should change the policy. Speak English and French at all times. Because these are the two languages they say are for school.] (xiv:217-8)

I had many conversations with teachers at both schools who lamented the low levels of L2, compared their students unfavourably to those they had taught elsewhere or in previous years, and lamented that usage and standards of L2 had declined since they had been students themselves. Through such comments, the teachers constructed a description for me of an ideal school,

considered either lost to the past or only achievable elsewhere, with which they explained what I *should* be observing around me (cf. Besnier, 2009, p.73 on a discourse of nostalgia).

The teachers justified this discourse on the grounds that L2 was the medium of instruction and students needed greater competence in it. Drawing on the topos of *target language*, they explained that L2 should be the only language spoken. L3 had no place in such arguments, since it was not the medium of instruction, and was therefore not a 'target language'. Meanwhile, the use of L1 was considered a direct impediment to raising standards in L2, given the logic expressed through the topoi of *target language* and *interference* (see 6.3.2).

5.3.2.2 Awareness of the rules

In a written questionnaire (see Appendix VII), students were asked through three open questions what the school language rules were, what happened if they broke these rules, and what they thought of these rules. Of 211 questionnaires returned at Angolovo, the answers were discounted from nine, as these included rules that were not language-related. 202 students (96%) were therefore able to write down what they thought the language rules were.

Of 85 questionnaires returned at Faranako, 19 were discounted. I found that several students seemed confused by the questions, appearing less aware of any language rules than at Angolovo. However, 64 students (75%) wrote some form of language rule, while two students stated that there were no such rules. Although students initially struggled to answer these questions, and despite the apparent lack of visibility of language policy at Faranako, a significant number of students did still write an answer that suggested these rules existed. Students appeared to be aware of what such rules were likely to be, whether or not they thought they applied.

Figure 5.1 summarises the responses. Many students' responses fit into more than one category, although the first two categories are mutually exclusive.

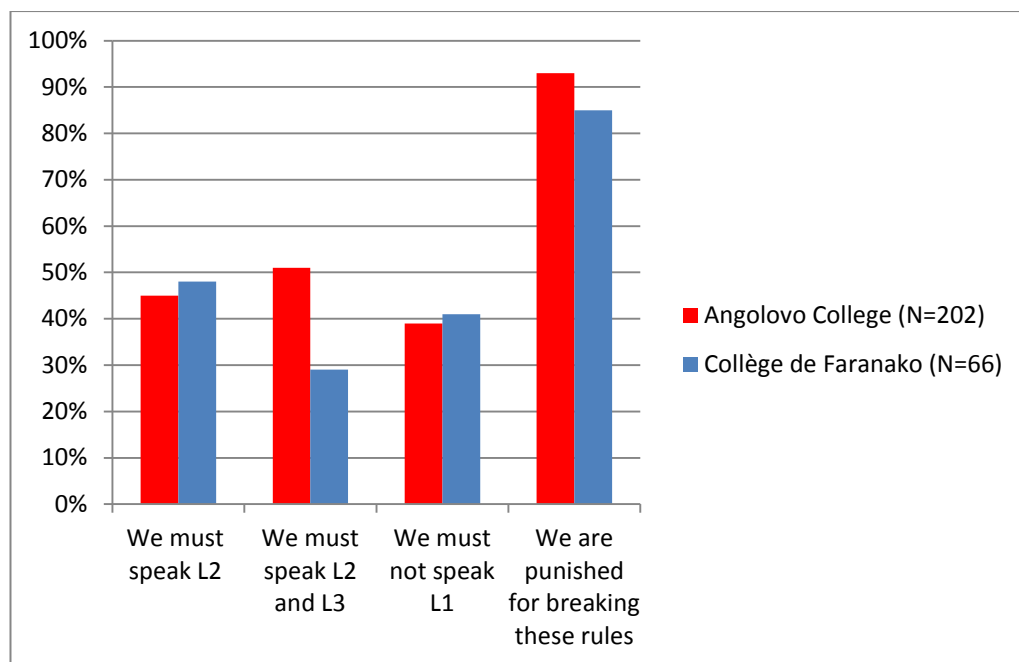


Figure 5.1 Student versions of school language rules

The first two pairs of bars show that 96% at Angolovo and 77% at Faranako said that a rule existed requiring the use of L2 and/or L3 only. Approximately 40% of students at both schools mentioned not being able to use L1. The vast majority said that, if they broke these rules, they would be punished.

5.3.2.3 Justifications for the rules

When asked what they thought about these rules, 97.1% of Angolovo students and 88.3% of Faranako students stated that they were in favour of them (0.5% at Angolovo and 3.5% at Faranako were against them, while the remainder gave no evaluation). Figure 5.2 summarises the different justifications given for this support. Some students provided several justifications.

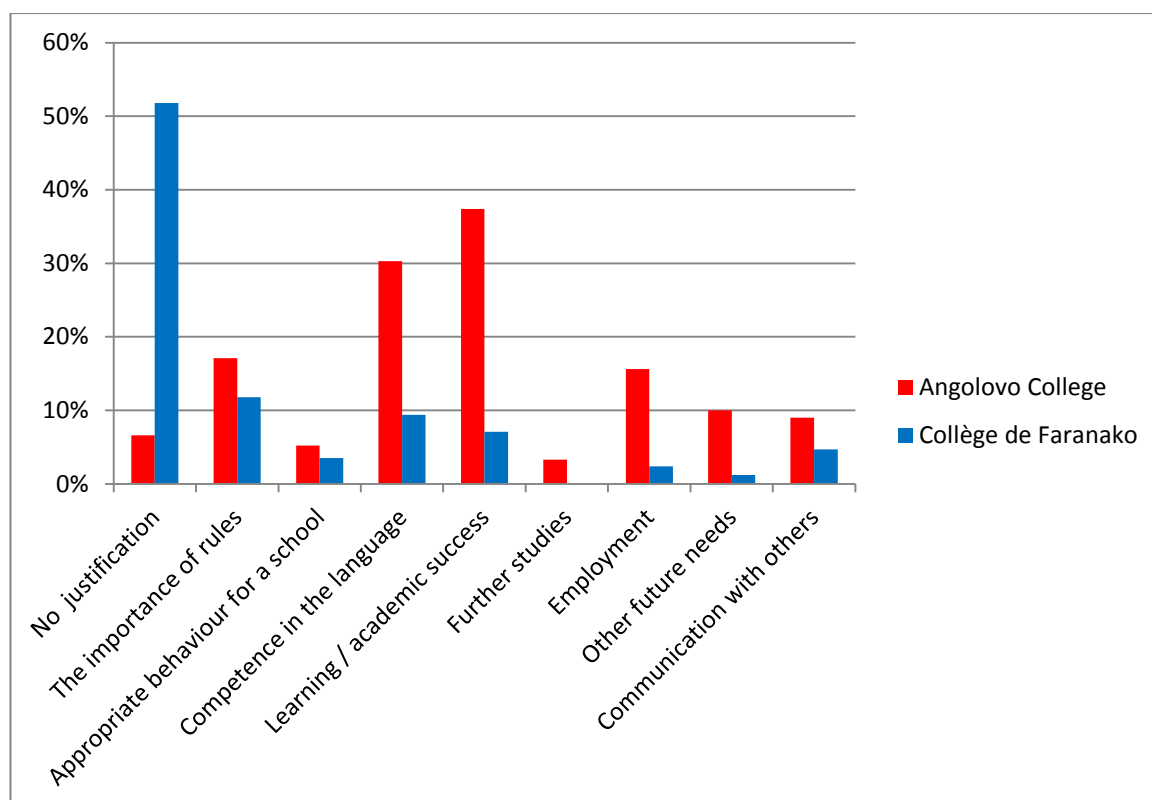


Figure 5.2 Justifications for supporting the school rules

6.6% of Angolovo students and 51.8% of Faranako students stated explicit support for the language rules, without giving any reason. A further group explained only that it was important to have rules or that it was important to act like a school:

Extract 5.23

My opinion about these rules are: Rules can protect me and show me the right ways to follow in my daily lifes. Rules are sometime can learn about your wrong and good behaviours in school.¹⁸ (Year 10)

I think whatever that the rules talks about I'll try my best to follow because its part of my learning in here. (Year 10)

Quand tu es ici, on peut suivre bien ces que le principale ou le règles qui dit. J'aime ces règles parce qu'elle apprend moi a faire de chose qui est bone et de chose qui n'est pas bone. [When you are here, you can follow carefully what the principal or the rules say. I like these rules because it teaches me to do what is right and what is not right.] (Year 9)

¹⁸There are a number of features of non-Standard English and non-Standard French in the questionnaire answers. I have chosen not to comment on these, and focus only on the content of these answers. My Standard English translations of the French originals therefore misrepresent the sense of the original, but it seems problematic to try to capture the 'non-standardness' in translation.

Ces règles sont très importantes pour garder l'école pour ne pas faire au mal. [These rules are very important to follow at school in order not to do wrong.] (Year 10)

To my own opinion about these language rules it is good and maybe I think teachers and also staffs and every staffs living in this college should speak the two language to show that it is a school, where everyone learn and speak this language, not only making students and teachers speak this language by everyone living in this college boundary. (Year 12)

Il est bien parce que nous sommes dans l'école Francophone nous devons parler en Français seulement. [It is good because we are in a Francophone school we must speak only in French.] (Year 9)

At both schools, students gave the impression that they knew how language(s) *should* be used. They contributed to a discourse of institutional appropriateness in their agreement with these rules, often without presenting any justification other than that the rules were there to be followed.

Other students, however, did put forward justifications for needing to speak certain languages, as shown in Figure 5.2. This was particularly the case at Angolovo, although it must be remembered that the students at this school included Senior students who were more aware of the need to prepare for their futures. These reasons included the needs to succeed in school (as will be discussed further in Chapter 6), to prepare for future opportunities including further studies and employment (as will be discussed further in Chapter 8), and to improve levels of language competence.

5.3.2.4 The construction of punishment for breaking the rules

The two principals express similar views regarding punishment:

Extract 5.24

F: Afta sapos oli brekem rul ia bae oli panis ia? Yu harem se hem i pat blong hemia?

[F: And then if they break this rule will they be punished? Do you think this is part of it?

AP: Hem i no really ating bae **panis** **hem i no really bae i make sense? I mean blong panisim man from lanwis.** Ating (.) hem i base tumas wetem ol staf blong lid by example (.) so once hem i start/em off (.) bae yumi panisim pikinini from lanwis? **Most of the time bae hem i no wok.** ... From i mas uh trenem o tijim ol tija fastaem? Olgeta oli mas fluent bifo yumi kambak long (.) adresem uh issue blong lanwis blong pikinini. Bae yumi stat wetem ol tija. (XVI:51-60)

Extract 5.25

FP: **Taem yumi traem putum yumi panisim? Be pikinini i no andastan. I minim se yu no putum i go olsem.** Okei narafala samting tu we olsem? Mi mi hed blong skul be from i nidim coopération blong ol tija. Mi talem long olgeta se (.) pikinini hem i stap long anda blong yumi evriwan. Yu luk wan samting we i nogud? Yu correct/em hem. Be no oli no mekem. So bambae mi mi toktok toktok be mi stap toktok ia? Be narafala wan i stap mekem problem long narasaed. So mi no save mekem olgeta. Hemia nao main (.) wan weakness blong mifala ol tija se. Supporting blong running blong skul we blong mekem se (.) yumi putum wan tingting blong yumi wok long hem hem i no wok gud. That's why bambae weakness blong ol pikinini oli kam bae oli kwestinim. Yes bae yumi kwestinim yumi. Mas kwestinim yumi fastaem. Bifo yumi criticise/em ol pikinini. Se mifala i show/em gud wan eksampol long olgeta o no. Be bae yumi talem olsem wanem. (XVII:99-110)

AP: It's not really maybe **punishment doesn't really make sense? I mean to punish someone for language.** I think (.) it's really based on staff leading by example (.) so once it starts off (.) if we punish the children for language? **Most of the time it won't work.** ... Because we have to train the teachers first? They must be fluent before we come back to (.) address the uh issue of the children's language. We must start with the teachers.] (xvi:53-62)

[FP: **When we try to have it and we punish them? But the children don't understand. It means that you don't do it like that.** Okay something else is like? Me I am the head of the school but it needs the cooperation of teachers. I tell them that (.) the children are under all of us. You see something that's wrong? You correct it. But no they don't do it. So I'll talk and talk but I keep talking? But someone else is causing a problem on the other side. So I can't control them. That's now the main (.) one of our weaknesses as teachers. The supporting of the running of the school which is to (.) we suggest an idea for us to work towards but it doesn't work. That's why the children's weaknesses they'll come and they'll question. Yes they'll question us. We must question ourselves first. Before we criticise the children. Whether we show a good example to them or not. But what can we say.] (xvii:93-104)

Both principals state that they do not punish students for language use. Both make clear, however, that a language rule *should* be enforced, and blame the teachers for failing to do so. They state that they *would* enforce the rule if this were possible. Although the Angolovo principal seems to suggest that it is wrong to punish someone, he goes on to say that this is because it won't work, rather than because he disagrees with punishment itself. Meanwhile, the Faranako principal states that it is not possible to maintain a French-only rule since the students then don't understand. Neither feels able to enforce a strict language policy, despite wishing this were possible.

However,

Figure 5.1 showed that the majority of students wrote that they were punished for breaking the language rules. Students gave quite detailed accounts in their questionnaires of the type of punishments that were given. These accounts are very similar across the answers given by students from different classes, as shown in the following examples:

Extract 5.26

If I break these rules I will be in 2 hour detention. If I do it again I will be in school suspended. If I do it again I will be suspended and withdraw out from school. (Year 10)

If someone break this rules by speaking Bislama or Island language she/he will be doing detentions. If she or he keep doing it he will be suspended. (Year 11)

If we break these rules will be put down for detention because its our school rule that we have to speak English at all time. (Year 12)

"If a student break the rules he should be warn by a teacher and promise to speak english at all times. However, if he breaks it again he/she should have a punishment, detention, in-school suspension and withdraw from school. The student have these different forms of punishment." (Year 13)

On va faire punir pour que nous désobeissons à ces règles. [They will punish us because we have disobeyed the rules.] (Year 7)

Si tu ne suivre pas ces règles Monsieur le principale va te envoyé dehors. [If you don't follow these rules the principal will send you out.] (Year 8)

*Les choses qui se passent c'est on passe au bureau ou si non nous fait punition on arrache les socitives*¹⁹. [What will happen is we will be sent to the office or if not we have a punishment to weed the sensitive grass.] (Year 8)

Si on désobéit à ces règles le professeur doit mettre toi dehors. [If you disobey these rules the teacher will put you out.] (Year 9)

Si non on va punir, nous va arracher les herbes. [If not we will be punished, we will weed the grass.] (Year 10)

However, I saw no evidence of any punishment being given at either school for language use during the term. Punishments such as detention (including cutting grass and 'sensitive grass'), suspension and withdrawal were certainly given for infringements of other rules, such as smoking and missing classes, but not for language use. The principals, boarding masters and teachers agreed that punishments were not given for language, and this was supported by the detention records kept at Angolovo. Teachers at Faranako told me about other schools which did punish students for using languages other than French, appearing to be in favour of these systems, but said that their own students weren't good enough at French to force them to speak this language all the time.

Students appeared to recontextualise their awareness of punishment for other offences to construct a sense of punishment for language use too. Whether or not they genuinely believed that they would be punished for speaking L1, they wrote that they would be. Given that the questionnaires were completed individually, the similarities across answers within and between each school can only be accounted for by some shared sense that this is what the rules must be. There appears to be a relatively widespread discourse of institutional appropriateness that students reiterated (and generally supported) in their answers. As the Ministry guidelines are recontextualised, first as school rules, and then as day-to-day policy, discourses become increasingly less accommodating towards L1. Either the directive from the Ministry not to punish students is being ignored by schools, and the students are giving accurate accounts of something I failed to notice throughout the fieldwork, or the students

¹⁹ 'sensitive', the common name for nil grass/sensitive grass

are drawing on their conceptualisations of what they consider to be institutionally appropriate in order to construct accounts of punishments that don't exist.

The discursive construction of punishment conforms to a certain extent to a Foucauldian (1977) sense of discipline. Students appear to base their answers on the knowledge that they could be constantly observed and disciplined, and should be following the rules. They do not speak L2 only, as a result of this imagined surveillance. However, they do moderate their language use as a result of the awareness of the rules, by addressing teachers in L2 when they are expected to do so, and by often lowering their volume or switching to L2 when a teacher passes. The effects of surveillance are therefore quite visible.

5.4 Summary

The data in this chapter reveals the way language is talked about as a symbol of a school, thereby taking on an emblematic function. Language has become a marker of belonging to a school in the same way that wearing a school uniform has. Angolovo students should wear blue uniforms and speak English, while Faranako students wear blue and brown uniforms and speak French. Failure to conform to these norms makes a student less of a member of the institutional community to which he or she is supposed to belong.

As a result, special status is given to whichever language has been selected to represent each school. English was used by the Anglican founders of Angolovo, while French was used by the Catholic founders of Faranako, and these languages thus symbolise the missionary origins of the schools. These are also the languages of the colonial powers that formalised education into the system(s) Vanuatu retains today, and they are thus symbolic of what is meant by formal education. Finally, the two languages have been enshrined as 'the principal languages of education' in the national constitution, adding legal weight to their status.

For a number of reasons, English and French have thus long been considered to be the appropriate languages of education, demonstrating the complex

historical production of what are now taken for granted as school rules (cf. 3.2.2). Behaving well entails using one or both of these languages, but no others. Participants refer constantly to a sense of what should be done and the way it's always been, with few justifications given, thus eliminating the potential to interrogate or redefine the parameters of institutional norms. Where language is constructed as an institutional emblem, English and French become untouchable through a form of de facto policy (Shohamy, 2006b) that is hard to challenge without appearing to lose something important. There is a sense of duty attached to maintaining the status quo, which makes attempts to seek spaces for alternative practices appear seditious. This sense of duty merely compounds what Salhi (2002, p.326) refers to as "the delicate power of inertia and the persistence of things already in existence", such that the exclusive use of L2 has become part of "the historical body" of students and teachers (Esch, 2012, p.312, following Nihida, 1958). It is hard to imagine change and nobody seems interested in doing so.

However, plenty of space is actually left open for other linguistic resources. Official policy is not as draconian as participants suggest, and school rules are rarely enforced. Students and teachers do make use of resources of languages other than English or French in order to negotiate the day-to-day business of school life, demonstrating that the linguistic heterogeneity of the outside world is certainly not left behind at the school gates (cf. 1.1.3.3). The displays of language policy that have been described in 5.3.1 reveal that small amounts of L2 (and potentially L3) are sufficient for participants to avoid overtly flouting the rules, and thus maintain their identities as members of their school communities. However, it is also clear that this space is only being used 'off the record' (cf. Arthur, 1996). It happens out of earshot, or when tacit permission has been negotiated to use other languages. So space exists in which students and teachers can get by, but it is hard to argue that this space is actively being made use of.

6 Language as a tool for learning

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the way L2 is constructed as the only appropriate medium of instruction at each school. Within a classroom culture in which language is talked about as the tool through which knowledge can be transmitted from teachers to students, the logical argument constructed is that students need to master this language in order to learn. However, teachers recognise the difficulty imposed by L2, and they take on much of the language work themselves, thereby enabling lessons to proceed without obvious breakdowns. Although it is acknowledged that the use of L1 might help students understand, this is considered a fallback strategy rather than a positive resource. A number of arguments about the nature of Bislama, in particular, serve to maintain L2 as the only appropriate language, at least for the ‘on the record’ interaction. The tension is constantly revealed by the need to use sufficient amounts of L2 to conform to the institutional norms (as described in the previous chapter), while ensuring that effective learning and understanding takes place.

6.2 Language as part of the classroom culture(s)

Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 present sketches of a Year 10 classroom at each school, in which ‘B’, ‘G’ and ‘T’ represent boys, girls and the teacher, respectively. Students in the Angolovo classroom sat in groups of four, and there was a lot of interaction between them (sometimes as part of a task in which students were directed to collaborate, and at other times during either a whole-class activity or when students were meant to be working individually). Students in the Faranako classroom sat at individual desks, organised into straight rows. Students sometimes whispered to each other, for example to ask to borrow a pen, but this type of interaction was generally kept ‘under the radar’.

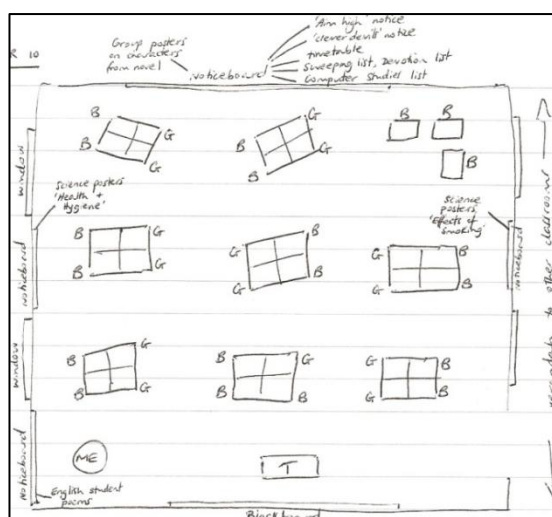


Figure 6.1 Angolovo Year 10 classroom layout

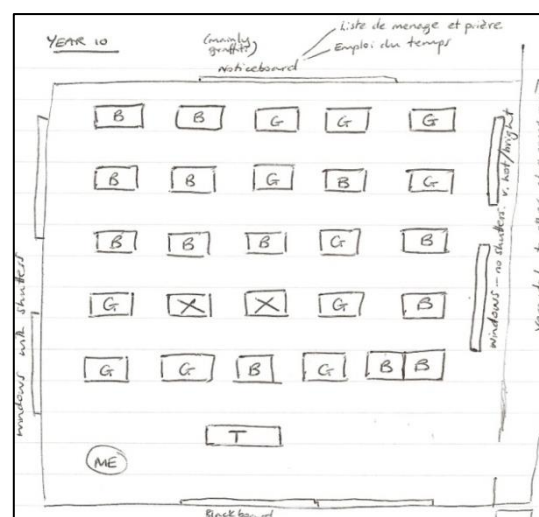


Figure 6.2 Faranako Year 10 classroom layout

This pattern extended to other classrooms. Angolovo lessons almost always involved elements of student-student interaction, while Faranako lessons did not. It is therefore possible that there is something ‘Anglophone’ about the classroom culture at Angolovo, and something ‘Francophone’ about that at Faranako, but, within a case study of this nature, this is not possible to ascertain²⁰. What is of more interest here is that, despite the surface-level differences between the opportunities for interaction within the two classrooms, language appeared to be used in similar ways.

Extract 6.1 and Extract 6.2 present what might be described as typical whole-class interaction patterns that I observed in the Year 10 classrooms.

²⁰ However, reading Nana’s (2010) description of Anglophone and Francophone classrooms in Cameroon, I was interested to see parallels with Vanuatu. For example, Nana’s descriptions of the way Francophone Cameroonian teachers maintained very organised blackboards, and were concerned with styles of handwriting (in contrast to the less rigid approach of the Anglophone teachers) was very similar to what I had observed on Ambae. The Faranako teachers always divided their blackboards using a ruler, and made use of red chalk to emphasise important words. If they dictated notes, they would pause and tell students to change to their red pens in order to emphasise a particular phrase, as well as instructing students on the punctuation they should use. Angolovo College teachers simply dictated notes, without giving information about format or punctuation, and their blackboard use appeared less structured or uniform.

Extract 6.1 Angolovo Yr 10 Agriculture

- T: *What is rumination. ((2)) What is rumination?*
- S1: *Chewing [food for once]*
- Ss: *[Chewing food] twice*
- T: *Again?*
- S1: *Animals that chew the food once.*
- Ss: *Twice ((laughter))*
- T: *Rumination? ((3)) What are ruminate animals?*
- Ss: *Animals that chew the food twice.*
- T: *Ruminate animals are animals that chew the food?*
- Ss: *Twice.*
- T: *Twice. Okay? Examples of ruminate animals are?*
- Ss: *Cattles.*
- T: *Cattle?*
- Ss: *Goats.*
- T: *Goats and?*
- Ss: *Sheep.*
- T: *Sheep. Okay? So? Cattle is one of the ruminate animals? And? ((2)) When its stomach is full of ((1)) grass this animal will find a shade somewhere and start to?*
- Ss: *Chew the cud.*
- T: *Okay. Chew the cud again. Which is known as?*
- Ss: *Rumination.*
- T: *Rumination.*

Extract 6.2 Faranako Yr 10 Social Science

T: Pour calculer la croissance de la population. ((1)) Pour faire le calcul sur la croissance de la population? Il s'agit plutôt ici? De deux facteurs. Donc le premier facteur était plutôt? ((3)) C'est quoi.

((2))

S1: [xx]

T: Oui ?

S1: Croisement [xx]

T: La croisement naturelle. Et nous avons le deuxième facteur qui est le?

Ss: Migration

T: La migrationné. Qu'est ce qu'il y a ici comme la différence entre la croisement naturelle et la migrationné. Que veut dire à croisement naturelle? Ca veut dire quoi? ((2)) [xx] à croisement naturelle.

((4))

S: [xx]

T: Quoi ? ((2)) C'est quoi le uh la croisement naturelle ? C'est quoi exactement ? Ce que c'est la croisement naturelle. ((2)) Il s'agit de quoi.

Ss: Naissances.

T: Il s'agit plutôt de changement eu à ?

Ss: Naissances.

T: Le chiffre du plutôt au naissances et au ?

Ss: Décès.

T: Au décès.

[T : To calculate population growth. ((1)) To do the calculation of the growth of the population? Here it involves? Two factors. So the first factor was what? ((3)) What is it.

((2))

S1: [xx]

T: Yes?

S1: Crossing²¹ [xx]

T: Natural crossing. And we have the second factor which is the?

Ss: Migration

T: Migration. What is the difference here between natural crossing and migration? What can we say for natural crossing? It means what? ((2)) [xx] natural crossing.

((4))

S: [xx]

T: What? ((2)) What is it uh natural crossing? What is it exactly? What is natural crossing. ((2)) It involves what.

Ss: Births.

T: It involves changes in?

Ss: Births.

T: The number of births and of?

Ss: Deaths.

T: Of deaths.]

²¹ The term 'croisement' means 'crossing'. However, the student suggests this as the term for 'growth' (instead of 'croissance'), and the teacher continues to use this term for the remainder of the episode.

In each case, the teacher does most of the work. In Extract 6.1, the teacher rephrases his question several times, before being provided with a definition for rumination. Several students answer together, appearing to make use of fixed phrases ('chewing food' and 'animals that chew the food'), although there is confusion about how many times the food is chewed. When the teacher asks for examples of ruminant animals, several students answer together, providing the three examples in the same order. The teacher then tries to link these examples back to rumination, but the students (again, in chorus) complete his sentence with the synonymous phrase 'chew the cud', with no students calling out 'ruminate'. It seems that the students make use of phrases and lists of examples in the order in which this information had previously been presented to them, an impression that was later confirmed by notes I saw in students' exercise books.

In Extract 6.2, the teacher begins with an open question, but rephrases this to ask for the two factors needed to calculate population growth. A student provides a suggestion (not fully audible to the recording device), which the teacher accepts as the first factor. In so doing, she appears to accept the student's use of '*croisement*' (crossing) in place of '*croissance*' (growth), and continues to use this for the remainder of the episode. Having elicited the second factor of migration, she asks for the definition of natural growth. Again, she makes several attempts to elicit this information, before reformulating her question into a version that enables a group of students to provide the single word 'naissances' (births) and, from there, she is able to elicit the term '*décès*' (deaths).

In both cases, the students appear to understand the content required. They supply the correct information (despite initial confusion in Extract 6.1 over the number of times the food is chewed), and they seem able to draw on previous learning to do this. They use enough L2 to conform to expectations, but rely heavily on one-word answers and formulaic responses in chorus. In both extracts, the teacher's prosodic cues of rising intonation orchestrate the interaction, indicating to students when they are to contribute, and restricting student participation to pre-determined answers. I witnessed a number of similar episodes, through which I built up the impression of a classroom culture

in which teachers took care of all procedural, or language work, while the students simply filled in the content, through carefully controlled Initiation-Response-Feedback structures (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, 1992), thereby maintaining the construction of the monolingual classroom norm (Heller, 1995). Students seemed capable of fulfilling their role, and it cannot be said that the use of L2 was stopping any form of learning from taking place. I noticed few obvious breakdowns in communication, where the lesson had to stop or completely change direction, but teachers constantly had to rephrase and simplify their questions and instructions. The patterns mirrored those described in other contexts, such as Brunei and Botswana:

The IRF pattern has a potential benefit in that it 'essentially strips the work of turn taking and utterance design' away from the learners (van Lier, 1996, pp.151-152). It does so by providing relatively undemanding 'display slots' for learners to fill. Thus the lesson proceeds smoothly through a collaboratively constructed flow of discourse which is, however, essentially a teacher monologue (Stubbs, 1983). (Arthur & Martin, 2006, p.182)

The situation is also resonant with Chick's (1996; Hornberger & Chick, 2001) descriptions of 'safe-talk', in which teachers and students appear to work together to maintain the appearance of successful learning, using chorus responses as a social, rather than academic, strategy to maintain this classroom ritual. As Pérez-Milans (2011) notes, the term 'safe-talk' has often been erroneously applied to any instances of chorus interaction (see also Weber, 2008), neglecting the focus on the social function intended by Chick. However, a comparison of Chick's classroom data (1996, pp.26-7) and Extract 6.1 and Extract 6.2 reveals very similar interaction patterns in which students provide only low value information, merely repeating information from their notes, thus suggesting that the lessons I observed were structured to enable students to "participate in ways that reduce the possibility of the loss of face associated with providing incorrect responses to teacher elicitations, or not being able to provide responses at all" (ibid., p.29).

I witnessed only three occasions on which L1 was either used by the teacher in the classroom, or explicitly sanctioned for the students to use: on the first, the Angolovo Social Science teacher used the Bislama term 'had wok' (hard work) to clarify the concept of the 'burden' for the working population caused by

dependents; while dealing with the same topic, the Faranako Social Science teacher explained that the French phrase 'les petits' (grandchildren) meant 'smol bubu' in Bislama, and later switched to Bislama briefly to explain that 'sapos population i hae bae i no gat naf wok' (if the population is high, there won't be enough work); finally, while trying to elicit examples of plants that reproduced through various methods of seed dispersal, the Faranako Biology teacher told Year 7 students that they could use Bislama or the vernacular to provide examples. All other teacher-student interaction that I observed was carried out in L2.

Classrooms at both schools were arranged in rows, along the side of which was a covered walkway from which it was easy to hear at least the teacher talking through the open windows (see Picture 6.1, foreground, and Picture 6.2). I therefore had further access to incidental examples of classroom interaction every time I walked from one end of the block to the other, and I heard nothing that suggested that the lessons I observed proceeded in any unusual way. (The walkway also enabled surveillance of lessons by principals and other staff, thus making it unlikely that a teacher would make use of L1 if this was not considered institutionally acceptable. cf. Chapter 5.)



Picture 6.1 Angolovo College classrooms



Picture 6.2 Collège de Faranako classrooms

At Angolovo, groupwork was built into the lessons and, at this point, the resources of both L1 and L2 were frequently used. Student talk was generally low volume, and the approach of a teacher often triggered either a switch to L2

or silence. While groupwork was going on, teachers would frequently comment to me on the fact that so much Bislama was being used. They revealed discomfort about the use of L1 (perhaps heightened by my presence), but also suggested that enforcing L2 only would prevent students being able to complete tasks. Faranako lessons provided no opportunities for groupwork, so inter-student talk was confined to whispered exchanges while the teacher's back was turned which, again, was generally dominated by L1.

In summary, teaching was going ahead in L2, as expected by the institutional norms. Whole-class interaction was led by teachers, with students required to do little more than provide single words in L2, thereby enabling activities to proceed without obvious breakdowns. When students were expected to take on more language work, the use of L1 and L2 together was considered acceptable, albeit by teachers turning a blind eye rather than explicitly authorising such language use.

6.2.1 A transmission model of teaching

During interviews, teachers described the struggle of transferring knowledge to students through the expected language. For example, when asked about which languages are appropriate to use in the classroom, Miss Adina states,

Extract 6.3

Miss Adina: hem i matter of (.) yumi pasem knowledge. ... it doesn't matter if I use any language in passing on the knowledge. ... both English and Bislama mi save yusum blong mi save pasem knowledge since language is any language (1) yusum blong communicate/em information. (XIII:13-29)

[Miss Adina: it's a matter of (.) us transferring the knowledge. ... it doesn't matter if I use any language in passing on the knowledge. ... I can use both English and Bislama to transfer knowledge since language is any language (1) used to communicate information.] (xiii:11-26)

Here, she uses the metaphor of teaching as the transmission of knowledge, which corresponded to my observations of a teacher-led approach in the classroom. She later argues:

Extract 6.4

Mi no wantem save se hem i kasem long which <laughs> which uh (.) which lanwis? Mi wantem save nomo se styuden karem save we blong i gat wan fiuja. (XIV:605-7)

[I don't care which <laughs> which uh (.) language they learn in? All I care about is that the students get the knowledge for them to have a future.] (iii:557-9)

In these explanations, Miss Adina emphasises the importance of learning. She argues that the priority is getting knowledge to students, and that language is just the means through which this is done (cf. XVIII:38-42, 124-8/xviii:39-42, 123-7 on language as a 'tool'; XXI:19-29, 37-44, 141-9/xxi:19-29, 35-43, 137-45 on language as a 'vehicle for knowledge'; see also XIII:595-615, 788-805, 813-14, 820/xiii:548-65, 730-46, 754-5, 761; XIV:785-7/xiv:738-9; XIX: 548-52/xix:537-41). Miss Adina concludes in both extracts, through the topos of *successful learning*, that it doesn't matter which language is used. She keeps the focus on learning, rather than on any particular language, stating explicitly that any language (or a combination of them) can be used.

In the Francophone teachers' interview, Mr Fred draws on the same metaphor:

Extract 6.5

*Mr Fred: Wan impoten samting? Yu yu wantem se pikinini i save. ... So yu traem bes blong yu blong pik- i go **insaed long (.) bren blong hem**. So yu stap lukaotem ol wei/s blong yu mekem se nem blong samting ia i mas go long bren blong hem. **Be sapos yu talem long Français?** And then pikinini hem i se (.) no nem ia? Mi no (.) taem **yu talem long Bislama be taem Bislama i no gat? Bae yu talem long lanwis nao.** (XV:133-40)*

[Mr Fred: Something important? You want the children to understand. ... So you try your best so that chil- so that it **goes into (.) their brains**. So you keep looking for ways to make the names of things go into their brains. **But if you say it in French?** And then the children say (.) no that name? I don't (.) when **you say it in Bislama but when Bislama doesn't work? Then you say it in lanwis now.**] (xv:122-8)

He, again, argues that other languages can be used to 'get things into the students' brains', thereby drawing on the topos of *successful learning*. However, by listing French, Bislama, and lanwis in turn, Mr Fred makes clear, firstly, how separate he considers these three languages to be as alternative media of

instruction and, secondly, the hierarchy in which these languages are positioned. Languages other than French are only considered appropriate when problems arise. Although Mr Fred appears to keep learning at the centre of his argument, the ideological tension surrounding the language(s) through which this should happen is clear.

Mlle Felicia draws on the same metaphor to describe the use of L2 to explain, pass, or give something to the students (the Bislama transitive suffix –Vm makes the metaphor of transmission particularly salient, as four transitive verbs are used in quick succession):

Extract 6.6

*Mlle Felicia: Lanwis hem i is- hem i stret. Yumi **yusum** blong yumi save **talem** wan (.) **pasem** wan (.) olsem **givim** wan samting uh? Be hem i lelebet difficile tu (.) olsem difficile tu olsem long level blong ol tu from (.) hem i wan lanwis tu olsem hem i jes lanem. (XV:29-32)*

[Mlle Felicia: The language is eas- it's fine. We **use** it so that we can **say** a (.) **transfer** a (.) like **give** something uh? But it's a bit difficult too (.) like difficult too like at their level too because (.) it's a language too that they are just learning.] (xv:26-9)

On this occasion, Mlle Felicia says it is not the language itself that is problematic, but that the students have not learnt it sufficiently yet. She reveals an understanding of language as a system that can be taught, learnt and mastered, in order to be used as an effective tool. Rather than considering using alternative languages to ensure that learning takes place, Mlle Felicia focuses on whether the students have sufficiently mastered the expected language.

Students also refer to the teachers 'giving' them work and subjects, appearing to distance themselves from the question of whether this is problematic for them. In Extract 6.7, Frinston explains that he sees no problem using French, because he is used to it; in Extract 6.8, Feven does not question the use of L2 (and L3) in school, arguing that they need to know these languages in order to learn (cf. XII:46-59/xii:45-58):

Extract 6.7

Frinston: Taem mi skul long praemeri i kam. ... Finis? Mekem ol matièr we ol tija i stap givim (.) i isi nomo. (XII:14-16)

[Frinston: Because I've learnt it since primary. ... Already? It means that the subjects which the teachers give us (.) are easy.] (xii:14-17)

Extract 6.8

Feven: Ol tija oli givim ol wok long yumi oli eksplenem long Inglis mo French i gud blong yumi lanem Inglis mo French. (XII:52-3)

[Feven: When the teachers give us work they explain in English and French so it's good that we learn English and French.] (xii:51-2)

Similarly, the following discussion between two Anglophone students over which language(s) should be used in the classroom reveals conceptualisations of language as a way of getting the information that “subjects use” and that are “inside the book”. Both students prioritise learning, and argue that they need to know certain languages to acquire knowledge and information, but they disagree on the languages through which this can or should be accessed.

Extract 6.9

*Arthur: Long tingting blong mi mi ting se ating bae (.) yumi save yusum (.) Inglis nomo? Mo French. (1) Inglis mo French. From (1) tudei ol tu- **ol sabjek blong yumi we yumi stap yusum long skul? Tugeta oli yusum Inglis wetem French.** From tufala sabjek ia nomo? Uh tufala lanwis ia nomo? Be yumi stap lanem blong yumi save andastanem **ol wod/s we olsem oli had insaed long ol buk (.) textbook o ol buk we bae yumi stadi long hem.** From sapos yumi lanem ol narafala lanwis? Naoia bae i mekem i difficult blong yumi nao. Blong yumi andastanem ol (.) ol er (.) wod/s insaed long buk o (.) ol texts we bae yumi ridim. Mi mi ting se bae yumi save yusum tufala lanwis ia nomo.*

[Arthur: In my opinion I think that maybe (.) we should use (.) just English? And French. (1) English and French. Because (1) today to- **our subjects that we use in school? Together they use English and French.** Because just these two subjects? Uh just these two languages? But we learn them so that we can understand **the words that are hard inside the books** (.) textbooks or books that we study with. Because if we learn other languages? That will make it difficult for us now. For us to understand the (.) the er (.) words inside the books or (.) the texts that we'll read. I think that we should only use these two languages.

(2)

(2)

Andrina: *Mi mi ting se **bae yumi yusum tri**. Olsem Inglis French mo Bislama. From (.) sapos olgeta olsem um ol tija oli go long toktok Inglis? Afta olsem oli no andastanem? Bae oli eksplenem bakegen long Bislama. From se uh samfala styuden oli olsem oli no skul gud long olsem long Inglis olsem mifala? French? Mekem se bae (.) bae i yusum Bislama blong eksplenem long olgeta. Bae oli andastanem gud.*

(7)

Arthur: *Mi mi ting se **oli mas yusum tu nomo** from sapos oli stat i kam antap we oli smolsmol i kam antap wetem tufala Inglis ia? Bae hem i no iven had wanpis blong ol tija we oli eksplen bakegen long Bislama. From olgeta oli save gud Inglis finis taem oli smol oli kam antap wetem French. Mekem se bae hem i isi blong olgeta. Oli save andastanem wanem we ol tija blong olgeta i mekem. Be sapos oli ademap Bislama i go bakegen? Naoia bae i jes stap mekem i had ia nao from (.) wan i wantem toktok Inglis? O French? Wan i wantem tok Bislama? Mekem se tufala lanwis er trifala lanwis ia bae oli no save gohed gud wanpis. (XI:215-39)*

Andrina: **I think we should use three.** That is English French and Bislama. Because (.) if they like the teachers go and speak English? And then like they don't understand? Then they explain again in Bislama. Because uh some students like they haven't learnt English well like us? Or French? So they (.) they should use Bislama to explain to them. They will understand properly.

(7)

Arthur: I think that **we should just use two** because if they start and come up from when they are tiny and come up with these two Englishes? Then it won't be hard at all and the teachers won't need to explain again in Bislama. Because they already know English from when they're small onwards and French. So it will be easy for them. They can understand what their teachers are doing. But if they add Bislama in again? That will just make it difficult now because (.) one wants to speak English? Or French? One wants to speak Bislama? So that the two languages or the three languages can't go ahead at all.] (xi:203-225)

Arthur claims that English and French should be used, based on the rationale that these are the two languages in which books are written (cf. XI:259-63/xi:244-8). Andrina, however, argues that Bislama should be used alongside these languages, since this may help many students to understand the explanations better. The same conclusion rule, the topos of *successful learning*, appears to be connecting both students' claims to the evidence they draw on, but they reach different conclusions. Unable to dispute Andrina's logic, Arthur therefore draws on a different rationale in his second turn to restate his claim, suggesting that students won't have trouble using English and French if they

have used these languages since they were small, but too many languages would be confusing.

To link this justification to his argument for two languages only, Arthur appears to be drawing on the topoi of *target language* and *interference*. However, it is significant that he considers the addition of Bislama to the other two languages confusing, but he sees no difficulty with the use of both English and French. Although he does not use any overt predication strategies that label Bislama as different from the other languages, he does nothing to explain his reasoning that three languages are confusing, while two languages are not.

Through a combination of the metaphor of teaching as the transmission of knowledge, and the topos of *successful learning*, teachers and students describe the way they use language as best they can to transfer and receive information. Teachers describe themselves as professionals doing their utmost to do their jobs, while students base their arguments on considerations of which languages will enable them to access the knowledge they require. There is a constant tension between using the expected medium of instruction and getting knowledge across effectively.

6.2.2 Teachers and learners – Us and them

The way teachers and students talk about themselves and each other also shows how language is understood. Wodak (2001, p.73) describes categories of 'us' and 'them' as "the basic fundamentals of discourses of identity and difference". In studies such as Blackledge (2005) and Lawton (2010), these categories are taken to be markers of difference that index discrimination and intolerance. In my data, there is no sense of intolerance between different groups within the classroom, but teachers do construct their students as 'the other' through their use of oppositional pronouns.

It may be typical of institutional discourse for teachers to position themselves apart from their students. Although unremarkable, it has implications for the way language is conceptualised as a tool that students must master. Rather than

talking about language as a component of shared classroom practice, teachers construct it as an object with which a group other than themselves has difficulty.

Mlle Felicia states,

Extract 6.10

*Mlle Felicia: I oraet olsem **yu** toktok **oli**
andastanem **yu**. Bae **yu** toktok **oli**
andastanem be wan samting nomo?
Olgeta oli no manage blong bae **oli**::
traem blong toktok long olsem (.)
ansarem bak **yu** bakegen long French.
(XV:17-20)*

[Mlle Felicia: It's alright like **you** talk
and **they** understand **you**. **You** talk and
they understand but just one thing?
They don't manage to:: try to speak to
like (.) answer **you** back again in
French.] (xv:16-19)

The constant switching from the second person singular pronoun, which refers to the teachers²², to the third person plural pronoun, which refers to the students, constructs two different groups. This pattern is repeated throughout the interview. The inclusive first person plural pronoun *yumi* is also used frequently in all teacher interviews (with reference to the interlocutors, i.e. the fellow teacher interviewees, but never appearing to include the students they talk about), while the exclusive pronoun *mifala* (excluding the fellow teacher interviewees) is never used to refer to a teacher and their students together. Teachers do not speak from the perspective of a member of a group *with* their students. Rather, they speak from a shared teacher experience *about* their students, in which they describe their attempts to mediate the language difficulties faced²³.

Miss Agnes reports that she used to struggle with the language herself, but, while she is conscious that her students still struggle, she now feels more confident in her own ability:

²² The point was made during a group teacher interview, in which teachers directly addressed each other, as well as me. I consider the second person pronoun to be used here to refer to 'the teacher in general', so that a contrast is constructed between 'teachers' and 'them', rather than strictly between 'us' and 'them'.

²³ My questions will have contributed to this dichotomy – I asked whether teachers found it easy or difficult to use L2, before asking whether they thought students found it easy or difficult – but throughout fairly extended turns, no participants broke down this dichotomy by referring to anything shared about the difficulties.

Extract 6.11

*Miss Agnes: Fastaem we olsem blong mi tijim Inglis? Hem i mi faenem i had lelebet blong mi tijim. ... Afta taem se i kam go olsem naoia seken yia? Mi mi filim se **naoia olsem se (.) mi save yusum (.) i stret nomo long klas wetem ol styuden. Be samtaem bae ol styuden bae oli nid blong mi ripitim bakegen mi wan? Samtaem i no klia tumas long olgeta** so bae mi mas ripitim (.) er (.) instruction blong mi bakegen blong mekem i mo klia long olgeta. (XIII:31-9)*

[Miss Agnes: **When I was first teaching English?** I found it a bit difficult to teach. ... Then now time goes on now to the second year? I feel that **now like (.) I can use it (.)** it's fine in the class with the students. But sometimes **the students will need me to repeat myself again? Sometimes it's not very clear to them** so I'll have to repeat (.) er (.) my instructions again to make it clearer for them.] (xiii:28-35)

Miss Agnes refers to her own difficulties separately from those of her students, and does not acknowledge the difficulties posed for everyone by the use of L2. Now that she feels she has mastered it, the problem appears to rest entirely with students. Language is thus constructed as a system that can (and must) be acquired in order to be utilised effectively (cf. XIX:33-5, 39-46, 600-9/xix:33-6, 38-45, 585-93), rather than something inseparable from either its users or learning.

Excerpts from the student interviews reveal a similar separation between 'them' (the teachers) and 'us' or 'me' (the students), realised either through pronouns or explicit use of the professional anthroponyms. The following comments by two Anglophone students include a contrast between third person and first person (inclusive) plural, and third person and first person singular, respectively:

Extract 6.12

*Andrina: Sapos **ol tija oli** talem long **yumi (.) yumi** save ansarem **olgeta**. (XI:28-9)*

[Andrina: If the **teachers** explain to **us (.) we** can answer **them**.] (xi:26)

Extract 6.13

*Aston: Taem **tija** i eksplen long Inglis? Most bae **mi** andastan. Be sapos we (.) **hem** i (.) continue blong (.) eksplen long French nomo? Ating bae **mi** no (.) bae **mi** no save andastanem nomo. (XI:4-6)*

[Aston: When the **teacher** explains in English? **I** can understand most of it. But if (.) **he** (.) continues to (.) explain in French? I don't think I (.) **I** will be able to understand.] (xi:4-6)

Again, it is unsurprising that students talk about their teachers as belonging to a different category, given their positions of authority. However, conforming to the roles of 'student' and 'teacher' does not prevent talk about what they all do together in the classroom. However, students refer only to work that the teachers 'give' and 'explain', positioning themselves on the receiving end of a unidirectional process mediated through a language.

Perhaps the clearest indication of teachers, students and language being considered separately can be seen in the following comment by a Francophone student:

Extract 6.14

*Feven: Mi long tingting blong mi se bae yumi yusum French taem yumi skul long praemeri i kam antap. Kasem long Klas 6. Afta yumi (.) blong go long secondary long Yia 7 go long ... French mo Inglis. **Ol tija oli kam givim Inglis blong yumi bae yumi stap yusum.*** (XII:369-74)

[Feven: In my opinion we should use French when we're in primary school upwards. Until Class 6. Then when we (.) go to secondary in Year 7 we should go to ... French and English. **The teachers will come and give English to us and then we'll use it.**] (xii:357-61)

Feven suggests that teachers can arrive at the start of a new year and 'give' them a new language that they can then use from that point forward. Each language is treated as a potential medium of instruction, and new ones can be added at any time. Language is thus constructed as a tool through which successful learning can and should take place.

These interview extracts present a classroom culture in which teachers and students occupy different roles as transmitters and recipients of knowledge. The discourse is in line with my own impressions based on classroom observation, discussed in 6.2. While teachers find their role difficult, due to the students' inability to 'receive' the knowledge in the way that they want to 'transmit' it (due to low competence in the language used as the 'tool' of 'transmission'), students are unlikely to be able to comment on L2 itself as a problem within this classroom culture. It is hard for them to critique the use of the only medium they

have ever known in school²⁴. It is hard to envisage either teachers or students challenging the status quo and seeking alternatives, since no clear problem is acknowledged.

6.3 Sufficient linguistic competence for learning

Within the classroom culture described, students are expected to have sufficient competence in L2 to learn all subjects through it. I saw no document in Vanuatu that makes any specific mention of any normative indicator of such competence. The assumption appears to be that students selected for Year 9 will have performed sufficiently well in the Year 8 national examination, including in L2, to proceed with their studies. My personal experiences as an L2 user of French in the Faranako classrooms would challenge this, as I found I struggled to concentrate on so many different subjects in succession (see Extract 4.2), despite having no problem with the requirements of the Year 8 French L2 examination. I judged my own competence in French to be sufficient for my purposes as an observer in the classroom, but not to engage actively within the lesson.

My observations suggested that students were in a similar or weaker position. They appeared to understand much of what the teachers were saying, but they had either limited opportunity or ability to participate much themselves. The broad tests I carried out of students' ability to speak and write in L2 and L3 suggested a lack of confidence, at least, in using either language. Figure 6.3 to Figure 6.6 summarise my judgement of L2 and L3 ability at both schools. As noted in 4.2.1.3, I use subdivisions of the CEFR levels to do this, although I do not suggest that these judgements are either valid or reliable, with reference to others' usage of the framework.

²⁴It should also be remembered that the students who I am interviewing have managed to cope with learning through an L2 sufficiently well to make it as far as Year 10, while those that struggle more have already dropped out of the system.

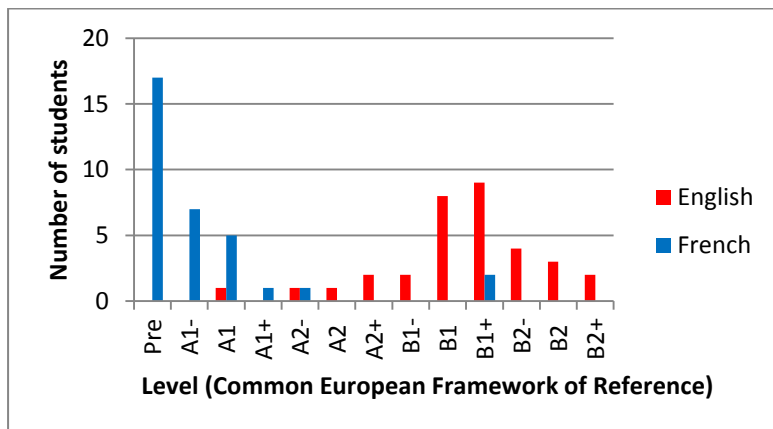


Figure 6.3 Speaking (Angolovo)

Average L2 (English) = B1/B1+; Average L3 (French) = A1-

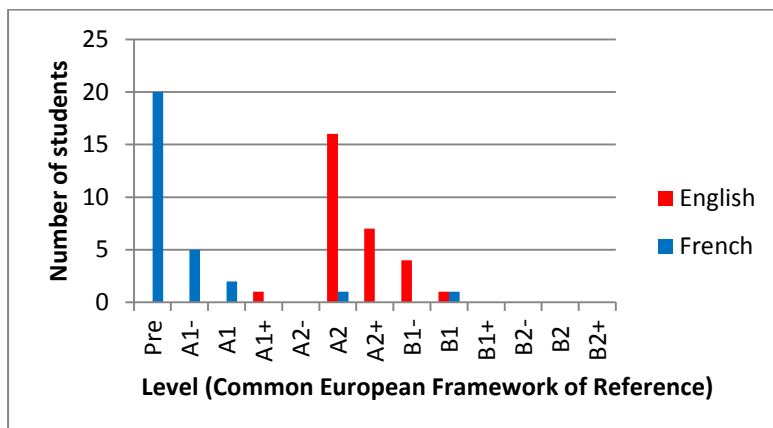


Figure 6.4 Writing (Angolovo)

Average L2 (English) = A2/A2+; Average L3 (French) = Pre/A1-

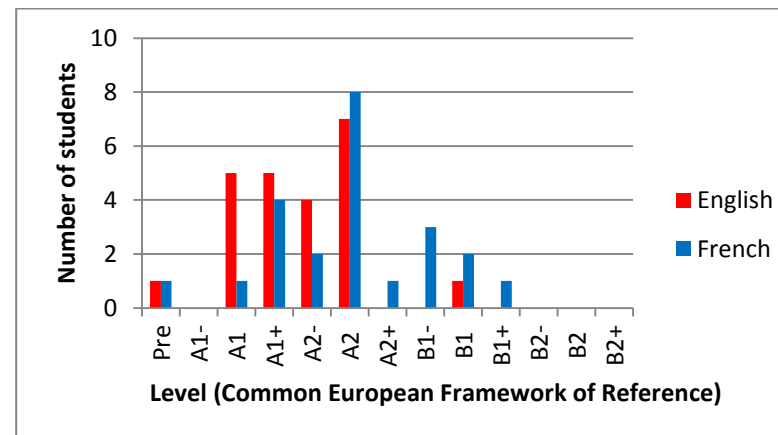


Figure 6.5 Speaking (Faranako)

Average L2 (French) = A2-/A2; Average L3 (English) = A1+/A2-

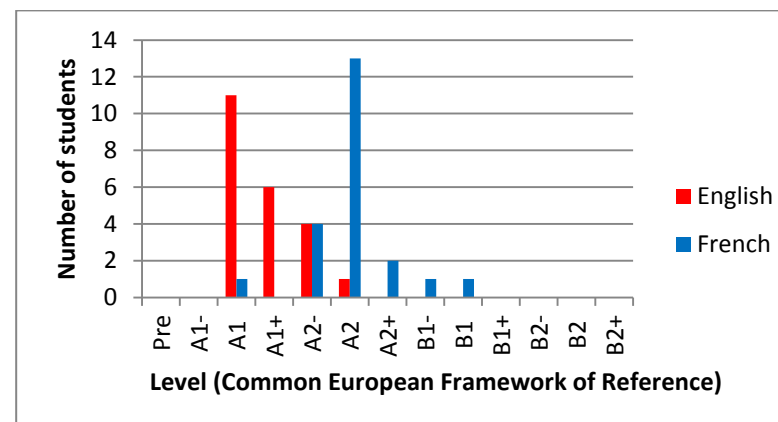


Figure 6.6 Writing (Faranako)

Average L2 (French) = A2; Average L3 (English) = A1/A1+

According to the Council of Europe (2001), ‘independent users’ of a language are those considered to be at B1 or B2 levels. The Francophone assessor and I considered the majority of Angolovo students to be able to speak at some length in English, and assigned an average level of B1/B1+. Few were judged to fall below A2 for either speaking or writing. However, we considered the vast majority ‘pre-level’ in French, unable to produce anything at all in this language. At Faranako, the students’ levels in the two languages were closer together, averaging A1 or A2 in both French and English. Although the assessment did lend weight to the common perception that Francophones speak L3 better than Anglophones, it appeared that this particular group of Francophone students could only be considered ‘basic users’ (averaging A2) (ibid.) of the language they were expected to use as the medium of instruction.

6.3.1 Students as helpless experiencers of language difficulties

Teachers seem aware that their students struggle in L2. In the following four extracts, teachers describe similar accounts of unsuccessful attempts to explain in L2:

Extract 6.15

*Mr Felix: Samtaem mi toktok Franis mi luk ol pikinini oli (.) <laughs> sam **oli stap ae i bigbigwan.** (XV:7-8)*

[Mr Felix: Sometimes I speak French I see the children (.) <laughs> some **just sit there wide-eyed.**] (xv:7-8)

Extract 6.16

*Mr Fred: Mi toktok Français gogo bae (.) yu luk se (.) **i go fas?** Naoia bae mi **kambak** long Bislama nao. (XV:12-13)*

[Mr Fred: I go ahead in French (.) you’ll see that (.) **it doesn’t work?** I’ll **come back** to Bislama now.] (xv:12-13)

Extract 6.17

*Mrs Anne: Nomata yu eksplenem wan samting we yu ting se yu eksplenem hem i very klia long ol styuden long Inglis? **But stil bae oli no save er andastanem nomo.** So:: fulap taem mi stap tempted se mi (.) **turnaround** mi jes traem blong eksplenem long (.) Bislama long olgeta ating bae oli save andastanem mo. (XIV:28-31)*

[Mrs Anne: Even if you explain something that you think you’ve explained very clearly to the students in English? **But still they just won’t be able to er understand.** So:: I’m often tempted to (.) **turnaround** I just try to explain in (.) Bislama to them maybe they will understand more.] (xiv:26-9)

Extract 6.18

*Miss Adina: Mi no yusum Inglis approach evri taem sometimes **mi mas kamdaon long level blong olgeta** (.) **eksplenem slowly or putum long simple terms. Sometimes? I can go as far as explaining it in Bislama.*** (XIII:16-18)

[Miss Adina: I don't use the English approach all the time sometimes **I have to come down to their level** (.) **explain it slowly or put it in simple terms. Sometimes? I can go as far as explaining it in Bislama.**] (xiii:14-16)

Again, these teachers draw on the topos of *successful learning* to justify switching to Bislama when students cannot understand. The phrases “come back”, “turnaround” and “come down” present the languages as unequal options, as Bislama is only used when the expected medium fails. Teachers thus describe L2 as a problem that students cannot deal with (cf. XIII:93-100/xiii:85-92; XIV:348-51/xiv:328-31; XVII:127-31, 142-55, 159-61/xvii:120-5, 135-8, 144-8).

In some extracts, students are positioned in an adjunct clause, helpless experiencers of L2, which is assigned the role of grammatical subject:

Extract 6.19

*Mr Felix: Franis hem i had lelebet **long olgeta**.* (XV:9)

[Mr Felix: French is a bit hard **for them**.] (xv:8-9)

Extract 6.20

*Mr Andrew: A lot of er words we mifala i yusum blong tijim long Science oli very difficult **for** (.) **wan yang learner**.* (XIV:10-11)

[Mr Andrew: A lot of er the words that we use to teach Science are very difficult **for** (.) **a young learner**.] (xiv:10-11)

In other extracts, a third person singular pronoun subject – ‘hem i lelebet difficile’ (see Extract 6.6), ‘i no klia tumas long olgeta’ (Extract 6.11), ‘i go fas’ (Extract 6.16) – represents something like ‘explanation through L2’, while the students are, again, less prominent. The inadequacy thus remains depersonalised.

Finally, where students are positioned as the subject, the lexis of difficulty and fear removes some of their agency, depicting them as helpless:

Extract 6.21

*Mr Andrew: Oli faenem **lelebet**
difficulty wetem (.) lanwis. (XIV:8-9)*

[Mr Andrew: They find **a slight**
difficulty with (.) language.] (xiv:8-9)

Extract 6.22

*Mlle Felicia: Oli stap **hesitate** oli
fraet o oli olsem wanem. **Timides**
blong ansarem yu. (XV:25-6)*

[Mlle Felicia: They **hesitate** or
they're **afraid** or they're kind of.
Timid to answer you.] (xv:23-4)

Students are therefore described as passive experiencers of problems caused by L2, constructing language as the cause or agent of these problems. Language is considered external to its users, either a tool or a barrier to successful teaching (cf. XV:45-8, 75-9/xv:40-3, 68-72; XVII:18-20/xvii:16-8).

Teachers blame any difficulties on the fact their students haven't acquired L2 to a sufficient standard. By doing so, they appear content with the use of L2 as medium of instruction. The Francophone teachers, for example, contrast the difficulties faced by Faranako students with the ease with which urban students use French. In each case, a well-known school in the capital city is named, and compared to their own situation. The teachers construct the problem as resting with their particular students who have not mastered L2, in comparison to other (better) students:

Extract 6.23

*Mr Felix: Mi stap **long Montmartre**
fastaem? Ol styuden oli luk se (.) hem i
(.) isi. Be long ples ia samtaem mi
toktok Franis mi luk ol pikinini oli (.)
<laughs> sam oli stap ae i bigbigwan.
Mi (.) mi ting se Franis hem i had
lelebet long olgeta long (.) long long
aelan.*

[Mr Felix: I was **at Montmartre** first?
The students seemed like (.) it was (.)
easy. But here sometimes I speak
French I see the children (.) <laughs>
some just sit there wide-eyed. I think
French is a bit hard for them on (.) on
on the islands.

(2)

(2)

Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i tru hem i tru.
 Mi mi stap **long Lycée**? Long Lycée yu
 toktok Français hem i (1) i oraet. Be
 taem mi kambak **long aelan**? Mi toktok
 Français gogo bae (.) yu luk se (.) i go
 fas? Naoia bae mi kambak long
 Bislama nao. Mi toktok Bislama ia.

(5)

Mlle Felicia: Mi go mekem (.) wanem ia
 praktikel blong mi **long Montmartre**?
 Mi luk se lanwis ia hem i:: (.) yu toktok
 oli ansarem yu hariap nomo. ... Be **long**
ples ia oli tekem (.) olsem oli stap
 hesitate. (XV:6-25)

Mr Fred: It's (.) It's true it's true. I was **at**
Lycée? At Lycée you speak French it's
 (1) it's alright. But now I've come back
to the island? I go ahead in French (.)
 you'll see that (.) it doesn't work? I'll
 come back to Bislama now. I speak
 Bislama.

(5)

Mlle Felicia: ... I did my (.) what's that
 my practical **at Montmartre**? I saw that
 language wa::s (.) you spoke and they
 just answered you straightaway. ... But
here they make it (.) like they hesitate.]
 (xv:6-23)

Anglophone teachers also compare situations in which L2 works with those in which it is easier to use L1:

Extract 6.24

Mr Aru: I gat **few styuden/s nomo** we
 bae oli traem blong (.) yu givim ol
 explanation long Inglis we olgeta i
 grab/em (.) er straightaway. **Fulap**
blong olgeta bae yu introduce-m bae
 yu ripitim sem information o sapos no?
 Olsem long level blong pikinini olsem
 Bislama yumi yusum hem i much more
 klia long olgeta? (XIII:42-46)

[Mr Aru: There are **only a few**
students who will try to (.) you give the
 explanations in English and they grab it
 (.) er straightaway. **Many of them** you'll
 introduce it and you'll have to repeat
 the same information or if not? Like at
 their level it's much clearer for them
 when we use Bislama?] (xiii:38-42)

In both interviews, teachers appear to separate students into those who cope and those who don't, and situations where L2 works from those where it doesn't. They therefore continue to draw on the topos of *successful learning* to justify their use of L1. They make it clear that they only have to do this because most of these particular students do not have sufficient competence to cope as expected. The implication is that language is there to be learnt and, once mastered, it can be used for learning (as the medium through which knowledge can be transmitted).

Interestingly, students seem unwilling or unable to talk about any difficulties they personally face with L2. Although my observations, language assessment and teachers' accounts all indicate that they struggle, neither group of student interviewees talks about such a problem from their own experience. The Francophone students all state that they have no difficulties using French, since they have learnt it since they were small (XII:1-16/xii:1-17). They also say they like the language (XII:18-29/xii:19-29), and at no point report any problems. In contrast, the Anglophone group mention difficulties (XI:8-12/xi:8-11), but these students tend to distance themselves personally from this difficulty by referring to others.

For example, when asked whether they are good at English, and whether they wish they spoke it better, Arthur appears to begin to answer this about himself, but then shifts to explaining how students in general can improve their English, a move that the others follow:

Extract 6.25

*Arthur: Mi mi ting se **mi mi gud blong Inglis** from (.) long Inglis? **Sapos yu speak long hem? Bae** (.) mo yu save gud bae evri samting long buk we (.) long defren kaen sabjek (.) we hem i had? Hem i (.) **yu save andastanem nomo bae yu save gud Inglis.***

(2)

*Amboline: **Okei yu (.) yu save toktok gud Inglis sapos we yu stap practise/im toktok long hem evri taem ...***
(XI:16-22)

[Arthur: I think that **I am good at English** because (.) in English? **If you speak it? Then** (.) and you know it well then everything in the books from (.) the different subjects (.) that is hard? It (.) **you can understand it if you know English well.**

(2)

Amboline: **Okay you (.) you can speak good English** if you practise speaking it all the time ...] (xi:14-21)

This distancing was also seen in Extract 6.9, in which Andrina used the third person to refer to problems faced by other students. She explicitly contrasted these 'other students' with the interview group. At the end of this extract, Arthur also made use of Andrina's categorisation of 'others' who do not understand, and presented solutions to the problem of inadequacy for these 'others', rather than continuing to speak with reference to himself and his co-interviewees. While teachers attribute the problem to students, students either shift the issue

to others or deny its existence. No participant group appears able or willing to refer to language as anything that concerns them personally.

It should be remembered that questions of language competence and confidence were discussed right at the beginning of the interviews, and the dynamics in the student groups, in particular, were very stilted at this point (see XI/xi and XII/xii for long pauses and whispers during the early stages of both interviews, and my comment to the Francophone group in XII:61ff./xii:60ff.). Students may have felt they had to present themselves as conforming to official policy, or they may have felt unable or unwilling to critique the status quo. However, whether they genuinely did not feel they had a problem, or whether they did not want to talk about a problem, the outcome is the same. Language was considered something that they had little control over, which they either did or did not face a problem with. L2 was accepted as the medium of instruction, and they therefore needed sufficient competence in it.

6.3.2 The need to practise L2

Whether or not other languages were tolerated, both Anglophone and Francophone teachers made clear that monolingual use of L2 was the expectation. The topos of *target language* was utilised in similar ways by both groups to argue that exclusive use of L2 would improve competence.

In the following excerpt, Mr Felix states clearly that only French should be used:

Extract 6.26

*Mr Felix: Sapos yumi tij long Franis?
Then yumi mas traem blong emphasise
se (1) yumi toktok er Franis nomo blong
helpem pikinini blong hem i improve/m
(.) Franis blong hem. (XV:119-21)*

[Mr Felix: If we teach in French? Then
we must try our best to emphasise that
(.) we speak er only French to help the
children to improve (.) their French.]
(xv:109-11)

Mr Felix's claim is justified by the rationale that French is the medium of instruction. He therefore draws on the logic of the topos of *target language*. The Anglophone principal comments on the use of "too much" Bislama to make the similar point that this affects students' ability to express themselves in English:

Extract 6.27

AP: From er (.) tija hem i tend to speak long ol styuden long (.) Bislama? (.) and er communication most of the time hem i stap long (.) Bislama? ... So mekem styuden hem i no save (.) um express/em hem (.) confidently and (.) flow hem i expression blong hem i flow? Taem hem i traem blong kambak long Inglis. From ating i jes tumas Bislama insaed long (.) klasrum. (XVI:10-16)

[AP: Because er (.) the teachers tend to speak to the students in (.) Bislama? (.) and er communication most of the time is in (.) Bislama? ... So it means students are unable to (.) um express themselves (.) confidently and (.) flow how their expression should flow? When they try to come back to English. Because I think it's just too much Bislama inside the (.) classroom.] (xvi:11-17)

Both Mr Felix and the Anglophone principal refer to what *should* happen, in contrast to what they feel *does* happen (cf. XI:21-34/xi:20-31; XIV:59-60, 167-8, 262-6/xiv:55-6, 154-5, 245-9; XVI:28-30, 33-5/xvi:30-2, 35-7). They reveal a sense of official policy that guides expectations. Miss Adina, however, justifies her argument in terms of the demands of assessment (cf. XVI:19-23/xvi:21-5; XVIII:475-89/xviii:461-74):

Extract 6.28

Miss Adina: Taem yumi yusum tumas Bislama? Yusum tumas lanwis. Olsem mi samtaem mi stap mekem? Afta bae mi faenem se in the end bae olgeta nomo oli suffer/em consequences because they are writing their exams in English. ... Nao yumi stap competent long nara lanwis nao. So mi samtaem bae mi go be bae mi mas gat wan limit we you stop here. Yu no eksplenem <laughs> tumas samting long Bislama. With lanwis. (1) Own mother tongue. (XIII:54-68)

[Miss Adina: when we use too much Bislama? Use too much lanwis. Like I sometimes do? Then I'll find in the end that they will just suffer the consequences because they are writing their exams in English. ... Now we become competent in another language now. So sometimes I'll go but I must have a limit where you stop here. You don't explain <laughs> too many things in Bislama. And lanwis. (1) Own mother tongue.] (xiii:48-61)

There is a consistent concern with what happens when communication must go back to the target language of L2, with references to “too much” L1 placed in contrast to what “should” happen. The predication strategies used to describe the means taken to ensure understanding reveal a sense of unease with the use of L1. A tension becomes clear between the use of L2, in order to conform to expected usage in the classroom as well as requirements in the exam, and

the incorporation of other languages that are used to help students understand. The topos of *successful learning* clearly does not always lead to the conclusion that any language can be used. This is an issue that has been discussed elsewhere with regard to the use of pidgins and creoles in education (see Siegel, 1999a, in particular, on the time-on-task argument), as well as in foreign language teaching more generally.

Within this argument, an inconsistency is revealed in a comparison of the way academic and non-academic contexts are talked about. It becomes clear that the classroom is considered to be a special ‘academic’ domain at both schools (cf. 5.2.2.2) in which the norms are particularly fixed. Teachers depict an ideal situation in which only L2 would be used, but also explain that L1 is tolerated outside the classroom for pragmatic reasons:

Extract 6.29

Mr Felix: Mi stap long Montmartre? Mi toktok Franis wetem ol styuden blong mi? Aot saed. Hemia? Mi sanem olgeta? Wanem? Mi talem evriwan long Franis. Mi kam traem long ples ia. Mi talem? Styuden i stanap bakegen? Hem i se mi stap talem wanem. So (.) blong (.) mi no tekem tumas taem traem blong mekem i andastanem wanem mi wantem talem long hem aot saed? Mi talem stret long hem long Bislama yu go wokem? (XV:69-74)

[Mr Felix: I was at Montmartre? I spoke French with all my students? Outside. Then? I sent them? Whatever? I said everything in French. I came and tried it here. I say something? The student just stands there? He asks me what I've said. So (.) **so that (.) I don't take too much time trying to make him understand what I want to tell him** outside? I tell him straight in Bislama you go do this?] (xv:62-7)

Extract 6.30

Mr Fred: Long hom blong wanwan pikinini? Papa wetem mama tufala i toktok lanwis ia. ... Tufala i no toktok French. (1) So taem hem i sanem hem blong i go karem wan samting? I talem i no talem long French? So long ples ia? Taem hem i kambak long ples ia? Taem hem i kam aot saed long klas? Tingting blong hem hem i stap long hom blong hem ia. So blong yu (.) talem wan samting long French? Hemia pikinini i tekem se no. (XV:98-105)

[Mr Fred: At each child's home? Papa and mama they speak language. ... They don't speak French. (1) So when they send him to go get something? They don't tell him in French? So here? When he comes back here? **When he comes outside from class? He thinks about his home.** So for you (.) to say something in French? Then the child doesn't get it.] (xv:90-95)

Extract 6.31

*Mrs Anne: To students olsem mi traem bes blong mi. From mi save se hem i wan requirement blong skul blong yumi toktok Inglis long olgeta at all times even (.) insaed long klasrum o aot saed. So (.) olsem. Mi olsem mi traem long taem blong skul olsem mi hardly toktok Bislama o eni ting long ol styuden and (.) be wanem mi faenem se (.) taem sapos yumi wokbaot tugeta wetem ol styuden bae yumi go olsem yumi wokbaot go long stadium or yumi go eni wea. Sapos we mi ting se mi communicate wetem olgeta long Inglis? **Bae dis taem bae i katemaot conversation long olgeta nao. Bae mi mi toktok. Sapos mi toktok long olgeta? Oli yes no oli givim wan smol ansa nomo finis? Oli stop nao. Bae mifala i communication i no save go so. Mifala i jes wokbaot olsem (.) kwaet nomo i go. Be sapos mi jenis ia mi kam Bislama nao conversation i (.) i stat nao i go on.** (XIV:201-11)*

[Mrs Anne: To students like I try my best. Because I know that it is a school requirement that we speak English to them at all times even (.) inside the classroom or outside. So (.) like. I like I try during school time like I hardly speak Bislama or anything to the students and (.) but something I find is (.) when if we are walking around together with the students we'll go like we walk to the stadium or we go anywhere. If I think that I'll communicate with them in English? **Then this will cut the conversation with them now.** I'll talk. If I speak to them? **They yes no when they've just given a small answer? They stop now. Our communication can't continue so. We just walk along like (.) quietly.** But if I change and come to Bislama now the conversation (.) will start and will go on.] (xiv:186-95)

Teachers reveal their awareness that insisting on L2 causes communication breakdowns, and yet they are only willing to modify the institutional norms and use L1 outside the classroom. It could be argued that many non-academic communication breakdowns at school are less problematic than those that occur during the formal teaching context, given the difference in what is at stake. However, an awareness that communication proceeds more meaningfully when L2 monolingualism is not imposed rarely permeates into discourses about the classroom. Students are expected to have high enough L2 competence to learn exclusively through this medium, and thus L1 remains, at best, the fallback strategy for situations in which students' competence is inadequate. The fact that L1 is not considered to be suitable in the classroom and yet seems to be tacitly accepted in other areas of the campus reveals the

academic hegemony of L2, but presents an inconsistency in logic that might provide potential space to be interrogated.

Another inconsistency is the lack of concern for L3 as a target language, as highlighted in 5.3.2. The argument that a language should be used at all times in order to develop competence in this language would suggest that L3 should be used as much as possible, at least within L3 subject periods. However, in all L3 lessons that I observed in Year 10 classrooms, explanations and grammar notes were given entirely through L2. The teachers themselves appeared to make their own decisions about which language to use, and I did observe an Anglophone French teacher at a neighbouring school using French (L3) as the medium. A discussion with one of the teacher trainers at the Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education (20/5/11), at which all the teachers I observed had been trained, confirmed that the issue of whether to teach L3 through the medium of L2 or L3 was not really discussed. The trainer did not seem to see the significance of my questions. The teaching of L3 thus presents an interesting conflict between whether it is the school language (L2) or the target language (in this case, L3) that should be used as much as possible. Again, there may be space within the conflicting logics that can be interrogated.

Finally, it was clear that, although there was a desire for L2 to be spoken at all times around the campus, this came up against an equally strong desire for a particular standard or 'correct' version of this language. Several teachers commented on the fact that concerns about making mistakes in the language may have impeded students' willingness to speak L2 (XIII:276-342/xiii:250-314; XIV:60-1, 81-7/xiv:56-7, 75-80). A number of other references were made to a good or pure L2 (XI:21-4/xi:20-22; XVII:81-4/xvii:77-9). The Director of Basic Education was the most vocal about this, stating:

Extract 6.32

DBE: I gat yet we sam skul oli gat er very strong rul blong forbid/im ol pikinini blong oli no toktok lanwis. ... Be oli mas tok Inglis and French. Hemia hem i oraet. Be samting hem i no mekem sense long mi? Taem yu stop/em pikinini blong i toktok Ingli- er lanwis blong hem long skul? But yu allow/em hem blong hem i tok er rabis Inglis mo rabis French. ... Long mi i no. Then i no yus. I no yus blong (.) mi prefer blong pikinini i toktok lanwis blong hem than hem i tok rabis French mo rabis Inglis. (XIX:85-92)

[DBE: It still happens that some schools have er very strong rules forbidding children to speak lanwis. ... But they must speak English and French. That's okay. But one thing doesn't make sense to me? When you stop children speaking Engli- er their language at school? But you allow them to speak er rubbish English and rubbish French. ... To me it doesn't. Then it's no use. It's no use to (.) I would prefer children to speak their language than to speak rubbish French and rubbish English.] (xix:83-91)

6.4 L1 as unfit for purpose

Argumentation about L2 is usually as much about *not speaking* L1 as it is about improving L2. Other, specifically metalinguistic, topoi are employed in arguments that construct L1 (and Bislama, in particular) as inappropriate.

6.4.1 A lack of vocabulary

The first argument made against Bislama is that it has insufficient vocabulary for use in education, an argument that has long been used in pidgin and creole debates (see Siegel, 2007). Extracts from Anglophone teacher interviews illustrate this in different ways. In the first, Mr Aru argues that Bislama has more limited vocabulary than English:

Extract 6.33

Mr Aru: Long Bislama ia? Yumi no really save yusum because yu faenemaot se most long olgeta vocabularies ia? Yumi no save (.) yumi no save. Yumi tend to yusum wan wod for two three four five different things. So taem we yumi yusum olsem ia? Yumi practise/im wan (.) pikinini se ... taem we oli gobak long Inglis? Then olgeta bae oli adoptem Bislama system ia bae i go long Inglis. Then hem i really had blong olgeta i (.) express/em olgeta long Inglis. (XIII:150-6)

[Mr Aru: In Bislama? We can't really use it because you find out that most of its vocabulary? We can't (.) we can't. We tend to use one word for two three four five different things. So when we use it? We practise a (.) children ... when they go back to English? Then they will adopt this Bislama system into English. Then it's really hard for them to express themselves in English.] (xiii:137-41)

Mr Aru claims that Bislama cannot be used for teaching, on the grounds that each word has several different meanings. He compares the inventories of Bislama and English, suggesting that there are insufficient separate lexical items in Bislama to deal with concepts that need to be discussed in English. The logical connection between the argument and its rationale can only be that a language must have a sufficient lexical range before it can be used to teach (the topos of *linguistic adequacy*, cf. XIII:4-10/xiii:3-8). (He also draws on the topos of *interference* which will be discussed in 6.4.3). Miss Adina attempts to incorporate Mr Aru's argument in her following turn, but reveals a tension between this and the topos of *successful learning*:

Extract 6.34

Miss Adina: Sapos oli save andastanem samting better in Bislama? There is no harm in expl- (.) be problem ia nomo from sam long ol samting long Bislama? Oli minim olsem Mr Aru i talem? Tu tri samting at once. So mi ting se sapos olsem (.) sapos oli save andastanem samting long Bislama? (1) Why not tijim olgeta long Bislama. From se purpose hem i them grasping the knowledge. (XIII:170-75)

[Miss Adina: If they can understand better in Bislama? There is no harm in expl- (.) but the problem then is that some things in Bislama? They mean like Mr Aru said? Two or three things at once. So I think that if like (.) if they can understand in Bislama? (1) Why not teach them in Bislama. Because the purpose is them grasping the knowledge.] (xiii:154-8)

Miss Adina therefore appears to agree with Mr Aru's point, but the episode reveals a tension between these beliefs about Bislama as a language and her determination to argue that learning is paramount. This indicates a conflict between ensuring that learning takes place (which may enable resources to be drawn from several languages) and selecting one discrete language that is considered adequate for this purpose.

Perhaps realising that Miss Adina has not used his point in the way he had intended, Mr Aru reinforces his argument. He begins by explicitly shifting attention away from learning, and back to the language. This time, he compares Bislama to the vernacular spoken by both him and Miss Adina, making clear that he uses the topos of *linguistic adequacy* with specific reference to Bislama:

Extract 6.35

Mr Aru: Yes bae yumi gobak long (.) long lanwis ia. Yu putum wan eksampol long ples ia olsem Ambaeen lanwis. Um mi really agri wetem hemia olsem bae yumi save yusum lanwis blong tijim long skul/s. ... Because er (.) sapos yumi compare/em olgeta lanwis (.) lanwis I mean mother tongue Ambaeen lanwis wetem Bislama? Er Ambaeen lanwis hem i mo rich. Bitim er Bislama. Hem i mo rich long in terms of vocabulary. And then olgeta (.) ol uh oda blong olgeta sentens we yumi raetem olgeta (.) i gud. (XIII:180-9)

[Mr Aru: Yes let's go back to (.) to the language. You put one example here of Ambaeen language. Um I really agree with this like we can use this language to teach in schools. ... Because er (.) if we compare the languages (.) language I mean mother tongue Ambaeen language with Bislama? Er the Ambaeen language is richer. Than Bislama. It's richer in terms of vocabulary. And then the (.) the uh order of sentences that we write (.) is good.] (xiii:163-70)

It becomes clear that Mr Aru is not simply arguing for the official L2 policy. He reveals beliefs specific to Bislama, claiming that the Ambaeen language has a rich enough vocabulary to be used. In a different interview, Mr Andrew reveals similar beliefs:

Extract 6.36

Mr Andrew: Yes long wan lanwis polisi summit we i bin take place long Saratamata? Olsem (.) gavman hem i reorganise/em lanwis/es blong yumi tijim long skul/s nao. Wan nao hem i (.) wanem ia vernacular o wanem ia? Ol local lanwis/es ia? Then Inglis mo French. Be (.) Bislama oli discourage/im. So hemia nao wan long (.) from why? Olsem we mi bin talem finis. I no gat vocabulary blong hem (.) i no gat vocabulary. Hem i too difficult. ... Ating wan risej hem i find out se:: hem i proper blong jiam long vernacular into English and French rather than jumping from vernacular into Bislama and then into that. Hem i Bislama nao hem i kosem a lot of mess. (XIV:352-68)

[Mr Andrew: Yes at a language policy summit which took place at Saratamata? As (.) the government is reorganising the languages that we teach in schools at the moment. One is (.) what's that vernacular or whatever? The local languages? Then English and French. But (.) they discourage Bislama. So that's one of (.) why? As I have already said. It has no vocabulary (.) it has no vocabulary. It's too difficult. ... I think a research found that it's proper to jump from vernacular into English and French rather than jumping from vernacular into Bislama and then into that. It's Bislama that causes a lot of mess.] (xiv:332-46)

Mr Andrew states twice that Bislama has no vocabulary, before concluding that it is too difficult (although it is unclear whether it is the further development of vocabulary that would be too difficult, or teaching using current resources of Bislama). He notes that Bislama “causes a lot of mess”, contrasting this “mess” with the “proper” alternative of not using Bislama. He attributes these ideas to the language policy meeting organised by the government, and then refers to the findings of “a research”, although he mitigates this with the use of “I think”, and explains no further. He therefore seems to draw on external authority to lend weight to his claims. (See also XIV:619-42/xiv:582-605, in which Mr Andrew reproduces very similar arguments that he was told at the same meeting.)

Mrs Anne and Mme Adrienne also draw on the topos of *linguistic adequacy* by suggesting that Bislama is incapable of explaining concepts needed:

Extract 6.37

Mrs Anne: “Yu yusum wan simple wod we (.) olsem consequences for example. Olsem wan wod ia we mi ting se oli sud save be (.) hemia bae oli no save wanem. Bae oli askem se hemia hem i minim wanem oli no save se hem i minim wanem. So mi no save. Hemia bae mi (.) olsem (.) go long (.) go long wanem kaen problem nao. <laughs>

Mme Adrienne: Be yu lukum hemia hem i tru. From naoia yu tekem consequences ia? For example olsem wan wod? Bae yu traem eksplenem long Bislama bae yu talem olsem wanem. Bae ol pikinini bae oli jes konfius mo. Consequence bae yu talem olsem wanem long Bislama. Yumi ting se Inglis hem i we oli sud harem save be yet nogat. Taem we bae yu mekem i go long Bislama? Hemia bae i worse.”

[Mrs Anne: You use one simple word that (.) like consequences for example. Like this word which I think they should know but (.) they won't know what it is. They will ask what does it mean they don't know what it means. So I don't know. So it (.) like (.) goes to (.) goes to what kind of problem now. <laughs>

Mme Adrienne: But you see this it's true. Because now if you take consequences? For example as a word? If you try and explain it in Bislama how will you explain it. The children will just be more confused. How can you explain consequence in Bislama. We think that they should understand English but yet they can't. When you do it in Bislama? That will be worse.]

The central claim here is that using Bislama makes explanations more confusing, since an English word such as ‘consequence’ has no direct

equivalent in Bislama. The topos of *linguistic adequacy* again provides the logical conclusion rule here. There appears to be the perception that L2 has a set of necessary vocabulary that Bislama lacks direct translations for, thus making it impossible to explain concepts in Bislama. The view that Bislama has an insufficiently developed vocabulary is put forward with relative consistency throughout the data, revealing a fairly deep-rooted belief. Although a few interviewees recognise the advantages of using a widely-spoken language such as Bislama, they are quick to dismiss this potential with comments on the inherent capabilities of the language (e.g. XIX:315-33/xix:307-25; XX:94-6/xx:93-5).

6.4.2 Bislama as a made up language

Another common claim that draws on the topos of *linguistic adequacy* is that Bislama is unsystematic or ‘made up’. However, the justifications given for this claim are inconsistent with participants’ descriptions of other languages that they do consider adequate. This can be exemplified with four extracts about Bislama, which will then be contrasted with three extracts about English and French.

Extract 6.38

*Mr Andrew: Sapos yu luk vocabulary blong Bislama? Hem i (.) no match/em Inglis vocab mo French vocab. From oli jes get it **from the blue** and put it into the language.*

[Mr Andrew: If you look at the vocabulary of Bislama? It (.) it doesn't match English vocab and French vocab. Because they just get it **from the blue** and put it into the language.

*Mr Ala: Mi:: agri wetem Mr Andrew tu long eria ia olsem. Bislama blong yumi hem i **no wan gudfala Bislama**. Hem i (.) hem i made up lanwis nomo. Bae yu harem **long dis yia** ia bae ol man oli toktok defren? Oli yusum defren wod. **Long nekis yia** bae yu harem ol wanem ol terms o wanem ia? Oli defren nao. Oli **made up** sam ples i kam ale ol man oli yusum nao. Mekem se:: i no gud. (XIV:315-22)*

Mr Ala: I:: agree with Mr Andrew too about this. Our Bislama is **not a good Bislama**. It's (.) it's just a made up language. You'll hear **this year** people speak in one way? They use certain words. **Next year** you'll hear the what the terms or whatever? They're different now. They're **made up** somewhere and people just use them. Meaning it's no good.] (xiv:296-303)

Extract 6.39

Mr Aru: Sapos we yumi lisen long yumi?
Bae most long olgeta toktok we yumi
tokbao- yumi toktok long Bislama hem i
repetition and fulap long ol samting we
(.) we hem **i no mekem eni ting** nomo.
... Naoia yumi stap speak/im uh
Bislama? Naoia ol **broken** wan nomo. I
no wan gudwan nating? **Yestedei** i gat
wan expression blong one particular
thing **tudei** bae hem i defren. **Tumora**
yumi tok defren lanwis nao. Even
though hem i stil Bislama but then yumi
yusum ol defren wod/s altogether than
yumi yusum ol same wod/s. (XIII:824-
35)

[Mr Aru: if we listen to ourselves? Most
of what we say when we discu- we say
in Bislama it's **repetition** and a lot of it
(.) just **doesn't mean anything**. ...
We're speaking Bislama now? It's just a
broken version. It's not a good one at
all? **Yesterday** there was an
expression for a particular thing **today**
it'll be different. **Tomorrow** we'll speak
a different language. Even though it's
still Bislama but then we use different
words altogether rather than using the
same words.] (xiii:764-74)

Extract 6.40

FP: Bislama hem i wan (.) wan **lanwis
blong communication nomo**. Hem i
no gat wan samting blong writing.
Olsem yumi raetem yumi raetem long
own tingting blong grammair blong
yumi. Vocabulary blong yumi nomo
yumi raetem. Se yu wanem. Yu wantem
save wanem nao yu raetem. Be i no gat
wan proper vocabulary blong bambae
yumi tokbaot o yumi lukluk long hem.
Se no. Wod ia yu raetem olsem
wanem. Bislama hem i wan **lanwis
blong communication**. (XVII:206-12)

[FP: Bislama is a (.) just a **language of
communication**. It doesn't have a way
of writing. When we write it we write
according to our own idea of the
grammar. We just write our vocabulary.
Whatever you. You want to know
whatever you write it. But it doesn't
have a proper vocabulary for us to talk
about or for us to look at. No. These
words you write them however you like.
Bislama is a **language for
communication**.] (xvii:198-203)

Extract 6.41

DBE: At the moment tudei mifala i tok
Bislama? We speak **bad Bislama**. It's
not really Bislama. From Bislama ia
hem i **ol Inglis wod nomo**. Most the
time? **Oli no minim eni ting long
mifala** <laughs>. So i gud blong come
up wetem (.) real Bislama. (XIX:330-3)

[DBE: At the moment today we speak
Bislama? We speak **bad Bislama**. It's
not really Bislama. Because this
Bislama is **just English words**. Most of
the time? **They don't mean anything
to us** <laughs>. So it's good to come
up with (.) real Bislama.] (xix:322-5)

The common theme is that Bislama is constantly changing, with vocabulary that is unsystematic, and a lack of grammatical structure. The language is described as coming “from the blue”, “made up”, no good (Extract 6.38), repetitious, meaningless, “broken” (Extract 6.39), suitable only for (oral) communication (Extract 6.40), “bad”, meaningless, and just English words (Extract 6.41). The language is characterised as being unstable, with Mr Aru and Mr Ala both making use of contrasting adverbs “this year ... next year” (Extract 6.38) and “yesterday ... today ... tomorrow” (Extract 6.39) to argue that language change appears random. The fact that Bislama is constantly developing is used as the evidence to justify the claim that it is unsuitable for education. It is considered to have no norms that guide the way it is used.

The argumentation is inconsistent, however, if these descriptions are compared with those of English and French. In Extract 6.42 and Extract 6.43, Mme Adrienne comments on her competence in English and French while, in Extract 6.44, Mr Felix considers his competence in French.

Extract 6.42

*Mme Adrienne: Mi ting se mi yusum Inglis (.) evri dei. ... Mi no gat problem wetem. **Wan man we hem i save better Inglis olsem Fiona** bae i correct/em. Se whether Inglis blong mi i nogud be (.) blong talem se are you confident? Mi save talem se yes.*
(XIV:157-61)

[Mme Adrienne: I think that I use English (.) every day. ... I don't have a problem with it. **Someone who knows better English like Fiona** can correct me. Say whether my English is poor but (.) in saying are you confident? I can say yes.] (xiv:145-9)

Extract 6.43

Mme Adrienne: *Mi save talem se mi save French from mi stap long environment blong yumi hemia. But (.) mi gat kwestin. Mi gat kwestin **sapos we mi go long wan environment we oli toktok French naoia?** Se bae mi catch up wetem olgeta? From actually **French hem i wan kaen lanwis we olsem hem i laef. Oli jenisim ol long ol expression** olsem we yumi talem Bislama tudei. Be (.) bae oli talem bae mi still harem save. But blong (.) toktok long hem? Mi (.) mi wantem sapos we bae mi go insaed mi laekem blong mi improve/um ol taem. But dis taem mi toktok hem i oraet. Olsem we yumi stap ia wan man i kam bae hem i toktok wan taem ia? Bae mi harem save. Bae mi ansarem hem. **But maybe somewhere outside? Hem i already jenis.** So long kwestin yes. Mi wis se mi speak/im better mi stap long wan environment **we oli speak/im** blong mi save (.) update/em ol expression ol wod/s olsem. (XIV:396-407)*

Extract 6.44

Mr Felix: *Yes mi wantem se mi toktok gud mo olsem (.) blong mi toktok wetem ol styuden hemia mi save toktok olsem long Franis olsem. O wetem wan colleague blong mi mi save toktok. Olsem mi toktok Franis. **Be sapos mi toktok wetem (.) wan stret Franis man?** Bae vocabulaire blong mi bae (.) hemia nao bae mitufala no save gat niu wan. Sapos mi save toktok **olsem wan Franis man** (.) bae mi laekem. (XV:59-64)*

[Mme Adrienne: I can say that I know French because I am in this environment of ours. But (.) I have a question. I have a question whether **if I go to an environment where they speak French now?** Will I keep up with them? Because actually **French is a kind of language which is alive. They change the expressions** like we said about Bislama today. But (.) if they say something I'll still understand. But to (.) speak to them? I (.) I wish I could go into I would always like to improve it. But at the moment I speak it's alright. Like we're here if someone comes some time and he speaks? I'll understand. I'll answer him. **But maybe somewhere outside? It's already changed.** So for the question yes. I wish that I spoke better that I was in **an environment where they speak it** so that I could (.) update my expressions or my words.] (xiv:371-81)

[Mr. Felix: Yes I wish that I spoke better like (.) to speak with students that's I can speak French like that. Or I can speak with one of my colleagues. Like I speak French. **But if I spoke with (.) a real French man?** My vocabulary would (.) that's it now we wouldn't have any new ones. If I could speak **like a French man** (.) I'd like that.] (xv:53-7)

Mme Adrienne says she speaks English and French with confidence, but is unsure how her version of these languages would measure against some kind of native-speaker norms that she has no access to, or whether she would have

sufficient competence to cope in other environments where the language was spoken (cf. XIII:72-81/xiii:63-73). Mr Felix also refers to the norms of French as though they are ‘out there’ somewhere, set by “real” Frenchmen and more up-to-date than his own version.

Mme Adrienne describes French as a language “which is alive”, and Mr Felix notes that he might not have “new” enough vocabulary, both suggesting that they might find they spoke a different version from other French speakers. Mme Adrienne acknowledges that they had also described Bislama as a living and constantly-changing language, thus highlighting awareness of the conflict I am referring to. However, in the descriptions of French, this living quality is depicted as correct and acceptable, and speakers measure their own competence against native speaker benchmarks. Native speakers of Bislama are not given this same authority.

The same predication strategies are used with reference to Bislama, French and English. The languages are constantly changing, rather than stable. However, there is a sense of a correct, up-to-date version of English and French that is owned by native speakers, outside the environment in which the interviewees actually use the languages. There is no such environment in which Bislama norms are considered to exist, and change is described in negative terms. No logical distinction is made to explain why L2 can be living while Bislama cannot. It therefore appears very easy to challenge some of the logic on which the topos of *linguistic adequacy* is used. However, the negative beliefs about Bislama’s lack of norms appear deeply held.

6.4.3 Similarities between Bislama and English

A further reason put forward against the use of Bislama at Angolovo is that it has a negative influence on the learning of English. In the following extract, the Anglophone teachers discuss why older people tend to speak better English than the younger generation:

Extract 6.45

Mr Andrew: Mi ting se wan long olgeta influences ia we hem i create/em hemia hem i long that period of time? Bislama hem i no wan common lanwis for every citizen long Vanuatu. Like er (.) sapos yu stap long Ambae? Bae yumi speak Ambaean lanwis nomo. So taem yumi jiam aot long Ambaean lanwis (.) sel blong Ambaean lanwis? Yumi jiam i go direct long Inglis o French. Be (.) Bislama nao hem i wan long olgeta er (.) lanwis (.) nasonal lanwis we hem i miksim tumas mekem se hem i isi for young people from (.) young population blong Vanuatu i toktok long hem. Therefore hem i had blong yumi jiam i go long Inglis vocab o French vocab. ...

Mr Ala: Hem i contribute long olsem (.) long understanding long Inglis blong yumi. Yu save from. Olsem uh. Mi stap long Ranwadi i gat wan pikinini we hem i kam in long Yia 7? Uh olsem skul rul i talem se speak English at all times. Then hem i traem blong speak Inglis be hao i putum olsem ol man oli talem se hem i talem wan toktok hem i giaman. Afta nara wan i talem se eh boe ia i talem long hem se i wantem talem long Inglis se (.) hem i sud talem se no he is lying. Afta hem i talem se no he is giaman/ing. Olsem hem i yusum Bislama? I putum i-n-g long en. <laughs> (XIV:305-31)

[Mr Andrew: I think one of the influences that causes this is that in that period of time? Bislama was not a common language for every citizen in Vanuatu. Like er (.) if you were on Ambae? You would only speak the Ambaean language. So when we jumped out from the Ambaean language (.) shell of the Ambaean language? We jumped directly into English or French. But (.) Bislama is now one of the (.) languages (.) national language which is very widespread so it is easy for young people from (.) the young population of Vanuatu to speak it. Therefore it's hard for us to jump into English vocab or French vocab. ...

Mr Ala: It contributes to (.) to our understanding of English. You know because. Like uh. I was at Ranwadi there was a child who came in in Year 7? Uh like the school rule said speak English at all times. Then he was trying to speak English but the way he put it was people said that he said something and he lied. And then another one said eh that boy he told him he wanted to say in English that (.) he should say no he is lying. Then he said no he is giaman/ing. Like he used Bislama? He put i-n-g on the end. <Laughs>] (xiv:287-311)

The claim is made that Bislama contributes to difficulties using English. Two pieces of evidence are used to justify this. Mr Andrew notes that older people speak better English than younger people, and explains that these older people spoke only the vernacular before learning English, in contrast to the current situation in which Bislama is widely spoken. Mr Ala uses an anecdote from a previous school in which a boy added an English suffix onto the Bislama verb *giaman* (to lie) as evidence that people accidentally mix the languages together.

The use of terms such as “influences” (cf. XIV:333-4/xiv:313-4 on “spoiling”) indicates the topos of *interference*.

Siegel (1997b, 1999b) notes the widespread usage of this argument in Vanuatu, citing the views of language planners (in Thomas, 1990) and Charpentier (1997) with regard to Bislama’s influence on English. The logic driving this argument is that the lexical similarity between Bislama and English makes it hard for learners to separate the languages, causing confusion and impeding their development of English. However, once again, the rationale on which this argument is based is inconsistent in the data, presenting an opportunity to challenge its logic.

Firstly, the teachers in Extract 6.45 do not make explicit reference to the lexical similarity between Bislama and English (although see XIV:623-42/xiv:586-605), and there is nothing in Mr Ala’s anecdote that explains why Bislama presents any greater issue than any other language would in the learning of English. It is not clear that they are basing their claims on any linguistic reasoning about the influence of Bislama in particular on English. Secondly, only Anglophones are considered to be affected by this interference. In answer to another teacher’s question as to why Francophones appear to learn English better than Anglophones do, Mr Ala states that this is because they learn English when they are more mature, whereas Anglophones learn it young and “mix” it with Bislama:

Extract 6.46

Mr Ala: Mi mi ting se long olsem (.) from wanem ol French oli lanem (.) oli speak gud Inglis mo bitim yumi? From oli lanem long ej we olsem oli mature. Oli lanem Inglis. Then oli lanem wan gud Inglis oli speak wan gud Inglis. Yumi from yumi statem long kindy i kam antap ia? Olsem yumi miksim Bislama wetem Inglis (.) yumi miksim gogo taem yumi kam antap ia? (XIV:567-71)

[Mr Ala: I think that for (.) why Francophones learn (.) they speak better English than us? Because they learn it at an age when they are mature. They learn English. They they learn a good English they speak a good English. Us because we start in kindy and come up? Like we mix Bislama and English (.) we mix it the whole time that we’re growing up?] (xiv:532-6)

Here, Mr Ala suggests an age limit for the topos of *interference*, although he does not explain why (older) Francophones learning English do not also confuse the language with Bislama, despite the fact that they also speak it. Once again, the teachers do not appear to be clear about why Bislama might influence English, since Francophones are considered to be able to learn English without such interference.

Thirdly, examination of argumentation put forward by Francophone teachers presents an apparent conflict with the notion that Bislama causes problems for the learning of English:

Extract 6.47

*Mr Fred: Inglis hem i isi. From wanem?
From Bislama hem i stap finis.*

[Mr Fred: English is easy. Why?
Because Bislama is here already.]

*Mr Felix: Bislama olsem ol (.) hem i
wan dérivé blong Inglis=*

Mr Felix: Bislama like the (.) it's a
derivate of English=

Mr Fred: =Yes.

Mr Fred: =Yes.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

*Mr Fred: Yu (.) yusum ol wod/s long
Bislama? Hem i blong Inglis nomo. Be
(.) French? Hem i lelebet (.) bae yumi
talem se i had blong (.) blong ol man
uh?*

Mr Fred: You (.) use the words in
Bislama? They're just from English. But
(.) French? That's a bit (.) we could say
that it's hard for (.) for people uh?

*Mlle Felicia: French i expensive tumas
(XV:224-32)*

Mlle Felicia: French is really expensive]
(xv:208-15)

Later in the interview, Mr Fred explicitly contrasts the L3 abilities of Anglophones and Francophones, having previously been a French (L3) teacher at Angolovo College:

Extract 6.48

Mr Fred: Long saed blong mifala ol Francophone? Hemia blong lanem (.) Inglis? Hemia hem i isi nomo. That's why pikinini hem i? Yu toktok Inglis insaed long klas? I ansarem yu long Inglis. Hem i save ansarem yu long Inglis. Be hemia long saed blong ol (.) Anglophone? Blong yu givim French long hem? Sore tumas <others laugh>. I had we i had we i had. (1) Mi bin stap long Angolovo College? Mi tijim French olsem? Mi harem se (.) i no nao <others laugh>. From taem mi toktok i go? Blong

Mlle Felicia: Ansa i kambak [long yu nogat]

Mr Fred: [Blong oli respond] long mi? Nogat? I mekem gogo hemia Bislama nomo nao bae i wok. (1) Hemia i isi nomo blong olsem (.) yu talem Bonjour? Fas wan mi talem Bonjour? Hem i gat ating tu or tri oli talem. Be ol narawan? Shh? <mimes zipping his mouth closed>. (xx) wantaem ia. (1) Afta mi se (.) be yu talem good morning long ol Francophone styuden? Oli talem good morning nao. Be from hem i wan kam (.) hem i kam tu long (.) mi talem (.) Bislama. Bislama nao i mekem se long Inglis hem i isi wetem ol Francophone. Ol Francophone styuden/s. (XV:447-62)

[Mr Fred: For us Francophones? To learn (.) English? That's just easy. That's why children they? You speak English in class? They answer you in English. They can answer you in English. But in terms of (.) Anglophones? If you give them French? Really sorry <others laugh>. It's so so hard. (1) I've been at Angolovo College? I taught French? I felt like (.) it wasn't possible <others laugh>. Because when I spoke? For

Mlle Felicia: The answer to come back [to you nothing]

Mr Fred: [For them to respond] to me? Nothing? We carried on but only Bislama could work. (1) It was easy to like (.) you say Bonjour? The first thing I said Bonjour? I think there were two or three that replied. But the other ones? Shh? <mimes zipping his mouth closed>. (xx) completely. (1) Then I say (.) but you say good morning to Francophone students? They say good morning now. But because it's a come (.) it comes too from (.) like I said (.) Bislama. Bislama now makes English easy for Francophones. Francophone students.] (xv:419-32)

These teachers do explicitly discuss the lexical similarities between Bislama and English. However, unlike the Anglophone teachers, they consider these similarities to make it easier to learn English, apparently drawing on the topos of *positive transfer*, rather than *interference* (cf. XIX:97-9/xix:93-5). Comparing the predication strategies used throughout the interviews with reference to each of L3 English and L3 French, with English referred to as 'easy' but French as 'hard' or 'expensive', demonstrates that ni-Vanuatu are considered to simply

pick up English because of its similarities with Bislama, while French is difficult to learn.

This was one of the most recurrent theme across all interviews (XI:353-9/xi:337-44; XII:192-234/xii:187-227; XIII:212-4, 641-3, 659-60/xiii:190-2, 590-1, 605-7; XIV:538-48/xiv:504-14; XV:224-42, 444-62/xv:208-24, 417-32; XVII :6-12, 125/xvii: 5-10, 121; XIX:106-10/xix:102-6; XXI:236-45/xxi:230-8). The argument makes sense, based on the lexical similarity between English and Bislama, which is likely to help one language appear more familiar to someone who already speaks the other. However, the comment that English is easy for Francophones is not supported by my observations of English (L3) lessons at Faranako, which were carried out in French (L2) and in which neither students nor teachers revealed confidence in using L3. Mlle Felicia had previously told me that she couldn't teach English through the medium of English because students didn't understand when she did, but she gave no indication of this during the interview. Although my language assessment also showed that the Francophone students had higher L3 levels than the Anglophone students, neither group would be considered highly confident in English (whether learnt as an L2 or L3), which does not support the assertion that Bislama speakers can simply pick up English.

A number of issues are raised by these conflicting accounts. On the one hand, if Anglophone teachers are concerned about the negative influence of Bislama on English, but do not articulate this concern with reference to lexical similarities, they appear unable to tackle what they consider to be the problem, through some form of *awareness* approach (Siegel, 1999b, 2006b) (given that their students do speak Bislama, and they can't simply hope that the language will go away). On the other hand, if Francophone teachers think that English is so similar to Bislama that students can learn this language automatically, there will be negative implications for the way the teaching of this L3 is carried out. Meanwhile, if there is any merit in the argument that French is more difficult to acquire than English, it seems strange that this issue is erased from discussions of medium of instruction. Children labelled as 'Francophones' are only exposed to French at school, so the assumption that children can cope with this language as L2, but not as L3, is questionable.

The data is thus inconsistent in the way Bislama is considered to influence English. For Anglophones, Bislama is considered a problem, following the topos of *interference*. For Francophones, Bislama is considered to make English easy to learn, following the topos of *positive transfer*. Neither observation, however, is clearly supported by other evidence, and the two arguments appear to present conflicting logic.

6.5 Summary

The data in this chapter reveals the way language is talked about as a tool for learning. As was the case in Chapter 5, the use of certain language(s) enables participants to be ‘good’ teachers and learners, conforming to institutional expectations. However, within this particular data, this is justified by an instrumental need to ensure that learning is successful. Teachers and students describe the way a certain level of L2 competence is required for learning, since this is the language through which knowledge is expected to be transmitted. Classroom observation data supports interviewees’ accounts of teacher-led interaction in which students participate in limited ways, demonstrating that, while a submersion model of education may prohibit languages other than L2, it does not necessarily promote much use of this language from the majority of classroom participants. However, it appears that participants have found a way to ‘get by’ in the classroom, neither facing obvious breakdowns in communication nor directly challenging institutional norms by openly using other languages (cf. Heller, 1995).

L3 has limited instrumental function within each school, which goes some way to explaining the ambiguity of its institutional status discussed in the previous chapter. Participants display neither competence in, nor motivation to use, this language. However, L1 is more problematic. A number of reasons are given for its exclusion, argued through the topoi of *the target language*, *interference*, and *language adequacy*, demonstrating the prevalence of a number of ideas, by no means unique to Vanuatu, about language learning (Cook, 2001; Macaro, 2001), monolingual ideologies of education (Banda, 2010; Brock-Utne, 2009; García, 2009; Gogolin, 1997), and negative attitudes towards certain languages

that are not considered suitable for formal education (Makalela, 2009; Probyn, 2009; Rajah-Carrim, 2007; Siegel, 2007).

However, each of these topoi has been shown to be used inconsistently within the data. Meanwhile, the recurring use of the topos of *successful learning* presents a challenge to this argumentation, and participants do appear to recognise the instrumental value of L1. The result is a pragmatic compromise in which L1 is kept under the radar, leaving L2 as the “on-stage” classroom language (Arthur, 1996). To avoid potential difficulties, teachers take on much of the language work, leaving students to join in by supplying very limited chunks of L2, often in chorus with their classmates (cf. Arthur & Martin, 2006; Chick, 1996). Throughout, the impression is given of L2 being the only language used in the classroom, thus enabling all participants to be ‘good’ teachers and students, despite many participants using very little of this language. In the same way that Blommaert and Varis (2011) refer to “enoughness” as a benchmark for being accepted as authentic members of identity categories, it appears that ni-Vanuatu students only need to display enough L2 to act appropriately. This amount may not be enough to ensure that effective learning takes place, but it enables everybody to know and feel that education is proceeding as it should. Coupled with the emblematic function of L2 (and L3), discussed in Chapter 5, this ‘safe’ classroom interaction has become so ingrained that few participants are willing to acknowledge any problem at all.

The overall impression presented by the data in this chapter is thus of an absence of ideological space for change. If a problem is not acknowledged, there is a lack of opportunity to discuss language(s) openly. Once again, however, a certain amount of implementational space does appear to be left open. Teachers appear to draw on their own philosophies regarding the use of different languages within teaching, rather than being constrained by an official position that they have internalised through teacher training or guidelines. Indeed, the training programmes at the Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education appear to pay little attention to language issues. Meanwhile, the pragmatic patterns of classroom interaction that have become normalised in each school enable students to use just enough L2 to survive in the classroom while the

teachers do most of the talking, leaving space open for alternative language practices, albeit in covert ways.

7 Language as a door to opportunity

7.1 Introduction

Since language use within schools has appeared less contentious than expected, it seems necessary to revisit the original rationale for the study. At the school level, it appears that it doesn't matter that some schools use English while others use French; there is sufficient L2 competence to ensure some form of learning, albeit with teachers bearing the brunt of the language work; and students seem free to draw on the resources of a number of languages outside the classroom. There has been nothing particularly 'Anglophone' or 'Francophone' about the way language is dealt with. The question is therefore why and by whom is language being constructed as a problem? The second pair of data chapters thus examine the way language is talked about with reference to the world beyond school.

This chapter discusses the way language is talked about as a gateway to further opportunities, examining the extent to which different languages are considered to provide such opportunities, and whether being 'Anglophone' or 'Francophone' affects one's chances. The data suggests that any disparity in opportunities between these pseudo-ethnolinguistic groups is reconstructed as the need for 'bilingualism' in English and French, through arguments of the 'double opportunity' presented by two 'international languages'.

7.2 Language within a context of (in)equality

Chapter 2 provided data that suggested greater opportunities for speakers of English than French. It was shown that more job advertisements required competence in English than French, that more scholarships were available at Anglophone tertiary institutions than Francophone ones, and that the tourism industry was dominated by English-speaking visitors. This section examines the extent to which reference is made to these unequal opportunities within the discourse of official education policymakers (7.2.1), teachers (7.2.2), and students (7.2.3).

7.2.1 A dominant discourse of Francophone disadvantage

Official education policy texts make frequent reference to the need for equity between Anglophones and Francophones. The following extracts from the period 1999 to 2010 are typical:

Extract 7.1

We will continue to search for ways to ensure that the best of the young people completing secondary education will have access to higher education, **regardless of the main language in which they have done their previous studies**. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.2)

Extract 7.2

Ensure equitable distribution of resources (finance, human resources, educational and non-educational resources) to schools of the same level and type, **whatever the medium of instruction**. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2002, p.4)

Extract 7.3

Improve quality and accessibility for tertiary studies **in both the francophone and anglophone schools**. (Government of the Republic of Vanuatu, 2006, p.30)

Extract 7.4

It is important that any national assessment system ensures that **both Francophone and Anglophone students** are given **equal opportunity** to achieve success, and to progress to further schooling or into further education and training. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2009, p.14)

Extract 7.5

The VNCS emphasizes harmonisation of the curriculum for all students **irrespective of their language background**. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.2)

Language is positioned as unimportant. For example, language is mentioned in an adjunct phrase within Extract 7.1, Extract 7.2 and Extract 7.5, signalling that it is not the focus of the policy goal, and yet this reference to language has still been included. Likewise, the reference to “both” Francophones and Anglophones in Extract 7.3 and Extract 7.4 reveals that it is considered necessary to mention the two streams explicitly. In each extract, the focus is on achieving an objective such as quality or access to higher education, but the addition of the metalinguistic phrase shows the inseparability of language from the issue. It can be inferred that there is currently a *lack of* equity between Anglophones and Francophones.

Similarly, the beginning of Extract 7.6 gives the impression that the teaching of L3 will enhance the prospects of both Anglophones and Francophones, since further opportunities will be available to students from both streams:

Extract 7.6

In particular, if the teaching of the second international language is improved dramatically, students will be able to seek admission to both Anglophone and Francophone universities. Thus young people who have been taught in the Francophone system but who have also mastered English can seek admittance to the University of the South Pacific and other Anglophone universities. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.9)

However, it is telling that the example in the second sentence (introduced by the logical connector “thus”) demonstrates that the addition of English will help Francophones, while Anglophones are not mentioned. The consequence of greater access for all is actually greater access for Francophones (or a decrease in their lack of access). Background knowledge helps us understand that this point is not about helping *all* students, since learning French is unlikely to lead Anglophones to choose to go to one of the few French-medium institutions. It is about redressing the balance between opportunities for Anglophones and Francophones.

Other references make this point more explicitly. The Education Sector Strategy, for example, asserts that the dual system of education is “inequitable” (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006b, p.16), although it does not clarify how this is the case. In its section on ‘Bi-lingualism, equity and special needs’ (the heading, itself, indicating the connection between language and equity), it then states the need to re-develop national assessments “to ensure equity for English and French speakers” (p.23), thus making clear that this is not currently the case. The Education Roadmap from three years later, goes further:

Extract 7.7

Facilitation of access to university for Francophone students **on the same basis as** Anglophone students, and removal of **unnecessary barriers that make it more difficult for Francophone students** to gain entry to a university. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2009, p.18)

This extract suggests that something other than numerical dominance of English-medium institutions was considered to be at play. The “unnecessary

barriers” that could be “removed” shift the focus to deliberate measures that prevent Francophones accessing further education.

A key interest therefore became the extent to which the different school participants were aware of (or talked about) a disparity in opportunities and, particularly, how they made sense of any disparity. Do Francophones feel disadvantaged? Do they talk about the need to learn English? Do Anglophones dismiss French as an unnecessary language for them?

7.2.2 A teacher discourse of disparity but not disadvantage

Teachers at both schools seemed aware that Anglophones were more frequently awarded scholarships:

Extract 7.8

Mr Aru: Olgeta we oli go aot especially long skolasip ofis/es ia? Bae most long olgeta ol Anglophone. Er Francophone bae sam (.) I mean sam long olgeta Francophone oli go as far as (.) oli (.) oli (.) oli stap long ol skul/s long Vanuatu oli go long French skul. Then oli go blong entrance blong yunivesiti? Olgeta oli switch nao. From Francophone i go long Inglis. ...

Miss Adina: ... Olsem Mr Aru i talem? Mi ting se ol Anglophones oli gat mo janis/es blong go overseas. Olsem at the moment.

Miss Agnes: Yes ating long kwestin ia? Hemia i tru ol Anglophone nao oli gat mo janis blong stadi oversea. And (.) mi mi luk se from ating ol Anglophone oli gat ol olsem (.) fulap ples/es blong go.

Mr Aru: M-m.

Miss Agnes: While er Francophone olgeta oli gat wan nomo. (XIII:389-420)

[Mr Aru: Those who go out especially through the scholarship office? Most of them are Anglophone. Er some Francophones will (.) I mean some Francophones go as far as (.) they (.) they (.) when they are at school in Vanuatu they go to French school. They they go to university entrance? They switch now. From Francophone to English. ...

Miss Adina: ... As Mr Aru says? I think that Anglophones have more chances to go overseas. Like at the moment. ...

Miss Agnes: Yes I think for this question? It's true that Anglophones they have more chances to study overseas. And (.) I think it's because the Anglophones have like (.) many places to go.

Mr Aru: M-m.

Miss Agnes: While er Francophones they have just one.] (xiii:358-88)

Extract 7.9

Mr Felix: Ol Francophone? O ol Anglophone oli gat mo opportunité blong go stadi long (.) oversea. (2) Okei. Mi luk se hem i ol Anglophone. From oli gat Fiji klosap? Uh (.) [Ostreliia]

Mr Fred: [Ostreliia?]

Mr Felix: Mo New Zealand?

Mlle Felicia: New Zealand.

Mr Felix: Solomon.

Mr Fred: Solomon.

Mlle Felicia: Solomon.

Mr Felix: Mifala i gat e::r

Mlle Felicia: New Caledonia?

Mr Felix: New Caledonia nomo i stap klosap long mifala we gavman i faenem i jip blong i sanem mifala i go ia. (XV:345-57)

[Mr Felix: Do Francophones? Or Anglophones have more opportunities to study (.) overseas. (2) Okay. I think that it's Anglophones. Because they have Fiji nearby? Uh (.) [Australia]

Mr Fred: [Australia?]

Mr Felix: And New Zealand?

Mlle Felicia: New Zealand.

Mr Felix: Solomon.

Mr Fred: Solomon.

Mlle Felicia: Solomon.

Mr Felix: We have e::r

Mlle Felicia: New Caledonia?

Mr Felix: Just New Caledonia nearby where the government finds it cheap to send us to.] (xv:321-333)

Both groups recognise a disparity, and agree that this is due to the number of institutions of each language. They are aware that New Caledonia is the only realistic option for Francophones (see also XVI:212-66/xvi:214-66; XVII:433-43/xvii:418-28). They build on each other's answers, showing their agreement. Mr Aru mentions that Francophones sometimes switch stream in order to obtain tertiary opportunities, and this was commonly mentioned throughout the fieldwork, suggesting the lack of instrumental value of French. There is a slight difference in the perspectivization strategies used, as the Anglophone teachers refer to both Anglophones and Francophones in the third person, thereby distancing themselves from any advantage they may have, while the Francophone teachers refer to Anglophones in the third person and Francophones in the first person, thereby placing themselves in the category of concern. However, neither group frames their answers within a discourse of

Francophone discrimination. They appear simply to describe and accept the situation they see.

In Extract 7.10 and Extract 7.11, Mr Andrew and Mr Fred argue that the disparities in opportunity (Mr Andrew with reference to jobs; Mr Fred to scholarships) are due to personal choice:

Extract 7.10

*Mr Andrew: Straight after Independence long eighties and nineties? Ating (.) er individual **ni-Van hem i (.) laek** blong save both Inglis mo French. But as taem hem i go on? Near to the two thousand ia? Mi ting se (.) Vanuatu **hem i become mo dominant wetem Inglis**. So (.) hem i (.) **mi no save risen why?** But that's why lanwis polisi ia oli traem blong emphasise/em mo blong French se blong evri sitisen i mas save French. But again? Hemia hem i minim se **gavman hem i mas do/im pat blong hem** blong lukluk long ensure that intres ia blong lanem French hem i continue blong flow. (XIV:447-54)*

[Mr Andrew: Straight after Independence in the eighties and nineties? I think (.) er individual **ni-Vans (.) wanted** to know both English and French. But as time has gone on? Near to the two thousands? I think that (.) Vanuatu has **become more dominated by English**. So (.) it's (.) **I don't know the reason why?** But that's why the language policy is trying to emphasise French that every citizen must know French. But again? That means that **the government must do its part** to look to ensure that the interest to learn French continues to flow..] (xiv:418-25)

Extract 7.11

*Mr Fred: **Oi man Vanuatu oli laekem bigwan nao hem i (.) Inglis. (1) Oli laekem bigwan naoia hem i Inglis**. Um (.) **mi mi no save se why**. ... That's why hem i lukum se (.) plante Anglophone oli aot oli go long (.) defren kaontri. Plante. Be long saed blong Francophone? Smol nomo. Be from hem i smol from wanem? From i gat smol namba nomo blong (.) long saed blong Francophone. Smol namba nomo. Be sapos yumi talem bakegen be sapos tufala i sem mak? **Bae gouvernement bae i mas lukaotem wan wei** blong hem i isi mo wetem (.) tufala i mas sem mak nomo. Se be naoia? Naoia no yet? Hem i stap olsem ia nao. Yumi luk se Anglophone oli gat bigfala (.) access blong oli go long (.) defren kaontri. Be olgeta long Angl- er (.) Francophone hemia long Calédonie nomo. (XV:359-71)*

[Mr Fred: **What ni-Vanuatu really like is (.) English. (.) They really like English**. Um (.) **I don't know why**. ... That's why it seems that (.) many Anglophones go out to go to (.) other countries. Many. But in terms of Francophones? Just a few. But why just a few? Because there is just a small number of (.) Francophones. Just a small number. But if we say again that the two are the same? **The government must find a way** for it to be easy with (.) the two must be the same. But now? Now not yet? It's like that now. We see that Anglophones have good (.) access for them to go to (.) different countries. But those Angl- er (.) Francophones they just have Caledonia.] (xv:335-45)

Both teachers link an apparent preference for English to the disparity in opportunities, and then to the need for the government to respond, through a series of logical connectors ('And then', 'So', 'That's why', and so on). Both imply that the government has control over the provision of these opportunities, and are thus to blame for the scarcity of jobs and universities requiring competence in French (cf. XVII:447-57/xvii:432-41; XX:366-78/xx:366-78). However, both also state that they don't know why English has become more dominant, which mitigates their apportioning of the blame. Although they think the government should do something in response to the disparity, they do not seem to think any disadvantage is deliberate.

Finally, Extract 7.12 and Extract 7.13 provide the responses given in two of the teacher groups, when asked whether English or French was more widely spoken, nationally and globally.

Extract 7.12

Mr Aru: For example long aelan. (1) Ambae. Between population long ples ia directly bae yumi talem nomo se i gat more English speakers than ol French speakers. Be sapos yumi extend mo long provins? Ating bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia (.) more English speakers than French speakers. And sapos yumi go as far as Vanuatu? Ating bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia. Bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia. From raet nao olsem se sapos yumi lukum ol hao edyukesen system blong yumi i go? Yumi sort of gat wan percentage like er (.) siksti foti? Or seventi teti. Siksti hem i blong ol Anglophone? And then foti hem i blong ol Francophone. Be throughout long wol ia? Mi no really sua but sapos we yumi tekem category blong Vanuatu ia? Um sem taem we yumi stap tokbaot ol Inglis speakers long wol ia? Mi ting se (.) ating bae (.) mebi sapos we tufala i equal o smol percentage defrens nomo. Olsem mi stil fil se (.) ol English speakers long wol oli more than ol Francophone.

[Mr Aru: For example on the island. (1) Ambae. Among the population here directly we can say there are more English speakers than French speakers. But if we extend further to the province? I think we'll still maintain that (.) more English speakers than French speakers. And if we go as far as Vanuatu? I think we'll still maintain that. We'll still maintain that. Because right now like if we look at how the education system is? We have a sort of percentage like er (.) sixty forty? Or seventy thirty. Sixty is for Anglophones? And then forty is for Francophones. But throughout the world? I'm not really sure but if we take these categories from Vanuatu? Um at the same time we talk about English speakers in the world? I think that (.) maybe (.) maybe the two will be equal or just a small percentage difference. Like I still feel that (.) there are more English speakers in the world than Francophones.

Miss Adina: I think so too. Because considering olsem yumi? Olsem yumi yumi save Inglis tru long ol (.) olsem (.) <turns to me> no offence (.) British colonising Vanuatu. So long histri? Inglis? Er (.) British? Hem i colonise/em most parts of the world. So i minim se (.) i mas gat more English speakers than French.

(4)

Miss Agnes: [Yes i tru]

Miss Adina: So [yes. Taem] oli kam colonise/em Vanuatu? Oli **kam wetem** olsem (.) wetem (.) ol samting ia nao. So wan ia nao Inglis oli **kam wetem**. (XIII:509-28)

Miss Adina: I think so too. Because considering us? Like we know English through (.) like (.) <turns to me> no offence (.) the British colonising Vanuatu. So in history? The English? Er (.) British? They colonised most parts of the world. So it means that (.) there must be more English speakers than French.

(4)

Miss Agnes: [Yes it's true]

Miss Adina: So [yes. When] they came and colonised Vanuatu? They **came with** like (.) with (.) these things. So one of them was English that they **came with.**] (xiii:468-87)

Extract 7.13

Mr Felix: Uh fulap man i toktok (.) Inglis long Vanuatu. (3) Yes? Fulap man hem i toktok Inglis? Hem i folem uh ol misinari nomo bifo. Okei. Ol jioj nao we oli (.) spread/em tufala lanwis ia. Catholic jioj? Hem hem i **kam wetem** Franis? Afta?

Mlle Felicia: [Presbyterian]

Mr Felix: [Ol narafala jioj] oli kam. Presbyterian? (.) [Anglican]?

Mr Fred: [Anglican]

Mr Felix: Ol SDA olgeta oli **kam wetem** Inglis. So i mekem se (.) hemia nao Inglis i bigwan. Franis i smol.

... long wol. Ating hem i Inglis.

Mr Fred: Hem i Inglis.

[Mr Felix: Uh many people speak (.) English in Vanuatu. (3) Yes? Many people speak English? It just follows the missionaries from the past. Okay. The churches which spread the two languages. The Catholic Church? It **came with** French? And then?

Mlle Felicia: [Presbyterian]

Mr Felix: [Other churches] came. Presbyterian? (.) [Anglican?]

Mr Fred: [Anglican.]

Mr Felix: SDA all of those **came with** English. So it means that (.) now English is big. French is small.

... in the world. I think it's English.

Mr Fred: It's English.

Mlle Felicia: Yes. Olsem mi mi talem long fas ples finis. Inglis hem i the most popular language olsem long wol uh? Fulap. Fulap kaontri long wol oli yusum (.) lanwis ia olsem se hem i wan ofisol lanwis. Blong ol.

Mr Fred: M-m. Bae yumi talem se long (.) olsem klosap long Pasifik ia? Sapos yumi kaontem long (.) karem long Pasifik nomo? Long Pasifik nomo hem i Inglis hem i bigwan.

Mlle Felicia: Yes ating (.) yes hemia i tru. (XV:469-96)

Mlle Felicia: Yes. Like I said already. English is the most popular language like in the world uh? Many. Many countries in the world use (.) these languages like as an official language. Of theirs.

Mr Fred: M-m. We can say that in (.) like nearby in the Pacific? If we count in (.) take it just in the Pacific? Just in the Pacific it's English that's the biggest.

Mlle Felicia: Yes I think (.) yes that's true.] (xv:439-64)

In Extract 7.12 and Extract 7.13, both groups, again, recognise a numerical imbalance between Anglophones and Francophones, but they rationalise this with reference to school statistics or historical processes. Mr Aru calculates the different numbers of schools within each stream to explain why he thinks there are more English speakers. Miss Adina justifies her answer about the global disparity with reference to the different colonial powers, and the Francophone teachers explain that the difference within Vanuatu is due to the different denominations of missionaries. Both groups refer to the different languages that these newcomers “came with”, making clear the exogenous nature of English and French, and presenting a matter-of-fact account of their introduction.

Adult participants seem aware that English is more widely spoken throughout the world and, particularly, Vanuatu (XVI:290-96/xvi:289-96; XVII:473-79/xvii:455-63). However, they seem to be making reasoned judgements to explain this, rather than the situation being self-evident. There is no clear sense of a dominant ‘global English’ ideology underlying their answers that makes Francophone disadvantage inevitable.

7.2.3 A lack of student discourse about disadvantage

Both student interview groups seemed unsure how to answer the question of whether Anglophones or Francophones had better opportunities for further study. The only Anglophone student who attempted to answer said:

Extract 7.14

Aston: Mi mi ting se (.) both Anglophones and Francophones oli gat better janis blong go aot overseas (.) blong stadi. From tudei i no (.) ol man nomo we oli stadi Inglis oli go aot. Ol man tu oli stadi French? Olgeta tu oli go aot blong (.) stadi oversea. (XI:110-3)

[Aston: I think that (.) both Anglophones and Francophones have a better chance to go overseas (.) to study. Because today it's **not (.) just people who study English** who go out. People who study French too? They also go out to (.) study overseas.] (xi:103-6)

The only Francophone student who contributed said:

Extract 7.15

*Frazer: Long mi mi luk se uh (5) ol **hem ol Inglis skul nomo** (.) oli go (.) oli go aot saed long kaontri blong yumi blong oli lanem ol sam samting (XII:149-50)*

[Frazer: To me it seems that uh (5) **it's only English schools** (.) who go (.) who go outside our country to learn things.] (xii:144-5)

Aston and Frazer seem to understand the question, and explain that they think Anglophones have greater opportunities, although Frazer states that Francophones also now have chances to go overseas. Other students either made comments about the general benefit of going overseas to study or kept quiet. They seemed uncertain either about the opportunities available, or about the point of the question itself, which suggests that they were at least not aware of a clear disparity. This reticence was in contrast to their animated engagement about many school-based topics. They seemed uncertain about the situation beyond school, and were not willing to guess.

The next question asked students to discuss whether Anglophones or Francophones had better chances of finding employment. Two Anglophone students opted to discuss this:

Extract 7.16

Amboline: Sapos long dei olsem tudei? Fulap man oli (2) se i gat ol man we i skul French? Hem tu i employ. Afta man we i skul Inglis hem tu i gat er (.) janis blong employ long wan er (.) wok. Long eni kaen ofis de- (.) defren kaen man we i employ long hem.

(4)

Aston: Mi mi ting se (.) tugeta oli gat better janis blong faenem job from (.) long (.) kaontri blong yumi tudei? From loa blong (.) long kaontri blong yumi? Yumi yusum uh (.) yumi yusum tu lanwis olsem hem i nasonal lanwis blong yumi Inglis wetem French. Mo tudei oli se (.) yu we yu gud yu save toktok Inglis mo French? Bae yu save stap long wan ofis. So mi mi ting se tugeta oli gat (.) better janis blong faenem job. (XI:120-30)

[Amboline: In times like today? Many people (2) there are people who school French? They are also employed. And then people who school English they also have er (.) the chance to be employed in a er (.) job. In any kind of office di- (.) there are different people employed there.

(4)

Aston: I think that (.) both have a better chance to find a job because (.) in (.) our country today? Because the law (.) of our country? We use uh (.) we use two languages as our national language English and French. And today they say (.) those of you who speak English and French? You can work in an office. So I think that both have (.) a better chance to find a job.] (xi:113-22)

Both students seem to understand what is being asked. They argue that opportunities are available for both Anglophones and Francophones, using the terms 'also', 'different kinds of people', and 'both'. Aston explains that the constitutional requirement to use both languages makes it advantageous to speak both. This particular student, again, displays the most knowledge of the situation beyond school (although the term 'national languages' is incorrect for English and French).

The Francophone students initially seemed unclear about what the question meant. I explained in Bislama and, after a further pause, told them that it was fine for them to say that they didn't know. After another pause of 14 seconds, Frazer finally said:

Extract 7.17

Frazer: Mi luk se (7) ol Inglis ia? Ol olgeta we oli skul Inglis nao olsem oli (.) oli save (1) oli save kasem wok blong olgeta. Bitim ol (.) olsem ol French skul. Olsem long tingting blong mi mi luk se i olsem nao.

(17) <whispers>

Frinston: Ating

Fylene: Ating i sem mak olsem Frazer i talem. (XII:172-7)

[Frazer: I think that (7) the English? Those who school English now like they (.) they can (.) they can find work for themselves. More easily than (.) those from French schools. Like in my opinion I think it's like that.

(17) <whispers>

Frinston: Maybe

Fylene: It's maybe like Frazer says.] (xii:166-71)

Frazer is, again, the only student who seems to have an opinion, and he, again, suggests that Anglophones have greater opportunities. Fylene gives tentative support for this opinion but I felt that the other students either were unaware of the situation with regard to employment opportunities, or could not grasp what the question might be asking about, thus indicating that they were not aware of any real issue.

I attempted to follow up Frazer's comment that Anglophones had greater opportunities, by asking whether they considered this a problem. I reminded them that they were Francophone students, so we were talking about a situation that affected their own futures. There was a 19 second pause before Frazer, again, attempted to answer:

Extract 7.18

Frazer: Mi luk se (1) olsem long Inglis oli (.) olsem wok kwik from (.) olsem fulap man olsem (.) fulap wok Inglis. Olsem ol Inglis (.) man (.) mekem se (.) naoia oli save (.) er save

(3)

Frinston: <whispers> Save (.) kasem.

[Frazer: I think that (1) like English speakers (.) find jobs quickly (.) like many people like (.) many work in English. Like English (.) speakers (.) so (.) now they can (.) er can

(3)

Frinston: <whispers> can (.) get.

Frazer: Oli save kasem wok blong olgeta hariap. Eksampol French skul from (.) sam (.) i no gat (1) fulap man we oli toktok French mekem se i no gat fulap wok. Oli no save (.) continue. (XII:289-96)

Frazer: They can find work easily. For example French schools (.) some (.) there aren't (1) many people who speak French so there isn't much work. They can't (.) continue.] (xii:220-7)

His answer doesn't really address the issue, and the others still seem uncertain. I again felt a lack of engagement in what I was asking about, and the discussion moved on.

Later questions in the interview asked students to consider whether French or English was more widely spoken in Vanuatu. The Francophone discussion revealed that they were unsure. Frazer, again, seemed the most able to give an opinion, and Feven then agreed with him, although she had previously said she didn't know:

Extract 7.19

Fylene: Long tingting blong mi mi no save.

[Fylene: In my opinion I don't know.

(4)

(4)

Feven: <whispers> Mi no save.

Feven: <whispers> I don't know.

Frazer: Mi? Mi luk se (.) mi tu mi no save be (2) mi luk se (1) Inglis ia nao olsem. I fulap. I fulap. Fulap man i toktok er (.) Inglis.

Frazer: Me? I think that (.) me too I don't know but (2) I think that (1) It's English now like. There are many. Many. Many people speak er (.) English.

(2)

(2)

Friston: Ating blong mi bae mi no save talem.

Friston: For me I don't think I can say.

<all laugh>

<all laugh>

Feven: Mi tu (.) mi luk se ol man oli toktok Inglis. (XII:243-51)

Feven: Me too (.) I think that people speak English.] (xii:236-44)

They made similar comments with reference to the global use of these languages:

Extract 7.20

Frazer: Mi long tingting blong mi mi luk se (.) mi luk se mi no save.

[Frazer: In my opinion I think that (.) I don't think I know.

Feven: Mi tu mi no save.

Feven: Me too I don't know.

(15)

(15)

Frinston: Long tingting blong mi mi ting (1) fulap (1) oli toktok French? Samfala oli toktok Inglis.

Frinston: In my opinion I think (1) many (1) speak French? Some speak English.

(15)

(15)

Frazer: Yes. Mi mi luk se (2) long (1) most ia nao se (.) ol lanwis nao oli toktok plante long hem. (XII:258-65)

Frazer: Yes. I think that (2) in (.) most now (.) they speak a lot in these languages.] (xii:251-6)

The Anglophone students also seemed unsure about the situation within Vanuatu. Arthur suggested:

Extract 7.21

Arthur: Long tingting blong mi mi ting se (1) mo Inglis nao oli speak (.) long Vanuatu. From tudei bae yu go bae yu luk (.) fulap (.) insaed long ofis (.) ol ofala jobs blong yumi (.) insaed long Vanuatu (.) mi mi ting se Inglis nao fulap (.) sapos yu go insaed long wan ofis/es bae yu (.) ol (.) sam wok we i stap insaed fulap oli yusum ol Inglis wod/s nomo. Be French hem i no tumas insaed long Vanuatu. (XI:146-51)

[Arthur: In my opinion I think that (1) more English is spoken (.) in Vanuatu. Because today if you go you will see (.) many (.) inside the offices (.) all our jobs (.) in Vanuatu (.) I think that there is a lot of English (.) if you go into an office you will (.) the (.) some work in there many just use English words. But there is not much French in Vanuatu.] (xi:138-42)

However, no other students joined in and, after 18 seconds of silence, a different student initiated discussion of the global situation:

Extract 7.22

Andrina: Mi ting se (.) se evri pipol nomo? Olsem long wol oli toktok long Inglis mo French se blong communicate wetem nara wan? Se (.) blong (.) mekem wan olsem (.) wan wok blong (.) divelopem kaontri blong olgeta.

(4)

Arthur: Mi long tingting blong mi mi ting se (.) the world? Fulap pipol nao oli speak Inglis. From (.) fulap (.) ol fulap jobs mo occupation we i kam insaed blong yumi mo fulap pipol we oli go aot long kaontri? Oli go oli skul long Inglis. Be French oli no stap skul long hem tumas from (.) fulap pipol raon long wol olgeta long (.) olsem oli no save toktok (.) gud er French. Be oli save tok Inglis nomo. (1) So long tingting blong mi mi ting se (.) throughout long wol? Many people nao oli speak Inglis.

(4)

Amboline: Se mi tu mi ting se (.) long wol ia olsem fulap kaontri oli speak Inglis from (.) French ating hamas kaontri nomo oli speak French be (.) whereas fulap oli speak Inglis.

(4)

Andrina: Mi ting se er (.) ol (.) samfala tu oli speak French nomo. (1) Olsem long ol (.) olsem long nara kaontri/s taem oli kam olsem (.) se eksampol olsem samfala waetman oli kam olsem long mifala long Maewo we oli kam ia? Hemia oli speak French nomo olsem samfala (.) samfala tija we oli (.) ol French tija oli go blong (.) olsem toktok long olgeta? Mekem se (.) blong talem wan samting blong olgeta oli folem. (XI:155-75)

[Andrina: I think that (.) everybody? Like in the world they speak English and French to communicate with others? To (.) to (.) do like (.) work to (.) develop their countries.

(4)

Arthur: In my opinion I think that (.) the world? Many people speak English. Because (.) many (.) many jobs and occupations that come into the country for us and people who go outside of the country? They go and study in English. But they don't study in French much because (.) many people around the world (.) like they don't speak (.) er French well. But they just speak English. (1) So in my opinion I think that (.) throughout the world? Many people speak English.

(4)

Amboline: Me too I think that (.) in the world like many countries speak English because (.) French there are many just a few countries that speak French but (.) whereas many speak English.

(4)

Andrina: I think that er (.) some (.) some too just speak French. (1) Like in (.) like when people from other countries come (.) for example like some white people come to our place on Maewo? They just speak French so like (.) some teachers who (.) the French teachers go to (.) like speak to them? So that (.) to explain things for them to understand.] (xi:146-64)

The Anglophone students do appear able to at least consider the question, although they give different opinions. Arthur and Amboline suggest the dominance of English, although the latter in particular seems to be counting the number of countries in which she thinks each language is spoken, rather than considering English to be spoken widely in all countries. Andrina begins by answering in terms of the prevalence of both English and French, rather than choosing between them, but, in her second turn, she argues that there are some countries that speak French only, thereby following Amboline's attempt to enumerate the speakers of each language in terms of countries. This territorialisation of language will be returned to in 7.3.1.

The student groups did not seem to be drawing on any discourse of the dominance of English. Although a few suggested that there might be more English speakers, they were uncertain, and it was clear that others thought there were large groups of French speakers who did not speak English. While one Francophone student suggested that Anglophones might have greater opportunities for employment and tertiary studies, two Anglophone students seemed to think that they held no such advantage, and the remaining interviewees seemed unsure.

During 2011, there was a new student in Year 11 at Angolovo College, Simon, who had completed Year 10 at Collège de Faranako. He was therefore well-known at both schools. He told me that he had decided to switch because he was interested in learning English too. I asked several students why they thought he might have switched, and some suggested that it might have been because of lower fees²⁵, but no student suggested a motivation of greater opportunities through English. I frequently asked if participants could recall any students ever having switched from the Anglophone to the Francophone stream (cf. XVI:124-48/xvi:125-50; XI:326-62/xi:309-47). Each time, they spent a long time thinking about the question, suggesting that they thought it possible, but could not produce an example. They never suggested that English might lead to greater opportunities.

²⁵ In fact, fees at Angolovo were higher than at the Francophone school for which Simon had originally been selected.

I considered it likely that these students who spent most of their time in a rural part of Vanuatu hadn't been exposed to discourses that might be circulating in the media or in the kind of public discourse that adults might be exposed to. At the same time it was clear that there was no dominant institutional discourse within each school that led students either to value English as a global language above French, or to value 'their' L2 above L3. Neither group of students felt that they were particularly advantaged or disadvantaged by the L2 that had been chosen for them, and they did not see any differences between English and French in terms of the opportunities each presented.

7.3 Construction of language as a door to opportunity

Despite statistical indications of unequal opportunities and an official discourse of disadvantage, 7.2 has shown that participants at the two schools did not express this discourse. French appears to be 'holding its own' against English, even where participants are aware of the greater number of opportunities for speakers of the latter. This section will therefore examine the way both English and French are considered to provide access to further opportunities, in a discourse that treats both languages equally.

7.3.1 International languages as gateways to the outside world

The topos of *international languages* is used to argue that knowledge of certain languages, considered to be 'international', provides access to things that cannot be accessed without such languages. The Director of Basic Education makes this argument (and see also XX:75-6, 369-70/xx:74-5, 368-9):

Extract 7.23

*DBE: The use of these two language hem i very small. Long hom. Ating one percent or two percent out of the population. Then hem i stap putum yumi long wan kwestin se be why yumi go skul long Inglis mo French. **From yumi nidim blong go long ol aot saed uh? Long Vanuatu.** (XIX:69-72) ... Mifala i maintain/em long edyukesen system ia long konstityusen. Blong oli stap olsem language of instruction long tingting se (.) **the only two Vanuatu language we i save karem yu i go aot saed.** Because ol narawan oli no save go aot saed. So mekem se mifala i maintain/em hemia. (XIX:353-56)*

[DBE: The use of these two languages is very small. At home. Maybe one percent or two percent out of the population. Then this poses us the question of why we go to school in English and French. **Because we need to go outside uh? Of Vanuatu.**] (xix:67-70) ... [We have maintained them in the education system in the constitution. For them to be the languages of instruction with the thinking that (.) **these are the only two Vanuatu languages that can take you outside.** Because the other ones cannot go outside. So it means that we maintain them.] (xix:345-8)

A number of questionnaire respondents drew on the same logic in explaining why English and French were useful. The following examples make reference to the students' particular L2:

Extract 7.24

I want to know how to speak English so that I could go to a big country such as Australia. Then I can speak with any men that speak to me. (Year 10)

If I have a bright future I'm not going to write in island language, I'm going to write in English and also to speak to tourists. (Year 11)

For modern life, it's english language broadly speaking (Year 12)

With good english you can travel around the world for working purposes, businesses and so on (Year 13)

Je cominique avec le monde je ne parle pas au Bislamar et ma longue. [I communicate with the world I don't speak Bislama and my language.] (Year 9)

Si tu as partir dans les grands pays tu as conne parle en français. [If you went to big countries you knew how to speak French.] (Year 10)

La langue française et il plus importante a comprendre. Parce que c'est un langues du monde entier. [The French language is important to understand. Becuase it is a language of the whole world.] (Year 8)

Angolovo students asserted that knowledge of English could provide opportunities to visit other countries and interact with other people, while Faranako students made similar comments with respect to French. Many students also repeated these arguments with regard to their L3:

Extract 7.25

It will help you if you travel to different types of countries. (Year 10)

You can speak to French people and you may be able to travel oversea if you speak French. (Year 11)

Quand je sort de Vanuatu je peu parle on Anglais. [When I go out from Vanuatu I can speak in English.] (Year 7)

Quand un blanc arrive dans ton village, tu peut parle avec lui ou discute avec lui. [When a foreigner arrives in your village, you can speak to them or discuss with them.] (Year 9)

Both English and French were classified as ‘international languages’, and there was a sense that either or both could provide these opportunities.

In 7.2.3, it was shown that the question of the most widespread international language appeared to be answered by counting how many countries used each one. A number of questionnaire responses made similar reference to specific places in which either English or French is spoken:

Extract 7.26

You can speak with an English man who come from Australia, New Zealand, England etc. (Year 11)

Can be use when travelling to places where they speak english eg. USA, Australia, NZ, Europe. (Year 13)

Beaucoup des pays qui parle en français. [Lots of countries speak French.] (Year 9)

Si plus tard tu gagne tes étude, quand un jour tu allait sur des îles qui parler en Français tu peux parler. [If you later complete your studies, when one day you go to islands that speak French you can speak it.] (Year 10)

The Faranako Principal also makes clear that Vanuatu needs to have some French speakers, because Anglophones cannot travel to countries such as France, unless they take someone with them to translate. English is not considered an option in a Francophone country:

Extract 7.27

FP: Taem we wan délégation blong gavman i go oversea? Then oli lukaotem ol man we oli bilingual. Sapos we minista hem i (.) hem i Anglophone? Hem i no save go long Franis wetem ol Francophone man. Hem i mas karem wan bilingual man. (XVII:267-70)

[FP: When a government delegation goes overseas? Then they look for people who are bilingual. If there is a minister who is (.) who is Anglophone? He can't go to France with all the Francophone people. He must take a bilingual person.] (xvii:257-60)

These extracts reveal a territorial conceptualisation in which languages belong to, or are used in, different areas. Reference is made to countries that use English and countries that use French. Where English is considered to be the more useful of the two, this is only because more people from those countries visit Vanuatu, or there are more countries that use English. There is no sense of English being useful for the purpose of interacting with people who may not speak it regularly 'in their own country', such as German tourists visiting Vanuatu. In other words, I heard no reference to a discourse of English as a lingua franca that is useful in an increasing number of contexts.

For similar reasons, Asian languages are considered new languages that are useful for the purpose of trade with this region, in which English and French are not considered to be spoken. Both the Education Language Policy proposals and the new National Curriculum Statement list Chinese and Japanese as additional languages to be offered at Senior Secondary level. Mr Andrew, who had attended the language policy consultations relayed this information during an interview:

Extract 7.28

Mr Andrew: And ating wan long olgeta emphasis tu i stap naoia? Hem i blong introduce/em uh (.) Asian lanwis as well insaed long skul/s because maket blong wol this time hem i Asian maket so (.) ating long (.) few years' time? Bambae nara foreign lanwis tu bae hem i likely to be introduced. Hem i Asian lanwis. (XIV:368-72)

[Mr Andrew: And maybe one of the influences there is now too? It's to introduce uh (.) Asian languages as well in schools because the world market at this time is an Asian market so (.) maybe in (.) a few years' time? Other foreign languages are also likely to be introduced. That's Asian languages.] (xiv:346-9)

Within this relatively consistent discourse that associated ‘international languages’ with personal and national opportunities, both English and French (as well as certain other foreign languages) appeared to be valued (cf. XVIII:138-43/xviii:137-41). Since some learnt English and others learnt French, all students were considered to have access to these opportunities.

7.3.2 Two languages = double the opportunity

The argument that an international language can open up new opportunities is taken further in Vanuatu. A very strong theme in the data is an attempt to ensure access to both English and French, in order to get the benefits associated with both.

When I asked the Director of Basic Education whether it was necessary to have both ‘international languages’, he said:

Extract 7.29

DBE: Wan i naf. Be taem yu gat tufala tugeta hem i wan advantage. (XIX:359)

[DBE: One is enough. But when you have both together it’s an advantage.] (xix:351)

He claims that greater opportunities can be obtained through both languages than through one alone (cf. XX:379-81/xx:378-80). This suggests the use of a topos of *double opportunity* in which the logical conclusion drawn is that, if one language provides opportunities, then two such languages must provide twice these opportunities. School participants make similar references to the benefits of knowing both:

Extract 7.30

Frazer: Mi mi luk se (.) i gud blong yumi karem tufala tugeta. (3) From er (.) olsem tugeta lanwis ia (.) yumi stap toktok long hem. Olsem evri man i stap toktok long evri dei. Olsem yu save go aot long kaontri yu save toktok French o Inglis. Mekem se (.) mi luk se i gud blong yumi lanem tufala (.) lanwis tugeta. Tugeta lanwis. (XII:312-5)

[Frazer: I think that (.) it would be good if we brought the two together. (3) Because er (.) like both these languages (.) we speak them. Like everybody speaks them every day. Like you can go out of the country and speak French or English. So (.) I think that it’s good to learn both (.) language together. Both languages.] (xii:303-6)

Extract 7.31

I think French is also important because not only English speakers travel to Vanuatu but also French speaker. So this is important in working places and also tourism. (Year 13 Anglophone student questionnaire)

Extract 7.32

Mr Fred: Mebi hem i communication. Communication. From samtaem? Sapos mi mi toktok Inglis nomo? And then French man i toktok wetem mi? Naoia bae mi fas nao? And then sapos hemia we i toktok French nomo? Sapos er wan Inglis man i toktok wetem hem? Bae i fas nao. (XV:320-23)

[Mr Fred: Maybe it's communication. Communication. Because sometimes? If I only speak English? And then a French man speaks to me? I'll struggle now? And then suppose someone who only speaks French? If er an English man speaks to him? There'll be a problem.] (xv:297-300)

These participants do not appear to feel that either language is necessarily the most useful, and they express a need to know both in order to communicate with others (cf. XI:84-101, 265-75/xi:78-93, 250-60; XII:92-112, 136-42/xii:88-109, 132-7; XIII:465-6/xiii:428-31; XV:303-4/xv:282-3; XVII:260-3, 287-97/xvii:249-53, 275-84). They continue to draw on a territorial conceptualisation of language, and consider it advantageous to be able to deal with those from English-speaking or French-speaking backgrounds. Faranako participants tended to refer to the individual advantages of speaking both languages, as well as related benefits for the country, while Angolovo participants referred mainly to the benefits gained by Vanuatu as a whole by retaining both languages. In other words, Angolovo participants saw the value for the country of having access to Francophone interests, but didn't necessarily argue that they needed to know French themselves (cf. XIV:476-80/xiv:446-50; XVI:169-80, 283-7/xvi:169-79, 283-7).

At the family level, it is common to enrol some children in the Anglophone system, and others in the Francophone system. This practice of ensuring that the family 'has' both languages, is supported by the Francophone principal:

Extract 7.33

FP: Naoia system ia i hapen plante. Ol yangfala génération tudei. Oli wantem se hemia i skul longwe hemia i skul longwe.

F: So yu luk se hemia i gud?

FP: Hemia mi ting se hem i gud.

F: From (.) bae i helpem hol famle ia?

FP: No olsem from bambae yutufala i no faenem (.) olsem blong yufala i faenem i isi blong (.) toktok (.) famle blong (.) sapos we narawan i no kasem be narawan se yumi save kaontem blong hem yu luk. So mi ting se hemia nao peren/s. View blong olgeta ia nao. (XVII:463-71)

[FP: This system happens a lot these days. The young generation today. They want this one to school over here that one to school over there.

F: So do you think this is good.

FP: I think this is good.

F: Because (.) it will help the whole family?

FP: No like because the two of you won't find (.) like so that you find it easy to (.) speak (.) the family to (.) suppose one hasn't got it but the other one has we can count on him you see. So I think that this is what parents. This is their thinking.] (xvii:446-53)

The topos of *double opportunity* was also applied with reference to Vanuatu as a whole. For example, I asked the former Minister of Education whether Vanuatu was advantaged over neighbouring countries that do not use French:

Extract 7.34

FME: Economic development yumi nid blong holem taet tufala lanwis from taem yu tekem long regionally nomo? Long region blong Pasifik New Caledonia hem i wan territory we hem i economically hem i strong. Tahiti (.) we i stap. (1) Mi luk se hem i impoten blong maintain/em. Even though economically (.) in terms of trade in terms of exchange hem i impoten blong maintain/em tufala lanwis.

F: So yu luk se yumi gat advantage bitim say PNG Solomon we oli gat wan lanwis nomo. Wan international language.

[FME: For economic development we need to hold tight to both languages because when you look at the region? In the Pacific region New Caledonia is a territory that is economically strong. Tahiti (.) is there. (1) I think it is important to maintain them. Even though economically (.) in terms of trade in terms of exchange it is important to maintain two languages.

F: So you think we have an advantage over say PNG or the Solomons who only have one language. One international language.

*FME: Ating se hem i wan asset blong
(.) um yu gat wan sitisen o wan person
we hem i save yusum both lanwis?
Taem yu mekem comparaison wetem
sam kaontri we oli olsem Vanuatu.
Olsem uh Mauritius o Canada o ol
international organisation. Vanuatu i no
kasem level yet we ol kaontri oli stap
long hem but hem i save go from hemia
sapos asset ia i stap. Hem i quality
blong wan man i save yusum lanwis
monitor/em tu lanwis. Two international
language. (XXI:163-75)*

FME: I think it's an asset to (.) um you have a citizen or a person who can use both languages? When you compare with some countries that are like Vanuatu. Like uh Mauritius or Canada or international organisations. Vanuatu hasn't reached that level yet that these countries are at but it can aim for that if it keeps this asset. It is the quality of an individual to be able to use language to control two languages. Two international languages.] (xxi:158-70)

FME does not explain directly how Vanuatu is advantaged over the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, referring instead to other countries that officially use both English and French and that are economically stronger than Vanuatu. He explains that having two languages is an “asset” and implies a link between this asset and the economic development of officially bilingual countries such as Canada.

This phrase “asset” was recorded in the minutes of the constitutional committee meeting of 23 July 1979, reporting the ideas of an external advisor:

Extract 7.35

Zorgbibe “appreciated that having two official languages could be costly, but he also pointed out that this could be an asset within the context of the Pacific.”

Discussions before Vanuatu had even gained the status of an independent country therefore already invoked this logic.

The topos of *double opportunity* was therefore frequently used, and participants were quick to state that both languages were of value. Indeed, the lengthy discussions during interviews over the best way to provide education through the media of both English and French for all (XI:363-574/xi:348-557; XII:300-425/xii:291-410; XIII:555-784/xiii:511-726; XIV:646-784/xiv:609-737; XV:503-712/xv:470-671) revealed a strong commitment to a major education reform to enable this. However, when pushed for explanations, there were several examples in which participants revealed that they were not really sure what the

actual benefits were. The following extracts present two such examples from the principals:

Extract 7.36

AP: Er benefit? Ating benefit we gavman hem i traem blong (.) mekem hemia nao olsem (1) um (1) wetem situation blong yumi? Long long Vanuatu i gat (.) i gat ol um (1) yumi gat communication olsem close relations wetem ol Francophone (.) kaontri/s. So:: sometimes ol taem we i gat ol dialogue between ol kaontri/s ia long saed blong (.) bisnis ol samting olsem? And u::m ating oli faenem se bae i mo isi sapos we:: yumi gat ol Francophone speaker (.) oli save toktok wetem ol Francophone blong communication hem i isi. (XVI:204-10)

[AP: Er benefit? I think the benefit the government is trying to (.) reach now is like (1) um (1) with our situation? In Vanuatu there are (.) there are um (.) we have communication like close relations with Francophone (.) countries. So:: sometimes when they have dialogue between these countries in terms of (.) business or something else? And u::m I think they find that it's easier i::f we have Francophone speakers (.) they can speak with the Francophones to make communication easy.] (xvi:204-9)

Extract 7.37

F: Be from wanem? Wanem nao benefit blong hemia? Olsem blong karem tufala wantaem.

[F: But why? What is the benefit of this? Like of having both together at the same time.

FP: Hemia nao tu mi no save ansarem yu stret nomo from (.) gavman ating i gat wan tingting blong mekem se tufala pikinini olsem (.) pikinini we i lanem tufala lanwis bambae i faenem isi samting. Long laef blong hem. (XVII:232-6)

FP: That's it I can't really give you a straight answer because (.) I think the government has the idea to make both children like (.) if children learn both languages they will find things easy. In their lives.] (xvii:223-7)

It often appeared from the interview data that English brought benefits to Francophones that were not necessarily paralleled by the addition of French for Anglophones (cf. XVI:193-200/xvi:193-200). However, I was rarely told that English was better than French; it was just another language to add. In Extract 7.38, the Faranako principal does not draw on a discourse of disadvantage, but he refers to English as a language that will bring something useful:

Extract 7.38

FP: So naoia pikinini we hem i skul French i go long Yia 14 ia? Be oli selected i go long ol narafala Anglophone skul ia. So oli wantem kasem wan samting long laef blong olgeta? So mi ting se Inglis we oli lanem ia hem i helpem olgeta plante. (XVII:444-6)

[FP: So now children who school French up to Year 14? But they are selected to go to other Anglophone institutions. So they want to achieve something in their lives? So I think that the English they learn helps them a lot.] (xvii:428-31)

The lexis he uses makes clear that English will add something, although he does not say that this is more useful than French. The former Minister of Education uses similar lexis to refer to the introduction of a series of English language modules for Francophone senior secondary students, accredited by the University of the South Pacific, thus providing a route into English-medium further education:

Extract 7.39

FME: I gat wan extra fee blong pem be (2) fulap peren/s long beginning oli no andastanem? Oli complain. Mi se hem i wan narafala do. Ol pikinini sapos yu luk pikinini i live long ples ia? Ol yunivesiti we yumi gat long Port Vila hem i wan (.) er (.) yunivesiti blong South Pacific we hem i Anglophone so (.) blong yu gat access? Yu mas mekem Inglis. (XXI:698-702)

[FME: There is an extra fee to pay but (2) many parents at the beginning they didn't understand? They complained. I said it's another door. The children if you see the children who live here? The university we have in Port Vila it's (.) er (.) the University of the South Pacific which is Anglophone so (.) for you to have access? You must do English.] (xxi:687-91)

The predication strategies used here reveal that English is associated with opportunity. Metaphors of 'getting something in their lives' and providing 'another door' are linked explicitly to the acquisition of English. I asked whether there was an equivalent 'other door' for Anglophones or whether this was unnecessary, and was told:

Extract 7.40

FME: Oli oraet ia from opportunity i bigwan blong ol. (XXI:742)

[FME: They are okay because they have many opportunities.] (xxi:729)

Although English is described as a second option, rather than the only option that counts, these comments support the assertions from policy texts referred to

in 7.2.1 that Francophones need English in order to access opportunities, while Anglophones are already well catered for.

7.3.3 Instrumentalisation of the need for both English and French

Unsurprisingly, when I pushed for justifications for the need for both languages, participants would often provide one. This section examines the way I consider participants to have instrumentalised this need, constructing accounts that were justified in terms of the utility of these languages. In Extract 7.41, a Francophone teacher states that English can help him communicate both with tourists and with expatriate advisors at the Ministry of Education:

Extract 7.41

Mr Felix: Wan hem i blong ol turis? Mo samtaem sapos i se (.) yu nidim samting yu go fulap long ol advisor? Ol man Ostrelia oli stap sanem i kam? Ol man ia oli no lanem Bislama bifo oli kam. So samtaem yumi go? Yu mas toktok Inglis long olgeta. (1) Hemia nao wan (.) sapos mi toktok Inglis ating bae:: sapos mi toktok wetem hem? Mi go talem sam samting. Sapos i gat wan advaes a blong Ostrelia long Ministri blong Edyukesen mi go luk hem? Sapos mi toktok gud Inglis ating bae i andastanem wanem concerne blong mi. Be sapos mi no toktok gud Inglis hemia nao. <laughs> (XV:176-83)

[Mr Felix: One is for tourists? And sometimes if (.) you need something you often go to advisors? Australia sends them here? These people don't learn Bislama before they come. So sometimes we go? You have to speak English to them. (.) That's one (.) if I speak English I think I wi::ll if I talk to them? I go and say something. If there is an advisor from Australia at the Ministry of Education and I go to see him? If I speak good English maybe he'll understand my concern. But if I don't speak English that's it now.<laughs>] (xv:162-8)

The two situations described are both valid contexts in which English might help. Yet, when considering how frequently Mr Felix encounters a tourist on Ambae (cf. 2.2.3.1), or how often he personally goes to the capital city to negotiate something with an advisor, this argument seems based on an imagined need for both languages. While there are indeed a great number of tourists and expatriate advisors in Vanuatu, Mr Felix projects this knowledge onto his own potential experience, discursively constructing the need for English in a way that seems unlikely to be borne out in practice (cf. XVI:91-2/xvi:92-3).

Extract 7.42 contains two interesting examples of the way two Angolovo teachers construct the need for L3. Features of French are transcribed in bold:

Extract 7.42

*Mr Ala: Mi mi ting se olsem i gud blong yumi save both (.) mi tingbaot wan (.) mi stap long Santo i gat wan woman i kam long Caledonia. I kam kasem long epot? Hem i no save Inglis? I no save Bislama. So (.) hemia? Olfala Ezekiel i stap long epot. So hem i traem bes blong speak Ing- er Franis long hem. So mi tingbaot wan toktok we i talem i putum hanbag blong hem i go insaed finis i talem se (.) **c'est tout**? Afta woman i se **oui**. Ale hemia nao i olsem se woman ia i harem se (.) olsem mi andastanem smol pat ia mi harem se olfala Ezekiel i win long smol pat ia nao blong talem **c'est tout**. <laughs> (3) So hem i helpem hem smol ples ia i helpem hem blong er=*

Mme Adrienne: =Blong communicate.

Mr Ala: Yeah blong communicate. Olsem hem i impoten blong yumi communicate uh?

*Mrs Angela: No be (.) Mr Ala i stap talem olsem mi stap tingting bakegen olsem bae yumi long Vanuatu? I no se blong yumi waepemaot be i gud blong yumi encourage/im from (.) bae yumi lukluk nao olsem ol turis. Yumi tokbaot tourism uh. Hem i wan bigfa- wan biggest um risos revenue blong yumi long Vanuatu. Be olsem sapos yumi karem turis i kam long ol eria/s? Afta i no gat wan i save toktok French bae (.) hao. Olsem i gud blong sam at least i save? Olsem mi mi stap talem ating Fiona i save <laughs> se mi mi talem se wan pikinini blong mi mas skul French. Sapos yumi gat wan visita we i kam long haos we i toktok French? At least mi gat somebody we i andastanem. No gud we bae i kam olsem bae yumi **c'est tout** finis taem i kam bakegen? Bae yu no save nao se nekis wan wanem. <all laugh> Olsem mi stap lukluk se i gud. I no olsem se i nogud. Hem i gud blong save both uh? So yumi talem. Turis oli kam? (1) Fulap turis i kam long Vanuatu. (XIV:513-36)*

[Mr Ala: I think it's good for us to know both (.) I remember once (.) I was in Santo there was a woman from Caledonia. She came to the airport? She didn't speak English? She didn't speak Bislama. So (.) then? Old Ezekiel was at the airport. So he tried his best to speak Eng- er French to her. So I remember one phrase when she had put her bag in and he asked (.) **c'est tout**? Then the woman said **oui**. Okay then it was like the woman felt that (.) like I understood that small event I felt that old Ezekiel did well there by saying **c'est tout**. <laughs> (3) So it helped him a little there it helped him to er=

Mme Adrienne: =To communicate.

Mr Ala: Yeah to communicate. Like it's important to communicate uh?

Mrs Angela: No but (.) as Mr Ala was saying that I was thinking again about us in Vanuatu? We shouldn't wipe it out but we should encourage it because (.) you look at the tourists. We talk about tourism uh. It's a big- one of our biggest sources of revenue in Vanuatu. But like if we bring tourists to different areas? And there's nobody who speaks French then (.) how. Like it's good that at least some can? Like I keep saying I think Fiona knows <laughs> that I've said that one my children must school French. Suppose we have a visitor who comes to the house who speaks French? At least I'll have somebody who understands. It's no use them coming like we've already said **c'est tout** and then they come back again? You won't know what to say next. <all laugh> Like I think it's good. It's not that it's bad. It's good to know both uh? So we say. Tourists come? (1) Many tourists come to Vanuatu.] (xiv:482-502)

At the beginning of the extract, Mr Ala justifies the need to know both languages, using an anecdote in which an employee at the international airport had used a very small amount of French with a French-speaking passenger to ask “C’est tout?” (Is that everything?). This is similar to Mr Felix’s construction of instances in which he will speak English to justify the importance of learning the language. In the second part of the extract, Mrs Angela says that this is why she wants to enrol her third child in the Francophone school system (Mrs Angela, her husband and their older two children have all been educated through English). She asks what would happen if a French-speaking tourist came to her house and there was nobody who could speak French. She refers directly to Mr Ala’s story by saying that they can’t simply say “C’est tout”. Again, it is highly unlikely that the majority of ni-Vanuatu will encounter foreign visitors in their home areas, let alone have cause to invite them to their houses, so it seems that a situation is being constructed to justify educating one member of the family in a different language to the others.

A final extract that constructed this need for L3 was produced by Mrs Anne:

Extract 7.43

*Mrs Anne: Mi stap wis ia sapos we
<laughs> mi olsem mi bin tekem French
mo mi tekem seriously mebi. From mi
lukum long (.) tudei laek yu go anywhere?
French mo Inglis nao hem i surround long
ol eria/s o:: iven raon long ples ia yu luk?
... Mi stap regret long (.) sapos mi bin
lanem <laughs> taem mi stap long skul
be. Mi wis se mi bin lanem mo. Mebi
tekem more seriously. (XIV:386-92)*

[Mrs Anne: I wish that <laughs> like I’d
taken French and I’d taken it more
seriously maybe. Because I see that (.)
today like you go anywhere? French and
English surround us everywhere o::r
even around here you look? ... I regret
that (.) suppose I’d learnt it <laughs>
when I was at school but. I wish I’d learnt
more. Maybe taken it more seriously.]
(xiv:362-7)

Mrs Anne’s main point is that she regrets not having learnt French well, which could be justified in a number of ways. However, she chooses to argue that French and English “surround us everywhere ... even around here”, thus suggesting some form of instrumental need to know both. This argument is not borne out by my own observations at Angolovo College, the nearby commercial and provincial centres, and the various villages I spent time in. I saw no French in the linguistic landscape of these areas, and almost no English. I heard neither

language being spoken outside the school compounds (cf. XVIII:185-91/xviii:181-6).

7.3.4 Increased efficiency through the use of English and French

A final instrumental argument is put forward for the use of both English and French. The topos of *efficiency* is used to argue that teaching everybody both languages will avoid the need for translation and duplication. The Education Master Plan states:

Extract 7.44

We share a vision of a bilingual society where all secondary-school graduates will be bilingual and where the need for translation would have decreased dramatically because virtually everyone will be able to understand everyone else, whichever language is being used. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.19)

The claim made is that a “bilingual society” is desirable, with the rationale that there will be less requirement for translation. The logic is that, if a measure will reduce inefficiency, then this measure should be taken. During interviews, the former Minister of Education and the Director of Basic Education reveal the same concern, twelve years after the publication of this document:

Extract 7.45

FME: Well wis blong gavman hem i blong traem blong mekem se at least ol man we oli wok long public administration ... Oli must be bilingual. I no nid blong gat wan translator blong (.) translate wan. Yu yusum wan man blong wan wok nomo. I no nid blong yusum tumas translesen. (XXI:179-83)

[FME: Well the government's wish is to try and make it so that at least people working in public administration ... They must be bilingual. There is no need to have a translator to (.) translate. You use only one man for one job. There is not need to use too much translation.] (xxi:174-8)

Extract 7.46

DBE: Tufala lanwis ia hem i save mekem (.) hem i save reduce/um cost blong (.) blong public service blong mifala. ... At the moment you have to employ two people for the same job. One for English one for French. For example mifala long edyukesen? Taem yu tokbaot ol inspector? Yu tokbaot tu

[DBE: The two languages can make (.) it can reduce the cost of (.) of our public service. ... At the moment you have to employ two people for the same job. One for English one for French. For example us in Education? When you talk about inspectors? You are talking about two inspectors. One for English

inspector. One for English school wan blong French skul. Be sapos wan person hem i (.) i tok tufala lanwis ia? Then we reduce the post to one nomo. ... So bae hem i (.) bae hem i help plante blong reduce/um cost uh? (XIX:372-81)

schools one for French schools. But suppose a person is (.) he speaks both languages? Then we reduce the post to just one. ... So this will (.) this will help a lot to reduce the cost uh?] (xix:364-73)

The point is logical, given the amount currently spent on translation and the duplication of posts. The point is valid that people who speak English and French can function in both languages in the workplace, thus reducing these costs. However, based on this rationale, the same topos could just as easily be used to argue for the removal of one of the former colonial languages, leaving everybody speaking the same one. The fact that this argument is not made is revealing.

A similar issue relates to the need to know L3 in the workplace. The Director of Educational Services (Anglophone-educated) and the Francophone principal both refer to receiving correspondence in their L3:

Extract 7.47

DES: Er hemia <points to letter on desk> hem i wan leta we i kam long French. Lelebet French blong mi mi save rid i andastanem. (XX:353-4)

[DES: Er that <points to letter on desk> that's a letter that came in French. With my small French I can read and understand.] (xx:353-4)

Extract 7.48

FP: O taem yumi go long wok be (.) wanem pepa i kam long Franis mi save. Hemia i kam long Fran- er long Inglis mi save. Hemia nao gavman i nidim tufala. (XVII:227-8)

[FP: Or when we go to work but (.) a document comes in Fre- er in English I can understand. That's why the government needs both.] (xvii:217-8)

They argue that knowing L3 would enable them to read the information easily. This makes sense but, again, an alternative argument could be put forward that, if only one language was used for such information, then this issue would be avoided.

In summary, there is some sense of English being the more useful of the two 'international languages', but this awareness does not override the need for French. Arguments are put forward for the need for both, through the topos of *double opportunity*, although the examples used to support this need are unconvincing. More convincing arguments are made, through the topos of *efficiency*, that duplication of personnel and translation costs could be reduced if everyone spoke both English and French, but nobody questions the maintenance of the two languages themselves, rather than choosing only one administrative language. Drawing on a discourse of economic opportunity and access to the wider world, participants apply the logic that, if one 'international language' is useful, then two such languages must bring double the benefits.

7.4 Construction of 'bilingualism' rather than English or French

7.4.1 Tracing the term 'bilingualism' in Vanuatu

The previous section reveals the use of the term 'bilingualism' to refer to English and French. All other languages appear to be excluded from the scope of this term, so that competence in French and Bislama, or in two vernaculars, is never referred to as 'bilingualism' throughout the data. I deliberately did not use the term myself in my interview questions, wanting to find out whether participants would use it themselves.

No students used the term themselves during the interviews. At the end, I asked whether they knew what 'bilingual' (or 'bilingue') meant, but nobody knew the word. Only one student out of the 296 questionnaire respondents opted to use the term in explaining that they thought both English and French were important, although revealing unfamiliarity with its spelling:

Extract 7.49

In Vanuatu nowadays our country leaders need people that are Bylinkle.
(Year 11 Anglophone student)

Adult participants, however, did use the term ‘bilingual’. The two interviews with the school principals contain episodes that illustrate the way the term is conceptualised by many today:

Extract 7.50

AP: So taem yu bilingual yu gat mo janis. Bitim yu we yu wan lanwis nomo.

F: By bilingual yu minim

AP: It means that you can talk both language.

F: Be yu minim Inglis (.) French nomo.

AP: Inglis French.

F: Olsem yu yu bilingual finis yu no iven skul yet be (.) yu save lanwis wetem [Bislama]

AP: [Yeah yeah]

F: Hemia bilingual finis=

AP: =Bilingual means English and French. (XVI:305-14)

[AP: So when you are bilingual you have more chance. Than if you only have one language.

F: By bilingual you mean

AP: It means that you can talk both language.

F: But you mean English (.) French only.

AP: English French.

F: Like you were already bilingual before you went to school (.) you knew lanwis and [Bislama]

AP: [Yeah yeah]

F: That's already bilingual=

AP: =Bilingual means English and French.] (xvi:305-15)

Extract 7.51

F: Be hemia taem yu talem bilingual long Vanuatu? Yu minim wanem wetem hem.

FP: Franis Inglis.

F: So hemia yu no minim ol (.) olsem yu yu bilingual finis. Olsem yu toktok lanwis blong yu wetem Bislama.

FP: Yes.

F: Be hem tu i bilingual be=

FP: =Bae mi no save se yumi olsem bilingual olsem yu save toktok lanwis blong yu? Yu toktok long Bislama. Yu toktok Franis ... be hemia nao sam

[F: But when you say bilingual in Vanuatu? What do you mean by it?

FP: French English.

F: So you don't mean (.) like you are already bilingual. Like you speak your language and Bislama.

FP: Yes.

F: But that is also bilingual but=

FP: =I don't know if that is bilingual like you know your own two languages? You speak Bislama. You speak French ... but that's some of us like (.) some of

blong yumi olsem (.) sam blong yumi ol Anglophone we oli skul ia oli no bilingual. From oli faenem i had Franis ia olsem ia nao. Ah Franis ia yumi no nidim. Yu luk. Be olsem bilingual yumi tokbaot hemia olsem yumi talem se tufala lanwis ia nao be. Yumi no tal- yumi no lukluk bak long hemia we Bislama. Lanwis. Hem i min se (yumi nidim tija blong) narafala lanwis finis yumi bilingual finis. Be olsem yu jes talem gud hemia nao olsem mifala i base nomo hemia long lukluk long wanem we tufala main lanwis we hem i blong tijim. Taem yu yusum tufala evriwan ia? I min se bae hem nao i qualify long (1) hem i save tufala lanwis. (XVII:185-204)

us Anglophones who go to school they are not bilingual. Because they find French hard. Ah we don't need French. You look. But for bilingual we talk about this we say these two languages but. We don't say- we don't look back to Bislama. Language. It means (we need teachers for) other languages already we are already bilingual. But like you've just explained that now but we base it only on what are the two main languages for teaching. When you use both of these? It means that this now qualifies him (1) he knows both languages.] (xvii:178-96)

In both cases, the principal introduces the phrase 'bilingual' and, when asked for clarification, identifies this as referring to English and French. On each occasion, I challenge this definition by saying that 'bilingual' could also be used to describe the linguistic repertoire of a ni-Vanuatuan child before encountering either of the school languages, but they dismiss this challenge. Whether or not they agree that 'bilingual' could refer to any two languages, they are certain that English and French are the two that matter. Admiration for 'bilingual' competence is therefore not due to the fact that someone has mastered any two languages.

On occasions, the term was also used by adults outside the school. For example, whilst travelling between the schools one day, the truck driver asked why I was going to Faranako, as he knew that I had previously lived at Angolovo. When I said I was doing research about the way languages were used at both schools, he volunteered that he wished he was 'bilingual' but hadn't studied hard enough in French. I know that he speaks the local language from Ambae and Bislama, and was a Year 12 leaver from Angolovo College, so presumably had a reasonable grasp of English. He confined 'bilingualism' to two particular languages.

Miles (1998, p.128) describes similar support for this version of ‘bilingualism’ from his 1991 research, suggesting that the term was the politically correct way to refer to French in Vanuatu, instead of ‘Francophonie’. The earliest trace I can find of the term is in the minutes of the meetings held to draft the national constitution throughout 1979 (Republic of Vanuatu, 2009). There are six uses of the term ‘bilingual’ or ‘bilingualism’ (all during the meeting of 17 April), two of which with reference to other countries. The discussion around the remaining four is given in Extract 7.52, with the education background of each member given in parentheses.

Extract 7.52

*“Referring to the discussion on languages, V. Boulekone [Francophone-educated] said that, if no reference was made to languages in the Constitution, the significance of this fact should be made clear: did it mean, he went on, that the Government was not intending to consider **bilingualism**.”*

*“D. Kalpokas [Anglophone-educated] touched on the educational aspects of **bilingualism**: was it plausible to believe that children could be made 100% **bilingual** in school. M. Carlot [Francophone-educated] said it was also a question of safe-guarding the rights of all, including the right to use two languages. Whilst it would be difficult for all New Hebrideans to be **bilingual**, the possibility should remain for them to have a first and a secondary official language.”* (Republic of Vanuatu, 2009, p.26)

The two Francophone-education members appear to advocate ‘bilingualism’, while the only Anglophone-educated contributor to use the term seems to challenge its “plausib[ility]” on practical grounds. Carlot argues that everybody has the right to “use two languages” and, it can be assumed from this context that he means English and French. It is not possible to read too much into this episode, especially since these are the words of the minute-taker. However, it is reasonable to note that language issues were contentious in the drafting of the constitution, and that it is likely that Francophones were more concerned about retaining French than the Anglophones needed to be about either language, given that they had the political upper hand (Premdas & Steeves, 1995; Van Trease, 1995).

The language provisions of the constitution, which eventually resulted from these meetings, do not include the word ‘bilingual’ or ‘bilingualism’, stating only:

Extract 7.53

The national language of the Republic is Bislama. The official languages are Bislama, English and French. The principal languages of education are English and French.

The Republic shall protect the different local languages which are part of the national heritage, and may declare one of them as a national language.

The first government was dominated by Anglophone-educated ni-Vanuatu (cf.2.2.1.4). In the only national education document I could access from archives of this period (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1980), the only mention of ‘bilingualism’ is linked to Francophone concerns:

Extract 7.54

Further meetings were held with the French and British Governments in March 1980, when the main proposal of the Vanuatu Government was for France to provide aid for Education alone, whilst the United Kingdom Government would provide budgetary aid for everything else. ... The Vanuatu Government believed that the French Government was mainly concerned about the protection of the French language (“francophonie”) and English-French “bi-lingualism”, a misnomer which should be described as dual language provision. The Vanuatu Government proposal was rejected, perhaps partly because the French Government would pay for the cost of English-medium schools, as well as French-medium schools.” (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1980, p.5)

The extract explains why the post-independence proposal for France to pay for education was rejected. The perspectivization strategies employed here position “the Vanuatu Government” (representing Anglophone and Francophone ni-Vanuatu alike) in opposition to the former colonial powers. However, contextual knowledge of the difficult transition to independence, and of this government’s initial proposal to provide education only in English (see 2.2.1.3), makes it easy to read this text as an Anglophone government’s stance against French and Francophonie. “Bi-lingualism” with reference to English and French (described a “misnomer”) is not portrayed as something worth pursuing by this particular government.

The earliest text that could be obtained from the Ministry of Education during my fieldwork is the Master Plan from 1999, by which time the political norm was for multi-party coalitions that were no longer considered to represent ‘Anglophone’

or 'Francophone' interests. This text presents 'bilingualism' as a desirable, but multi-faceted, phenomenon:

Extract 7.55

Bilingualism in Use of International Languages. There is also virtually unanimous support among ni-Vanuatu for continuing to use both English and French as international languages and media of instruction. This support goes well beyond the wish to preserve the letter of the law as set forth in the Constitution. We believe that our bilingual society in two international languages makes us unique in the Pacific, and almost all of us, from parents in the village to Parliamentarians, perceive cultural and economic reasons for keeping both languages. We share a vision of a bilingual society where all secondary-school graduates will be bilingual and where the need for translation would have decreased dramatically because virtually everyone will be able to understand everyone else, whichever language is being used. As parents, we hope that our children would be fluent in both. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.19)

By this stage, 'bilingualism' is presented as a shared concern for all. It is given symbolic orientations, through references to the constitution, but the text explicitly argues that it has instrumental value "well beyond" this. It states that there are well-known cultural and economic reasons to support bilingualism, although does not say what these are, thus appearing to draw on the topos of *double opportunity*. It then makes more explicit use of the topos of *efficiency* to state that increased inter-group intelligibility will reduce the need for translation.

This version of 'bilingualism' has remained a desirable goal since this time, as evidenced by phrases from recent policy texts:

Extract 7.56

It is the aim of education that every individual, besides knowing his/her mother tongue, will become bi-lingual in English and French (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2004, p.71).

Extract 7.57

Bi-lingualism in English and French is seen as a competitive advantage and a national asset. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006b, p.33)

Extract 7.58

Objective 14. To promote bilingualism in the Vanuatu education system, consistent with the Vanuatu Constitutional requirement that the principal languages of education are English and French. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2009, p.9)

Extract 7.59

*Our aim is for all children and students to be bilingual in English and French.
(Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.89)*

As noted above, ‘bilingualism’ was not mentioned in the constitution, and the term did not seem to be accepted within education discourse of the period immediately following Independence. It is possible (although by no means conclusively) to interpret texts from that time as showing some differences in the concerns of those educated in the two streams. However, policy texts from 1999 onwards appear to embrace this notion of ‘bilingualism’ and it has become dominant in discourse at the official policymaking level.

7.4.2 ‘Bilingualism’ as a discursive marker of equality

The possession of this ‘bilingual’ competence is clearly desirable, however this is rationalised. Participants discursively construct a change that has taken place since Independence, challenging the long-held view that Anglophones are advantaged over Francophones. In Extract 7.60, the Francophone teachers discuss the job opportunities for those educated in the two systems:

Extract 7.60

*Mr Felix: Ol Francophone o ol
Anglophone oli gat mo opportunité
blong faenem wan wok. (3) Mi luk se
fas (.) bifo ating (.) hem i (.) bae mi
talem se ol Anglophone.*

Mr Fred: M-m?

*Mr Felix: Be naoia? Bae mi save talem
se i sem mak.*

Mr Fred: M-m.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

(2)

*Mr Felix: From uh fulap olsem (.) fulap
blong mifala ol Francophone hemia
mifala i kick off long Francophone finis?*

Mr Felix: Do Francophones or
Anglophones have more opportunities
to find work. (3) I think that first (.)
before maybe (.) it was (.) I can say that
it was Anglophones.

Mr Fred: M-m?

Mr Felix: But now? I can say it's the
same.

Mr Fred: M-m.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

(2)

Mr Felix: Because uh many like (.)
many of us Francophones those of us
who kicked off as Francophones? Many

*Fulap oli stap oli jes stap go mekem
Foundation long USP ia. Ale oli jes stap
complete/m mekem fulap blong olgeta
oli (1) olsem fulap blong ol tutor. Fulap
blong ol tutor long USP? Long USP?
Hemia sam blong ol fren blong mi we
mifala i skul hemia ol Francophone.
Pierre? Joel? Hem i ol tutor blong ol=*

*Mlle Felicia: =Wan blong Tanna ia.
Traem tingbaot hemia we hem i tijim
Science ating? Yes. Ol Francophone.*

(3)

*Mr Felix: O yu luk olsem wanem Mr
Fred?*

Mr Fred: Blong mi hem i olsem nao.

*Mlle Felicia: Yes mi tu mi olsem ia. Mi
luk se tufala tugeta.*

*Mr Fred: Fastaem. Fastaem. Hem i
fastaem hem i ol Anglophone oli*

*F: Be ol grup nao we yu talem se oli
skul long USP? ... I min se oli mas
tekem Inglis tu blong tekem equal
opportunity ia.*

Mr Fred: Yes?

Mr Felix: M-m.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

*F: Be wan Francophone we hem i save
Franis nomo hem i?*

Mlle Felicia: Hem i [xx]

*Mr Felix: [Olsem] wan
Francophone we hem i mekem Franis
nomo.*

*F: Uh-uh. Hem i gat ol equal
opportunity wetem wan Anglophone we
hem i save Inglis nomo? O::*

Mr Fred: U::m

just went and did foundation courses at
USP. Then they completed them so
many of them are (.) like many of the
tutors? Many of the USP tutors? At
USP? Those are some of my friends we
were together at Francophone school.
Pierre? Joel? Those are all the tutors=

Mlle Felicia: =One from Tanna. Think
about that one who teaches science I
think? Yes. Francophones.

(3)

Mr Felix: Or what do you think Mr Fred?

Mr Fred: For me it's like that.

Mlle Felicia: Yes me too I agree. I think
that both are the same.

Mr Fred: First. First. It was originally
Anglophones.

F: But the group who you say went to
USP? ... Do you mean that they have to
learn English too in order to have these
equal opportunities.

Mr Fred: Yes?

Mr Felix: M-m.

Mlle Felicia: Yes.

Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

F: But a Francophone who only knows
French is he?

Mlle Felicia: He is [xx]

Mr Felix: [Like] a Francophone
who only learns French.

F: Uh-uh. Does he have equal
opportunities with an Anglophone who
only knows English? O::r

Mr Fred: U::m

F: O mas tekem Inglis fastaem.

(1)

Mr Fred: Hem i=

Mr Felix: =No hem i gat sem

Mr Fred: M-m.

Mr Felix: Sem opportunité.

Mr Fred: Hemia we hem i toktok French nomo? Hem i gat sem opportunité.

Mlle Felicia: Opportunité olsem narawan.

Mr Felix: M-m. (XV:376-421) (1)

F: Or does he need English first.

(1)

Mr Fred: He=

Mr Felix: =No he has the same

Mr Fred: M-m.

Mr Felix: Same opportunity.

Mr Fred: Someone who only speaks French? He has the same opportunity.

Mlle Felicia: Opportunity as the other one.

Mr Felix: M-m.] (xv:350-96)

In this extract, the teachers begin by saying that Anglophones no longer have the edge, since there are a number of Francophones who have also been successful. Since they refer to Francophones currently working at USP, an Anglophone institution, I ask whether Francophones have been successful only when they have learnt English. They seem to agree but, when I ask whether a Francophone who does not learn English would have chances equal to an Anglophone, they tell me that Anglophones and Francophones now have the same opportunities, even without acquiring L3. Rather than positioning themselves as disadvantaged, this group of Francophones talk themselves into being on an equal footing with Anglophones (cf. XVII:180-4/xvii:173-7).

The Francophone principal also asserts that Francophone students have greater opportunities than previously. However, when challenged (using the term 'Francophone bilingual' that he had used previously), he acknowledges that Francophones without English do not have equal opportunities:

Extract 7.61

FP: So long saed blong mifala long gavman? Olsem naoia Minista we i stap hem i Francophone. So naoia? Bae yu luk olgeta (.) pikinini we bambae oli go kasem en long Yia 14 we oli gudfala mak? Be oli go karem skolasip long Philippine. Philippine hem i wan Anglophone yunivesiti. Mi ting se blong

[FP: So for us from the government? Like at the moment the Minister who is there is Francophone. So now? If you look at all (.) the children who get to the end of Year 14 with good marks? But they obtain scholarships to the Philippines. The Philippines is an Anglophone university. I think for those

*olgeta long Francophone blong oli go
oli no gat problem. Oli suitable.*

F: Blong ol Francophone bilingual.

FP: Bilingual.

*F: Be olgeta we oli toktok French nomo
yu luk se i had lelebet blong=*

FP: =No bae i had.

F: Blong go aot saed.

FP: Bae i had. (XVII:417-27)

in the Francophone system to go they
have no problem. They are suitable.

F: For Francophone bilinguals.

FP: Bilingual.

F: But those who only speak French do
you think it's hard for=

FP: =No it's hard.

F: To go outside.

FP: It's hard.] (xvii:401-11)

Interestingly, Anglophone teachers appear to agree that both languages are becoming necessary, i.e. suggesting a disadvantage for themselves, considering that most admit to speaking no French. Mr Aru makes the following claim that preferences for Anglophones in the job market are being overridden by preferences for 'bilinguals':

Extract 7.62

*Mr Aru: Janis/es blong kasem job (.)
olsem yumi discuss/em finis. Olsem
bae raet nao? Olsem se (.) ol
opportunities blong olgeta job/s insaed
long Vanuatu ol most long olgeta hem i
long Anglophone saed. So bae yumi
save talem se (.) ol Anglophone uh (.)
uh speakers? Bae olgeta i gat mo janis
blong hem. But then sapos we yumi
lukluk long narafala saed blong hem?
Sapos yumi talem se wan bilingual uh
(.) person? Bae hem nao bae hem i
karem mo janis blong karem wan job?
Compared to wan we hem i either
Anglophone nomo o Francophone
nomo. (XIII:476-82)*

[Mr Aru: Chances to get jobs (.) as
we've already talked about. Like right
now? Like (.) the opportunities for jobs
in Vanuatu most of them are for
Anglophones. So we can say that (.)
Anglophone uh (.) uh speakers? They
have more chances. But then if we look
at the other side of it? If we talk about a
bilingual uh (.) person? He now has
more chances to get a job? Compared
to someone who is either just an
Anglophone or just a Francophone.]
(xiii:439-44)

I attempted to clarify this with the Anglophone principal. He initially said that Anglophones had greater opportunities to find jobs, so I then said that other people were suggesting that things were changing:

Extract 7.63

*F: So hem i min se ol Anglophone oli
gat mo opportunity blong ol job tu?*

AP: Yes.

*F: O hem i jenis nao? From mi askem
sam oli talem*

AP: No

F: Se no i defren nao be

*AP: No olsem (1) uh at the moment?
Wanem we i stap? Olsem blong karem
wan job? Oli lukaotem mostly
somebody who is bilingual.*

F: M-m.

*AP: So taem yu bilingual yu gat mo
janis. Bitim yu we yu wan lanwis nomo.
(XVI:297-305)*

[F: So does this mean that
Anglophones also have more
opportunities for jobs?

AP: Yes.

F: Or has it changed now? Because
I've asked some who say

AP: No

F: That it's different now but

AP: No like (1) uh at the moment? What
we have? Like to get a job? They
mostly look for someone who is
bilingual.

F: M-m.

AP: So when you are bilingual you have
more chance. Than if you only have
one language.] (xvi:297-306)

In this extract, AP specifically positions 'bilingual' candidates as desirable, rather than saying that Anglophones and Francophones now have equal chances. Mr Ala, conversely, begins the following extract suggesting that both languages are essential, but later reveals that competence in English is still the most important:

Extract 7.64

Mr Ala: Sam advataesmen i kam ia i se yu mas (.) be a good er English speaker and French. Olsem hem i stap long system blong yumi finis. So naoia i kam long wan samting we (.) French tu i impoten long ol eria. Blong faenem wan job. Sapos we yu save Inglis nomo? Bae yu no save karem that job we (.) advataesmen i kam from. Mi ting se most long ol advataesmen nao (.) olsem know a little bit of (.) save Inglis and know a little bit of French. Mo andastan. (XIV:492-8)

[Mr Ala: Some advertisements appear that say you must (.) be a good er English speaker and French. Like it's in our system already. So now it comes to something that (.) French too is important in these areas. To find a job. If you only know English? You won't be able to get that job which (.) the advertisement is for. I think that most advertisements now (.) like know a little bit of (.) know English and know a little bit of French. And understand.] (xiv: 461-66)

Once again, this example reveals that Anglophones only need a small amount of French in order to be considered to 'know' both languages, while a good command of English appears essential for everyone. These episodes were mirrored in numerous others throughout the fieldwork. Although I had expected Francophones to see the value of L3, given the greater opportunities obtainable through the use of English than French, I was surprised to hear Anglophones so vocal in their desire for French (cf. XIII:253-9, 370-4, 560-2/xiii:228-34, 341-5, 516-8; XIV:411-42/xiv:385-414; XVI:83-6/xvi:84-7). Examples told to me either referred to general advantages afforded to Francophones who became 'bilingual', or very specific examples in which Anglophones might benefit from a small amount of French. In other words, the argumentation constructed did not reveal, for me, a new equality between Anglophones and Francophones, unless the latter learnt English. However, participants at the two schools were remarkably consistent in their constructions of this equality, making clear that a situation in which Anglophones benefitted over Francophones had been replaced by one in which 'bilinguals' benefitted over all others.

7.5 Summary

In summary, despite an apparent dominant discourse of inequality, the greater number of opportunities for employment and further education through the use of English than French, and the status of English as a 'global language', this situation is not reflected in the majority of my participants' discourse.

Francophone students and teachers do not refer to themselves as disadvantaged, and Anglophone students and teachers do not refer to themselves as advantaged, expressing the need to know French as well as English. French appears to be commodified (Heller, 2010; Tan & Rubdy, 2008) alongside English, as both languages are constructed as part of the skill set that is necessary for Vanuatu's development. A new hierarchy in which 'bilinguals' are positioned above those who speak only one of the international languages appears to have replaced one in which Anglophones are positioned above Francophones.

However, the examples I am told to support this shift reveal that these new 'bilinguals' are all Francophone-educated ni-Vanuatu who have gained opportunities through the acquisition of English. I heard no examples of an Anglophone transferring to a Francophone school, entering a French-medium university, or applying for a job requiring French. All the stories I was told could be heard as evidence of the need for English, and yet they were told as evidence of the need for 'bilingualism'. There is something more than a practical need for both English and French for everyone, since nobody can explain any benefits that French brings in real terms, and anecdotes reveal that only very small amounts of French are required in order to count. Access to "something that gives the impression of language, a *pragmatic* and *metapragmatic* component to language competence that indexically induces the right ideological package" (Blommaert, 2009, p.245) seems important, without necessarily needing to demonstrate the ability to use these 'languages'. Once again, it seems that access to a limited set of resources in L3, or even taking an interest in this language, may be enough (Blommaert & Varis, 2011, cf. 6.5) to count as being 'bilingual'.

This 'bilingualism' appears to mediate the tension between pragmatic responses to globalised shifts in communications and technologies that construct English as *the* language of opportunity, and nationalist attempts to ensure equal opportunities for those educated in both streams of the school system (cf. Martin, 2005, p.92). Achieving this relies on demonstrating the economic opportunities that exist for Francophones (cf. Heller, 1999b), while attempting to downplay the fact that such opportunities often require the acquisition of English.

The data in this chapter does not paint an optimistic picture for the incorporation of the linguistic resources that children use in daily life outside school. Only languages that promise access to better opportunities are valued, thus reinforcing the hegemony of the former colonial languages, and potentially eclipsing other pedagogical concerns (Nunan, 2003). The metaphor of an 'international language' as a door to opportunity is doubled, given that two such languages are present. Following the logic that one such language brings opportunities, then two languages must bring twice as many benefits. Indeed, if it was seen that English plus French did *not* bring these double benefits, the entire metaphor of language as a door to opportunity could be called into question. Given that mastery of two international languages is considered to bring double benefits, there is a desire to ensure that both languages are incorporated into the education system, thus further pushing out the vernaculars and Bislama.

8 Language as a marker of national identity

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines further the way the concept of 'bilingualism' in English and French is made sense of. Chapter 7 presented this concept as it is discursively constructed by Anglophone and Francophone participants alike, revealing a concerted interest on the part of both groups to maintain the two languages. However, the arguments made about the instrumental benefits of this version of 'bilingualism' were often unconvincing, suggesting that other factors were driving its construction. This chapter will thus examine the final way in which 'language' is constructed in the data – as a marker of national identity. When I ask participants about the need for both English and French, i.e. for instrumental justifications for maintaining both languages, I receive answers that are framed by constructions of what it means to be ni-Vanuatu. However, it is clear that the connections between language and national identity have undergone significant changes since Independence.

8.2 Shaking off history: Doubly-oppressed by Britain and France

When Vanuatu became independent in 1980, there was a need to construct itself as a postcolonial nation that could move beyond its colonial past. The opening words of the national constitution (English version) are as follows:

Extract 8.1

WE the people of Vanuatu,
PROUD of our struggle for freedom,
DETERMINED to safeguard the achievements of this struggle,
CHERISHING our ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity,
MINDFUL at the same time of our common destiny,
HEREBY proclaim the establishment of the united and free Republic of Vanuatu
founded on traditional Melanesian values, faith in God, and Christian principles,
AND for this purpose give ourselves this Constitution.

This is unremarkable discourse for the opening of a newly independent nation's constitution (see Otto, 1997, p.33, for the very similar preamble to the Papua New Guinea constitution, and discussion of such declarations). It uses the first person plural pronoun throughout, thus projecting the shared experience and "common destiny" of the people of Vanuatu; the "struggle for freedom" reminds ni-Vanuatu that the process was difficult, but this is now framed as something to be "proud" of; the "ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity" and the "traditional Melanesian values, faith in God, and Christian principles" are established as the foundations of the new Republic. The declaration thus constructs a newly-united but traditionally-grounded Vanuatu as the successor to the New Hebrides, drawing on the combined logic of the topoi of *united national identity*, *traditional national identity* and *postcolonial national identity*.

A key tension between colonial and postcolonial values was raised by Fr. Walter Lini (who would become the first prime minister) in a Constitutional Committee meeting held on 18 April 1979:

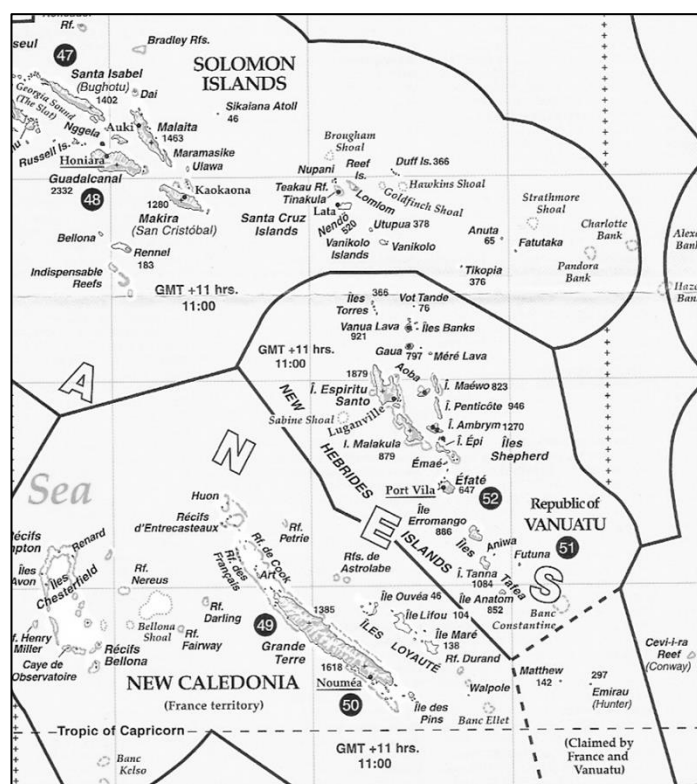
Extract 8.2

W. Lini questioned the need for a Constitution: was it to be built on Melanesian values, he asked – he felt this would be difficult given the Western origins of Constitutions. The imposition of Western standards in a Constitution, he pursued, would not maintain the New Hebridean soul and spirit in existence. W. Lini felt that a Constitution was being prepared simply to satisfy France and Britain. The danger of preparing a Constitution to satisfy France and Britain was that, once the New Hebrides tried to alter it after their independence to suit their needs and culture, they would find themselves already trapped in international, rather than New Hebridean, practices. He concluded by feeling that the Committee was confused by the need on the one hand, to satisfy international requirements and, on the other hand, New Hebridean values and culture. (Republic of Vanuatu, 2009, pp.29-30).

Throughout the extract, an explicit contrast is made between "Melanesian" and "Western"; between "France and Britain" and "the New Hebrides"; and between "international" and "New Hebridean".

As is the case for all postcolonial nation-states, Vanuatu came into existence through a struggle to be a nation, and yet this struggle had to take place on its colonisers' terms. The boundaries delineating which islands had to belong together had already been drawn, artificially bonding Aneityum (Anatom) in the south to the Torres Islands in the north, while marking the group as different

from the islands of both New Caledonia and the Solomon Islands (see Map 8.1).



Map 8.1 Boundaries between Vanuatu and other island groups

In order to reclaim the islands from the colonial governments, the indigenous people had no option but to recognise the boundaries that had been set. However, the very existence of the Republic of Vanuatu rests on the logic that it is different from the exact same geographical space that was previously the New Hebrides. The construction of a new national identity for Vanuatu was achieved through rejection of what the colonial period represented.

Language policy presents a challenge to this rejection of colonialism, given that English and French, the two former colonial languages, have been enshrined in the constitution as official languages and principal languages of education. The remaining sections of 8.2 examine this tension, addressing the way the two former colonial languages fit into three particular postcolonial discourses.

8.2.1 The importance of indigenous ‘heritage’

One aspect of constructing a postcolonial national identity for Vanuatu has been the ability to talk about ni-Vanuatu *kastom* (traditional culture) and languages, establishing symbolic, indigenous foundations with which the nation can identify, following the logic of the topos of *traditional national identity*.

Throughout policy texts, many references to ‘heritage’ refer explicitly to the need to retain and value Vanuatu’s indigenous culture and languages. This heritage is often positioned in opposition to the foreign culture and languages associated with the education system.

The Education Master Plan of 1999 includes the following introduction to the vernacular education policy (which has never officially been implemented):

Extract 8.3

Children will be well-grounded in their local language, culture, history, and heritage before they proceed on to knowledge of foreign languages and the wider world.
(Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.10)

A contrast is established between “local” and “foreign” knowledge. English and French are “foreign languages” that clearly do not belong to the children in this version of identity. The same document goes further in arguing that the current education system actually works against the maintenance of what is indigenous:

Extract 8.4

There is also a general feeling among parents and national authorities of all parties, social groups, and linguistic persuasions that Vanuatu’s education system is not helping Vanuatu preserve its rich linguistic heritage, its customs and culture, and its identity. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.63)

The education system is, once again, placed in opposition to the body of cultural knowledge and practices of Vanuatu, indicating the usage of the topos of *heritage*. The claim, attributed to a wide sector of society, that education is not helping to maintain Vanuatu’s heritage leaves implicit the argument that this is a bad thing. The underlying conclusion rule is that if something is considered to be of value, then it should be preserved.

A number of Anglophone students raised this point in writing their opinions about the school language rules. The following two questionnaire responses

illustrate the tension between the topoi of *successful learning* and *international languages* and the topos of *heritage*:

Extract 8.5

My opinion about these rules is I think it is good for us students to obey it because it is the main language that we need to know to help us in our studies. English is the main language that will be used in offices and schools. I also think that to speak our mother language is also good because it must not be forgotten. We have to keep our traditional value for island language. (Year 13)

I think the rules a good because to help me with my English in class and also to help me improve with my studies so that I could achieve my aim for the future. But on the other side, I don't like it because English is not the language that I grow up with and if I keep on talking English then I can sometimes forget about my island language and loss it forever. (Year 11)

Both students claim that English will help them succeed in their studies and thus have good futures, but they also argue that it is important to maintain their home languages (cf. XI:61-4/xi:57-9; XIV:236-9, 362-3/xiv:219-22, 340-2; XVII:218-25/xvii:209-15; XVIII:203-61/xviii:197-255; XIX:291-7, 307-9/xix:284-90, 300-1; XX:415-58/xx:415-56; XXI:203-7, 445-6/xxi:197-201, 435-7). The 2010 national curriculum statement attempts to address this perceived dichotomy between school and this heritage, arguing for the incorporation of indigenous culture and languages into the new curriculum. 'Heritage', once again, is associated with what has existed for generations:

Extract 8.6

Languages have sustained our cultures from generation to generation over many thousands of years. Vanuatu has a rich cultural heritage and oral traditions that have survived because our languages have survived. Keeping our languages alive is essential otherwise many of our cultural practices will die or survive only in museums. Schools have an important role to play in working with local communities to ensure local languages are used, understood, and valued by children and students. Children and students should be encouraged to use their local languages and be proud of this heritage. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.49)

The topos of *heritage* is used explicitly. Lexis of 'sustainment' and 'survival' is placed in contrast to lexis of 'death' and exhibition in museums as a relic of the past. Lexis of 'richness', 'heritage' and 'tradition' is used to argue that there is an obligation to 'use', 'understand' and 'value' this heritage. This is linked,

intertextually, to the constitutional provision that the vernaculars shall be protected as “part of the national heritage” (Article 3(2)).

Similarly, in advocating the use of vernaculars in education, the Director of Policy and Planning also reflects on the country’s name (meaning ‘our land’):

Extract 8.7

DPP: Sapos ol vernacular oli left out? Er basically blong talem olsem se Vanuatu has shot itself. It has killed itself. So maybe they should change the name. Vanuatu my land. They should change the name to something else. Sapos vernacular hem i no blong hem. (XVIII:960-3)

[DPP: If the vernaculars are left out? Er basically it means that Vanuatu has shot itself. It has killed itself. So maybe they should change the name. Vanuatu my land. They should change the name to something else. If the vernaculars are not in there.] (xviii:925-8)

He links the vernaculars to the land on which they are spoken. The implication is that an education system that does not make use of the languages that have always been spoken on this land is inappropriate for a country whose name reflects the importance of indigenous land. The symbolic links are clear between the nation and its indigenous foundations, drawing explicitly on the topos of *traditional national identity*.

A final example describes English and French as a different form of ‘heritage’, in the sense that they have been inherited from the previous system. However, this version of ‘heritage’ is not valued:

Extract 8.8

In the early 1960s, the use of the French and English languages in our schools was enforced by the condominium authorities. At this time, schools mostly used imported materials from France and England and other colonized countries in Africa and the Pacific. Our Constitution reflects this heritage when it says that the principal languages of education are French and English. Support for Francophone and Anglophone schools by the respective Condominium partners created a dual system of education based on these colonial languages. This dual system still exists today but the curriculum will now become the same for all schools. Our education system is challenging this dual system. We recognize the need to harmonize the curriculum for Francophones and Anglophones so that all children follow the same curriculum and have the same opportunities irrespective of their language background. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2010, p.2)

This version of heritage is not considered positive. The colonial languages are described as “enforced” by “authorities”, alongside other impositions such as “imported” materials. No agency is given to the new national leaders over decisions taken at Independence, with the constitution placed as the grammatical subject of the sentence dealing with these decisions. The implication is that no deliberate decision was taken to retain these languages. However, in putting forward the new national curriculum as the solution, agency is given to “our education system”. The implication here is that there is a collective, national drive to replace the colonial “heritage” with a more equitable alternative.

‘Heritage’, thus, appears to encompass what is indigenous to Vanuatu, and this heritage is considered valuable. The history of the nation appears to be traced back to the pre-colonial era and established as the true identity of those indigenous to the land, through the topos of *traditional national identity* (cf. De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999 on the construction of a common history as the basis of national identity), and efforts must be taken to maintain this history, following the topos of *heritage*. Although the education system has also been ‘inherited’, this appears to be an unwelcome version of ‘heritage’, since it conflicts with the cultural and linguistic practices that preceded it. The languages that are symbolically constructed as part of Vanuatu’s heritage are the vernaculars.

8.2.2 Two media of instruction as a source of disunity

Two of my interviewees present strong views about the need to be ‘man Vanuatu’ or ‘ni-Vanuatu’, rather than ‘Anglophones’ and ‘Francophones’. The first is the Francophone principal, who makes this point on two occasions during the interview:

Extract 8.9

FP: Wan Francophone wetem wan Anglophone? Oli no go tugeta ia. Samting ia nao mifala i stap traem create/em yu forget/em tingting. Yumi kam yumi man Vanuatu. Sapos yu talem se yumi tok Bislama yumi tok Bislama. Sapos yumi tok Inglis yumi tok Inglis. Be yu nomo talem se no mi mi Francophone mifala i Anglophone. Hemia nao tingting ia nao mifala i create/em. ... Yumi talem se yumi ol ni-Vanuatu. Hemia nomo. System blong Anglophone Francophone o iven sapos we mi tij long Francophone yu tij long Anglophone? Long Inglis lanwis? Be yumi no tokbaot se ah yu tijim Inglis no. Hem i wan opportunité blong yumi evriwan yu wan- (.) tu lanwis nao. So system ia nao gavman i talem se naoia? Taem we yufala i go mi nomo wantem harem Francophone Anglophone. Taem olsem ia yu luk wan i go ia wan i go ia. No. Yu talem nomo se mi man Vanuatu. (XVII:315-54)

[FP: A Francophone and an Anglophone? They don't go together. Something now that we are trying to do so you forget this idea. We become man Vanuatu. If you say that we speak Bislama then we speak Bislama. If we speak English we speak English. But you should no longer say no I'm Francophone we are Anglophone. That's the idea now that we are creating. ... We say that we are ni-Vanuatu. That's all. The system of Anglophones and Francophones or even suppose I teach in the Francophone and you teach in the Anglophone? In the English language? But we don't talk about it like ah you teach English no. It's an opportunity for all of us you one (.) two languages now. So the system that the government is saying now? When you go around I no longer want to hear Francophone Anglophone. When this happens you see one go here one go there. No. You just say I am Man Vanuatu.] (xvii:301-340)

Here, the principal explicitly contrasts the idealised situation in which people consider themselves “Man Vanuatu”, with the colonial divisions between Anglophones and Francophones. To be united as ni-Vanuatu requires rejecting this duality, following the topos of *united national identity*. The Director of Basic Education (a member of the Education Language Policy team), relies on the same argument in explaining the purpose of language policy reform:

Extract 8.10

DBE: Lanwis polisi? Long purpose we mi andastanem? (2) Polisi ia hem i blong wan? Hem i blong yumi unite/em ol pipol oli become wan tugeta. Still today we say Francophone Anglophone. We speak English. We. Hemia nao lanwis polisi i wantem karemaot barrier ia. Between the two. And we take those two people and they become one. Only one ni-Vanuatu.
(XIX:216-20)

[DBE: Language policy? The purpose that I understand? (2) This policy is to have one? It is for us to unite everybody to become one together. Still today we say Francophone Anglophone. We speak English. We. That's is the language policy wants to remove this barrier. Between the two. And we take those two people and they become one. Only one ni-Vanuatu.]
(xix:211-5)

Once again, this is an explicit rejection of the colonial past, and an argument that being ni-Vanuatu must mean *not* being Anglophone or Francophone. This argumentation falls in line with sentiments expressed in the Education Master Plan, in which an overt distinction is made between colonial education and what is appropriate for Vanuatu:

Extract 8.11

Now there is an acute awareness on the part of Government officials and the public that the use of the local languages is key to a reform of the education system. In the words of the Minister of Education, "We need a system that not just an amalgamation of the English and French systems of the colonial period, but a truly Vanuatu system." (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.74)

Extract 8.12

Parents, educators, and political leaders have said they wish to see an education system that is neither a British system nor a French system but rather a ni-Vanuatu system. (ibid., p.63)

The 'national' is placed in direct opposition to the 'British' and the 'French', in both extracts, with the modifier "truly" making clear this distinction in the former. Different perspectivization strategies are used to argue the same point. Extract 8.11 uses direct speech to quote the Minister of Education exactly, while Extract 8.12 uses indirect speech to summarise the views attributed to the general population. The combination serves to project a combined, national consensus about ni-Vanuatu education. This version of national identity discourse considers a national system to be something other than a combination of the two previous systems, and cuts ties with their British and French origins. 'Ni-

Vanuatu' is not an uncomfortable compromise between Anglophone and Francophone, but something new.

Once again, we can trace this discourse back to discussions leading up to Independence. Fr. Walter Lini raised the following point in the Constitutional Committee meeting of 9 August 1979:

Extract 8.13

France and Britain had divided the New Hebrides, he said, and the nation's political parties were continuing to spread division. It was therefore essential to promote unity by preparing a Constitution that reflected New Hebridean thinking" (Republic of Vanuatu, 2009, p.102).

Looking back on Independence and the drawing up of the constitution, thirty years later, one of the former committee members (Sethy Regenvanu) reflected:

Extract 8.14

We realized together that, while we were fighting over our political differences, we were all legally stateless in our own country, the best of our land was being taken away from our control and our cultures were being undermined by foreign forces. We came to realize that the gravity of the situation confronting us all was far more important and serious than any differences we had harbored, based on French and British influence on us in language and education. We discovered that, when it came to the issues that were of fundamental importance to our people and this country, we stood united (ibid., p.5).

The disunity is linked explicitly, in both extracts, to the divisive influence of the colonial powers, and both former ministers argue for a common New Hebridean way forward (cf. XVIII:368-70/xviii:3589-60; XX: 202-5/xx:202-5; XXI:369-78/xxi:359-68). Once again, an important characteristic of the postcolonial national identity of the country is its progression beyond its colonial past.

8.2.3 Anglo-French uniqueness as a problematic characteristic

The final element of national identity problematises Vanuatu's unusual situation. Chapter 1 opened with a number of publication titles that reflect the way Vanuatu's colonial past has been documented. The following extracts from two of these sources reveal the way the 'uniqueness' of this situation has typically been discussed.

Extract 8.15

The New Hebrides was bogged down by the only condominium government in the world. Governed jointly by France and Britain ... the condominium system was the most out-dated and confused system of government that mankind has ever established on earth. (Sope, 1980, p.15).

Extract 8.16

Many saw the physical siting of the two Residencies, so close to one another, yet separated by a gully, with the Union Jack fluttering in the long shadow of the Tricolour, as an appropriate symbol of the Condominium administration that had come to Vanuatu. ... Visiting journalists found the bizarre workings of the joint administration easy copy for a humorous article with its duplication of services, two police forces, postage stamps officially sold at other than their face value and different exchange rates of the English pound to the French franc depending on what was bought. Geared for relative inactivity and the product of a diplomatic compromise, the Condominium was a frustrating system for any earnest civil servant who wanted to get things done. (MacClancy, 2002, p.104).

Sope describes the condominium arrangement as unique “in the world” and “on earth”, and both authors make clear its failings. They describe it as “out-dated”, “confused”, “bizarre”, and “frustrating”, and they reveal the many problems that resulted from what MacClancy describes as “a diplomatic compromise”. There is nothing positive attributed to ‘being unique’ amongst all colonial systems.

Lini, the future first prime minister of Vanuatu, commented during the meeting of 9 August 1979 that:

Extract 8.17

The New Hebrides unique characteristics made it essential that something specifically suited to the New Hebridean context be devised. (Republic of Vanuatu, 2009, p.102).

Lini’s use of the term “unique” acknowledges the differences between Vanuatu and other nations as a complicating factor. Almost three decades later, the Government of Vanuatu’s Priorities and Action Agenda described the uniqueness of the context in terms of its complexity (erroneously referring to two, rather than three, official languages):

Extract 8.18

The environment in which [our] goals must be achieved is unique, including more than 105 vernaculars, two official languages and one national language; schools scattered over more than 60 islands; high rates of population growth, and rapid urban drift. The growing population puts considerable pressure on the education system and places increasing demands on the national budget. (Government of the Republic of Vanuatu, 2006, p.29).

The lengthy list included in the first sentence makes clear the number of different constraints placed on policymaking and budgeting by Vanuatu's "uniqueness". The problems are further highlighted in the second sentence, in which "pressure" and "increasing demands" are referred to. Linguistic diversity is discussed together with other factors such as growing population, thus implying the difficulties posed by this diversity. Being 'unique' can thus be considered a burden.

8.3 Embracing heritage: Doubly-blessed by English and French

8.2 has discussed a number of discourses in which distance from, or explicit rejection of, Vanuatu's Anglo-French past is established symbolically. Vanuatu is constructed as being different from its colonial past (following the topos of *postcolonial national identity*), being linked to its pre-colonial traditions (following the topos of *traditional national identity*), and being united as one nation (following the topos of *united national identity*). Within these discourses, the 'unique' Anglo-French legacy that sets Vanuatu apart from other nations is considered problematic for policymaking, and a reminder of an uncomfortable colonial past. However, the remainder of this chapter will present a number of extracts in which a very different version of national identity is constructed.

8.3.1 The reconstruction of English and French as 'heritage'

There are a number of occasions on which English and French are also considered to be part of the 'heritage', and have thus become legitimate components of the traditional national identity. Some such occasions come from official policy texts. Although the extracts discussed in section 8.2.1 reveal heritage discourses that concern the preservation of the vernaculars and

traditional culture, there are other occasions on which the same discourse of language preservation is applied to English and French:

Extract 8.19

We wish to preserve English and French as the principal languages of our education system (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 1999, p.4)

The statement calls explicitly for the need to “preserve” English and French, thereby using the topos of *heritage* with reference solely to the former colonial languages. Extract 8.20, from the Corporate Plan of 2002, and Extract 8.21, from the Vanuatu Education Sector Strategy of 2006, however, appear to integrate both indigenous and colonial languages within this discourse of language maintenance:

Extract 8.20

Goal Five: Protect our local languages and the principal languages of education English and French (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2002, p.5)

Extract 8.21

Vanuatu’s language policies and languages of instruction are part of the national identity and protection of culture, and are enshrined in the Constitution and the draft National Language Policy, and recently reinforced in the Prime Minister’s April 2006 policy statement. Bi-lingualism in English and French is seen as a competitive advantage and a national asset. Nonetheless, donors put pressures on the Education Sector in terms of either protecting a particular language (which works against the unified system) or questioning the affordability of maintaining two global languages of instruction. (Vanuatu Ministry of Education, 2006b, p.33)

In Extract 8.20, all languages appear to be in equal need of protection. In Extract 8.21, however, despite the vague terminology of “language policies and languages of instruction” used in the opening, it becomes clear from the second and third sentences that the extract relates to English and French only. The topos of *double opportunity* is used to argue for the maintenance of “bi-lingualism”, and donors are criticised for attempts to remove one of the current languages of instruction. Given that the maintenance of English in Vanuatu has never been questioned, it can be assumed that this text is about retaining French as a language of instruction. However, this is achieved by linking both English and French to each of national identity, protection of culture, the provisions of the constitution, and the mandates of the national language policy.

The implication is that the two former colonial languages must be protected as part of the national culture. The reference to the constitution suggests that their protection is enshrined therein, which is a fallacy. One provision of the constitution states that English and French shall be the principal languages of education, while another states that the local languages must be protected (see Extract 7.53). The conflation of these provisions serves to recontextualise the constitutional mandate to protect the local languages as a wider provision for the protection of English and French. The elements are conjoined in such a way that properties of one element become associated with another. It is true that there are statements about English and French “enshrined in the constitution” but not with reference to their protection. To ensure that French is retained in Vanuatu as an equal language to English, it becomes necessary to recontextualise *both* languages as part of the heritage and identity of the country, in order to argue for their preservation. In the following extract, the Director of Policy and Planning (Anglophone-educated) also draws on the topos of *heritage* to argue that English and French must be preserved:

Extract 8.22

DPP: Hem i wan heritage we yumi karem i kam ... we i become wan pat blong laef blong yumi. Because long colonial taem? Yumi karem Inglis yumi karem French. So:: hem i wan samting we yumi karem i kam. Yumi no sud tekem away evri ting. I gat sam gud samting. And er those good things mifala i mas kipim. Mifala i mas kipim from we:: mi talem long olgeta se tingting hem i olsem se yu karem wanem we hem i blong yu i stap. Hem i er form/em base. And then afta yu luk around. Wanem we yu karem i defren long hem you look around elsewhere. And olgeta we yu karem elsewhere yu karem hemia i kam blong complement/em wanem we yu yu gat. (XVIII:368-426)

[DPP: It is a heritage that we have brought here ... that has become a part of our lives. Because from the colonial time? We've got English we've got French. So:: it's something that we have brought forward. We shouldn't take everything away. There are some good things. And er those good things we must keep. We must keep them becau::se I told them that the idea is like you keep what is yours already. That er forms the base. And then you look around. To get things other than that you look around elsewhere. And those things that you get elsewhere you take them to complement what you already have.] (xviii:358-414)

The director refers to French as part of the “heritage”, directly invoking discourses of linguistic or cultural preservation (cf. XVIII:259/xviii:253 where he

laments the loss of ‘heritage’ with reference to vernaculars). The predication strategies he uses to talk about both English and French include lexis associated with such discourses, stressing the importance of keeping what is already there. He describes a change of ownership, acknowledging the colonial origins of these languages but stating that they have become “a part of our lives” and have been brought forward through history by ni-Vanuatu themselves. He contrasts “what is yours already” with other languages that one might “look around [for] elsewhere” to “complement” them, thus incorporating English and French within what belongs to Vanuatu.

The Director of Basic Education (Francophone-educated) makes a similar point, although he describes the shift in ownership of French and English as a more deliberate strategy:

Extract 8.23

F: Olsem yumi talem se yumi nidim Inglis mo Franis. Evriwan i mas bilingual. Be from wanem.

[F: Like we say that we need English and French. Everyone must be bilingual. But why.

DBE: Ating it's er (1) Hem i kam long (2) long histri. Blong nation. (2) Bifo taem mifala i stap long condominium? Then tufala paoa i putum Inglis mo French but taem we mifala i kam long indipendens? We have to make a choice. Have to make a choice so mi stap tingbaot ol lida/s long taem ia. Taem blong oli raetem konstityusen? Oli discuss/em plante yes. Oli argue. Some of them say yumi lego Franis yumi yusum Inglis. Some of them say no yumi lego Inglis yumi yusum Franis. So oli bin argue plante? Be wanem hem i gud se they come (.) oli kam long wan agrimen. Blong (.) oli talem olsem ia. Oli talem se ol Franis man oli go finis. Ol Inglis pipol bae oli go. Be from yumi? Tufala lanwis ia i stap bae yumi adoptem. Olsem lanwis blong Vanuatu. So French English in Vanuatu today? Is not a language for French or English. It's also Vanuatu language. (XIX:339-51)

DBE: It's maybe er (1) it comes from (2) from the history. Of the nation. (2) Before when we were in the condominium? Then the two powers introduced English and French but when we came to Independence? We have to make a choice. Have to make a choice so I think about the leaders of that time. When they wrote the constitution? They discussed it a lot yes. They argued. Some of them say we should drop French and use English. Some of them say no drop English and use French. So they argued a lot? But what is good is they come (.) they came to an agreement. They said that the French have gone already. The English will go. But us? The two languages that are here we will adopt them. As languages of Vanuatu. So French English in Vanuatu today? Is not a language for French or English. It's also Vanuatu language.] (xix:331-43)

Structurally, this extract is very similar to Extract 8.8. Both extracts begin by explaining the colonial origins of English and French, move to the decisions taken at Independence, and finish with the ni-Vanuatu solution to the situation. However, the lexis employed by the director here reveals the agency he attributes to the leaders at Independence, and the positive decision that they made to retain both languages (cf. Extract 8.8 in which the retention of English and French did not appear deliberate). He dismisses the importance of the colonial powers in having introduced English and French, by stating that these languages now belong to Vanuatu. He thus gives a very different reaction to the inheritance of English and French.

The subject nouns and pronouns used in Extract 8.23 explicitly differentiate between the colonial powers and ni-Vanuatu as owners of English and French. He notes that “the two powers” imposed the two languages, but “the leaders” (of the new nation) made a conscious decision to keep them (although the decision was not easy). By the end of the extract, the director’s explanation is put forward as the direct speech of these leaders, using the first person plural (inclusive) pronoun to express their appeal to ni-Vanuatu. This perspectivization strategy of using the leaders’ voices adds to the historical contextualisation of his point. He does not look back at what happened as a finished episode in history, but recontextualises what the leaders supposedly said as support for his argument that English and French are now considered to be “Vanuatu language[s]”. He dismisses the idea that they are “for French or English” people.

My question had not been about how the director felt about the two languages, but why it was important for all ni-Vanuatu to speak both. I had framed my question in terms of “need” for the languages, and had thus expected the answer to relate to instrumental purposes. A similar episode occurred in my interview with the former Minister of Education (Francophone-educated), when I asked why there was the “political will” for bilingualism. Even when I pushed for a reason other than just maintaining the status quo, asking directly about “purpose” or “benefits”, he replied with another example that, again, suggested a symbolic orientation to language:

Extract 8.24

FME: Long level blong politikol will i wantem se kaontri i continue blong stap olsem wan bilingual kaontri.

F: Be hemia wanem main reason biae long hemia? Olsem blong yumi continue tufala saed tugeta.

FME: Well I mean i stap long konstityusen. Oli decide/em taem we kaontri i go long indipendens. Konstityusen i adoptem tri lanwis long hem. Nasonal lanwis i French Inglis wetem Bislama.

F: I min se yumi jes continue nomo from (.) be i no gat wan (.) mi no save purpose blong hem o wan benefit [blong hem naoia.]

FME: [Well purpose blong] hem tu from i gat er (.) kaontri hem i bin wan condominium bifo. And pipol i bin continue blong live olsem tu. Sapos yu karemaot wan? Bae hemia bae i save do one scandal i save do one revolution ia. Blong yu jenisim. Yu karemaot wan olsem blong yumi continue wetem wan. (XXI:124-36)

[FME: At the level of political will it wants the country to continue to be a bilingual country.

F: But what is the main reason behind that? Like to continue both sides together.

FME: Well I mean it's in the constitution. They decided when the country reached independence. The constitution adopted three languages. The national languages are French English and Bislama.

F: It means that we just continue because (.) but there's no (.) I don't know purpose of it or a benefit [of this.]

FME: [Well its purpose] too because the (.) country was a condominium before. And people have continued to live like this too. If you took one out? That would cause a scandal there would be a revolution. If you changed it. If you took one out and we like continued with one.] (xxi:122-33)

The former minister's answer reveals both a reliance on the symbolic weight of the constitution as evidence that the status quo must continue and acknowledgment that change would not be possible. Instead of giving any reasons why English or French is useful (for example, using the topos of *double opportunity*), he relies on the pragmatic difficulties of actually removing one language as support for the status quo.

A similar sentiment of there being no other option was expressed by the Anglophone principal, in response to the same question about reasons for needing both English and French. Previously, he had said that he wished he spoke French so that he could communicate with tourists who didn't speak English:

Extract 8.25

F: From wanem yumi evriwan yumi wantem (.) Inglis wetem French? Olsem wan i no naf. Hem i blong ol wanwan taem nomo (.) wan waetman i kam o

[F: Why does everyone want (.) English and French? Like one isn't enough. Is it just for the occasional time (.) when a foreigner comes or

AP: Hem i (.) hem i wan dual system we hem i stap (.) bifo i kam so:: yumi jes come in and (.) fall into that system that we have Francophone and we have Anglophone. (XVI:104-8)

AP: It's (.) it's a dual system that has been here (.) since the past so:: we just come in and (.) fall into that system that we have Francophone and we have Anglophone.] (xvi:105-9)

I deliberately phrased my question with reference to his earlier point about tourists, but he didn't answer in terms of the instrumental need for both languages. Instead, he explained that people just went along with the same system, suggesting not a lack of choice, per se, but a lack of deliberate intention. He uses no predication strategies that reveal whether this is good or bad, but appears fairly pragmatic about the maintenance of the status quo (cf. XV:268-90/xv:249-71; XVII:298-310/xvii:285-97). Some interview extracts thus reveal overt inclusion of English and French as part of the 'national heritage', while others reveal more of a pragmatic awareness that the situation would be hard to change. These are two different ways of representing the fact that English and French have a long history in Vanuatu, but the interesting finding was that no interviewee would put forward any argument against retaining the status quo.

In summary, despite a dominant discourse in which 'heritage' is considered to refer to traditional or indigenous languages and culture, there is another version of this discourse that includes the colonial languages. Both discourses draw on the topos of *heritage* in very similar ways. However, no single version of 'heritage' is presupposed. Different discourses incorporate different versions of what is considered valuable and are thus used to argue different things.

The slightly different concepts of being part of the 'history' of the nation (being languages that were used in the past) and being part of the 'heritage' (being languages that have been preserved from the past) have become conflated, so that the topos of *traditional national identity* now links the rationale that English

and French have a long history with the claim that they are part of what it means to be ni-Vanuatu. While it is undeniable that the two colonial languages are literally part of Vanuatu's past, or history, it seems surprising that this past now appears to be valued in this way. Given both the administrative disarray in which the condominium was run, and the political turmoil and physical violence experienced in the run up to Independence, it seems surprising that ni-Vanuatu appear to conceptualise any reminder of their colonial past as part of the national heritage.

One explanation could be that Ministry of Education officials explain away their inability to change the education system by finding ways to embrace this status quo. Another could be that the emotive term 'heritage' is used in different ways, depending on what a policy is trying to achieve. So a policy for vernacular language education relies on public support for the need to preserve the vernaculars, but ministers concerned that the use of the French language might be in jeopardy are likely to draw on the topos of *heritage* in order to ensure the 'preservation' of French.

However, it appears from the discourse of school participants, during interviews and throughout the two periods of fieldwork, that the recontextualisation of national identity discourses is more widespread than can be attributed solely to policymakers attempting to present themselves and their policies in particular ways. The phrase 'identity' is used by these participants in ways to suggest that they also very much embrace this heritage.

8.3.2 The construction of unity through 'bilingualism'

8.2.2 presented data in which the Anglophone-Francophone duality was rejected as an impediment to national unity, following the topos of *united national identity*. However, an excerpt from one interview with Anglophone teachers, reveals that, while the problem created by the dual system is acknowledged, the duality has come to be considered part of Vanuatu's 'identity':

Extract 8.26

Mme Adrienne: Wan present problem blong yumi nomo we yumi stap we yumi gat wan kaen dual system we i gat French (.) afta (.) Inglis. Sapos i gat wan wei blong yumi (.) putum tufala tugeta sapos yumi no wantem actually lusum wan? From bae yu traem had (.) bae yu talem long (.) talem se French i kamaot ia? Hem i stat long Indipendens finis. ... Se bae oli neva karemaot. Hem i wan identity blong kaontri. So sapos we gavman hem i tingting gud? Hem i mekem se (.) blong yumi kam we naoia yumi stap talem se wan privilege o hem i wan individual privilege then. Yumi faenem wan wei. Mi ting se yumi statem long praemer i? Yumi statem long praemer i? Then yumi switch i kambak long Inglis i go i go for good. Sapos yumi wantem kipim that/fala identity. (XIV:588-99)

[Mme Adrienne: One present problem we have here is that we have a kind of dual system where there is French (.) and then (.) English. If there was a way for us to (.) put the two together if we don't actually want to lose one? Because however hard you try (.) you say (.) you say that French will be dropped? It started already at Independence. ... That they would never drop it. It's an identity for the country. So if the government thinks carefully? It should make it so that (.) for us to come now and say that it's a privilege or it's an individual privilege then. We find a way. I think we should start with primary? We start with primary? Then we switch to come back to English and then go and go for good. If we want to keep that identity.] (xiv:552-64)

Although Mme Adrienne frames the duality as a “problem”, she refers constantly to wanting to keep both languages, saying that they are part of Vanuatu’s identity. She argues that retaining this identity requires unifying the two streams together as one, rather than rejecting the existence of both languages. Although she acknowledges that it wouldn’t be possible to lose French, therefore drawing on a similar resignation about the status quo as was seen in the previous section, it seems from much of her lexis that Mme Adrienne does want to preserve both languages. ‘Identity’ is explicitly connected to the preservation of English and French. She later says:

Extract 8.27

Mme Adrienne: Hem i wan identity blong yumi? Blong save tufala lanwis. (XIV:729-30)

[Mme Adrienne: It’s an identity for us? To know both languages.] (xiv:689-90)

A natural extension of Vanuatu having this dual identity appears to be that being *ni-Vanuatu* (of or from Vanuatu) must entail speaking both English and French. The following statement by a Francophone teacher captures this projection of national identity onto individual identity.

Extract 8.28

Mr Fred: Wan samting we yumi wantem? Vanuatu naoia. Naoia we oli stap tokbaot naoia. Hemia we oli wantem se Vanuatu i mas bilingual ia. So system ia we hem i stap talem hemia hemia. Oli wantem evriwan oli mas (.) Inglis yu toktok sem mak wetem French. I sem mak nomo. So long ples ia nao bae yumi talem se no. Yumi kam bilingual nao. (XV:310-14)

[Mr Fred: One thing we want? Vanuatu now. What they are talking about at the moment. They want Vanuatu to be bilingual. So the system we have that says this and this. They want everyone to (.) you speak English the same as you speak French. Just the same. So here they will say no. We become bilingual now.] (xv:288-91)

The way to move beyond speaking either English (i.e. being ‘Anglophone’) or French (i.e. being ‘Francophone’) appears to be being ‘bilingual’. This conceptualisation of being *ni-Vanuatu* also entails going further than preserving English and French, as it considers them both to be essential for all. English and French are therefore constructed, together, as a marker of a united national identity, so that all *ni-Vanuatu* will share a ‘bilingual’ identity. The disunity caused by the coexistence of Anglophones and Francophones has thus been recontextualised as unity through knowing both languages, such that the topos of *united national identity* now appears to connect the dual history with the need for all *ni-Vanuatu* to know both languages.

8.3.3 The construction of bilingual as unique

The final element of national identity that appears to have been recontextualised is that of ‘uniqueness’. A number of episodes reveal that the use of two international languages marks Vanuatu out from other countries, with its status as a ‘bilingual country’.

Miss Adina tells an anecdote from her experience as a Linguistics student at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji:

Extract 8.29

Miss Adina: Mi wis se mi save French <laughs> from se (.) not only for the purpose of communicating with French people? Be taem yu go aot olsem (.) yu go aot blong (.) aot saed long kaontri? Afta bae ol man oli luk yu? Sapos oli save se yu blong Vanuatu? Oli save se Vanuatu is a bilingual country? Afta yu sud save both languages. And it's (.) such a shame sapos yu save wan nomo. <laughs> <others laugh> Taem yu go sidaon long klas oli talem se hands up you who are from Vanuatu? Afta yu putum han blong yu i go antap afta oli askem yu yu save French <laughs> wetem English mi se no mi save Inglis nomo <laughs>. So hemia hem i wan sem sapos mi no save French. Mi really wantem lanem French. (XIII:245-53)

[Miss Adina: I wish that I knew French <laughs> because (.) not only for the purpose of communicating with French people? But when you go out like (.) you go out (.) outside the country? Then people see you? If they know that you are from Vanuatu? They know that Vanuatu is a bilingual country? Then you should know both languages. And it's (.) such a shame if you only know one. <laughs><others laugh> When you go and sit down in the class and they say hands up you are from Vanuatu? Then you put your hand up and then they ask if you know French <laughs> and English I say no I only know English <laughs>. So that's an embarrassment that I don't know French. I really want to learn French.] (xiii:220-228)

Miss Adina argues that the importance of French goes beyond the instrumental need to communicate with speakers of this language, to the importance of being bilingual in the eyes of others. She links what other people “see” and “know” about Vanuatu to her own shame and embarrassment at not fulfilling the identity that she feels is expected of her. Her anecdote suggests that Vanuatu is singled out during the Linguistics class as different from the home countries of most students attending the university, and she feels ashamed not to be able to represent Vanuatu adequately.

Mr Aru follows this up later in the interview:

Extract 8.30

Mr Aru: Hem i wan sort of an identity as well. Taem you get to know both languages? Then yu go aot yu fil se yes yu blong Vanuatu nao.

Miss Adina: Tru.

[Mr Aru: It's sort of an identity as well. When you get to know both languages? Then you go out you feel that yes you are from Vanuatu now.]

Miss Adina: True.

Mr Aru: *Be sapos yu go yu lanem wan nomo then yu fil se no (.) yu bin (.) pat blong narafala kaontri be i no Vanuatu. From yu no save tufala lanwis.*
(XIII:348-52)

Mr Aru: But if you go and you only learn one then you feel that no (.) you've been (.) part of another country but not Vanuatu. Because you don't know both languages.] (xiii:319-24)

Again, Vanuatu is distinguished from other countries by virtue of having these two languages (cf. XIII:376-7/xiii:345-6). Being identified by outsiders as ni-Vanuatu thereby involves conforming to the 'bilingual' identity attributed to the country. 'Uniqueness' is no longer linked solely to complexity or to an unusually problematic colonial arrangement, but to a trait to be proud of, as the 'bilingualism' provides Vanuatu with a defining characteristic within the Pacific (as required by the logic of the topos of *unique national identity*).

A speech given by the then Minister of Education and Minister of Francophonie, Charlot Salwai, on the occasion of La Journée de la Francophonie 2009, makes the same point in the following:

Extract 8.31

L'héritage dont nous avons su si bien garder malgré les divers défis que nous avons rencontré et surmonte de part le passé et que je ne vais pas m'attarder dessus, nous permet aisément de nous identifier comme étant le seul pays de la région a pouvoir revendiquer la langue française et la langue anglaise comme un outil universel de communication en général et de transmission de savoir en particulier.

[The heritage we have been able to maintain so successfully, in spite of the diverse challenges that we have encountered and overcome from the past and that I will not dwell on, easily allows us to be identified as being the only country of the region able to claim the French language and the English language as a universal tool of communication in general and for the transmission of knowledge in particular.]
(Salwai, 2009)

In this extract, the minister links the 'heritage' of English and French (deliberately maintained) to the accolade of being the only country in the Pacific in this situation. He distances this heritage from the problems that have been experienced in the past, leaving ambiguous whether this refers to the colonial period or, more likely, the era of the first, Anglophone-dominated government. As with all other occurrences of this discourse, in order to claim French as part of the heritage and the unique identity, English must also be heralded in equal measures, despite the speech being given to celebrate Francophonie.

Extract 5.13 presented the Francophone principal's justification of an attempt to encourage both French and English at school with the rationale that Vanuatu is the "only country in the Pacific that is bilingual". He explained that students therefore needed to make the effort to learn both languages, in order to achieve something. Following the logic of this argument, it is the learning of English and French that will lead students to greater opportunities (following the topos of *double opportunity*), rather than the 'uniqueness' of Vanuatu's situation. Yet, the principal conflates the two together, embracing Vanuatu's unique status as justification for promoting both languages.

Finally, the Director of Basic Education used the specific term "unique" several times in his interview, leading me to question whether he saw this as positive or negative:

Extract 8.32

DBE: Situation blong mifala long Vanuatu? Olsem taem yu compare/em mifala long ol narafala kaontri long wol? Mifala i unique lelebet. In terms of language uh. We have so many language for (.) small density blong pipol uh? Taem yu compare/em mifala wetem ol um Papua New Guinea? Okei olgeta population blong olgeta i bigwan okei. Be mifala i smol. Mi ting se mifala i unique. So sapos mifala i wantem uh (.) mifala i wantem come up wetem wan edyukesen lanwis polisi? It has to be um (.) what (.) how (.) how I say that. It has to be er (4) from the Vanuatu context.

F: M-m.

DBE: Be i no blong mifala i adoptem wan narafala system from bae hemia i no wok. Situation blong mifala i (.) hem i unique.

F: Be unique hem i gud o hem i bad.

DBE: Mi ting se hem i gud. (XIX:520-32)

[DBE: Our situation in Vanuatu? Like when you compare us with other countries in the world? We are a bit unique. In terms of language uh. We have so many languages for (.) a small density of people uh? When you compare us with um Papua New Guinea? Okay their population is big okay. But we are small. I think that we are unique. So if we want uh (.) we want to come up with an education language policy? It has to be um (.) what (.) how (.) how I say that. It has to be er (4) from the Vanuatu context.

F: M-m.

DBE: But it's not for us to adopt another system because that won't work. Our situation (.) is unique.

F: But is unique good or bad.

DBE: I think it's good.] (xix:510-21)

He demonstrates an awareness of the complexity faced by policymakers (appearing to draw on the characterisation of uniqueness as problematic, as set out in 8.2.3), and yet he also embraces this. One discourse of uniqueness appears to have been recontextualised as another, so that the logic underlying the topos of *unique national identity* helps Vanuatu to define itself as different from other countries. Concerns about the complexity of Vanuatu's dual-medium education system have been overridden, in certain contexts, by a new conceptualisation of this complexity as a distinction to be proud of (cf. XVII:90-2, 259, 281-2/xvii:84-6, 249-50, 269-70).

The use of linguistic means to help define political borders is a common phenomenon, contributing to the construction, or imagination, of distinct national identities (Anderson, 1983). In Vanuatu, it is not Bislama (the constitutionally-recognised national language) that helps define the nation-state's political borders; nor is it the unrivalled linguistic diversity that is considered unique (despite Vanuatu considered to have the highest number of languages per capita in the world); it is the co-existence of two 'international languages'. Within this discourse, competence in two international languages, rather than the national language or an indigenous language, is considered essential in order to 'count' as being from Vanuatu.

8.4 Summary

English and French are considered intrinsic to Vanuatu's identity since they are both part of the nation's history. Despite the struggle for independence from the colonial powers, which might suggest a rejection of the languages associated with them (cf. Blaser, 2004 on the new Africanist discourse in South Africa), participants appear to value these particular historical origins. The British and the French are rarely mentioned, but the languages they left behind are embraced as an inalienable part of what Vanuatu has become. Being ni-Vanuatu does not require clutching at remnants of both colonial pasts but recognising English and French as part of the present. The extension of this national identity to the level of the individual leads to the perceived necessity for all ni-Vanuatu to know both English and French. Given that 80% of ni-Vanuatu rely on subsistence farming and have limited use for either English or French in

their daily lives, this is hard to justify in practical terms, but a symbolic motivation for the maintenance of both languages is constructed. The resultant 'bilingualism' that is prized in Vanuatu enables citizens to be united as a common people, and define themselves as different from those in other parts of the Pacific.

The use of language as part of the symbolic constructions and reconfigurations of national identity has been described in a variety of contexts (examples include Blommaert, 2011, Belgium; Heller, 2011, Canada; St Hilaire, 2007, St Lucia; Stroud, 1999, Mozambique), with reference to a range of language ideological debates (Blommaert, 1999). The implications of such debates, however, can be far-reaching. In constructing a new national identity that embraces, rather than rejects, their colonial history, ni-Vanuatu justify the maintenance of a divisive and inefficient education system that is poorly-aligned to local needs. The only alternative is considered to be a system in which all children use both English and French as media of instruction, and in which other languages are pushed further out of the system, despite statements of intent to include them. Although the heritage discourse embraces all languages and cultures that are now considered to belong to Vanuatu, the arguments made about the unsuitability of vernaculars and Bislama for education (Chapter 6) and the view that 'bilingualism' in English and French is the only version valued (Chapter 7) mean that L1 continues to be excluded.

9 Discussion: Ideological and implementational spaces

9.1 Unutilised space for multiple linguistic resources

The data presented within this thesis has reaffirmed the overall picture of language-in-education policy in Vanuatu as incredibly complex and fraught with tensions. It has also been shown that, for a number of reasons, there has been little desire or commitment to the interrogation of any ideological space that might exist for change, and particularly for the incorporation of additional or alternative linguistic resources that would challenge the de facto monolingual status quo. Firstly, as Chapter 5 has shown, justifications given for the language rules are often simply that they are the rules and therefore must be followed. There is a sense of duty attached to maintaining the status quo that cannot be challenged without failing to behave appropriately. Moreover, participants' recontextualisations of the rules that lead to the discursive construction of punishment appear to further close down any potential ideological space. This lack of space is equally apparent in Chapter 6, in which data shows little responsibility taken for, or even recognition of, any language problem within the classroom. It is hard to envisage change, as it is easier just to shrug the shoulders and carry on with what has always been. Finally, given that only 'international languages' are afforded any instrumental value for future opportunities (Chapter 7), and that the need for 'bilingualism' in these languages is constructed as necessary (Chapters 7 and 8), the desire to incorporate both English and French in school only further pushes other languages away.

The notion of ideological and implementational space is often applied in relation to top-down policies that appear to constrain the agency that actors such as teachers are able to use. In such situations, these actors must seek out ways to wedge open the spaces that are left open by the policies. However, the data in this thesis reveals that schools are relatively free from the constraints of top-down dictates about the way languages should be used within classrooms and other areas. Guidelines produced by the Ministry of Education hardly *encourage* the use of languages other than English and French, but they leave room for a

variety of different interpretations. These guidelines have not been revised since 1998, and interviews at the Ministry in both 2008 and 2011 reveal that policymakers are tolerant and pragmatic about the use of different languages in school. There appears to be little policy traffic from Ministry to schools, and neither principal could recall any instance in which the matter had been raised at principals' meetings or in bulletins to schools. Schools therefore have quite an open space within which to create school language policies, and the rules that they produce, again, leave space for different interpretations.

Furthermore, despite reaffirmations of what *should* be done (suggesting a lack of ideological space for change), teachers are far more relaxed about their own language use and that of their students than might be the case. Principals' accounts reveal a certain amount of ambivalence regarding the enforcement of school rules, and it appears that punishments are given far less frequently than students' questionnaire answers suggest. The practices I observed also reveal that it is relatively easy to remain in line with norms of institutional appropriateness. Provided that students judge when to use L2 and when they can get away with L1, they appear to be able to navigate the potentially strict policy. They therefore make space amongst the policy for the use of multiple linguistic resources, while appearing to obey the L2-only rule, and thus avoid confrontation (cf. Heller, 1995). There is therefore considerable implementational space, firstly, for principals and/or school councils to deal with language policy as they see fit, and, secondly, for all school participants to actually use language as they feel is appropriate.

Teachers' discourse about such practices also reveals that they frequently draw on their own personal opinions and experiences about language(s), rather than simply reproducing the official voices of policymakers. Although certain opinions are very much guided by dominant ideologies (particularly with reference to the monolingual use of L2 and to the suitability of Bislama for academic purposes), interviewees do not refer to the influence of teacher training or Ministry of Education policies on their classroom practice. They do not appear to be constrained by top-down policymaking, and may therefore have a considerable amount of freedom both to make their own sense of the language issues and to use language as they see fit.

The question therefore remains of why this implementational space is not being utilised. A key point made by Hornberger (2005, p.606), reproduced here from 1.1.3.4, is as follows:

It is essential for language educators and language users to fill up implementational spaces with multilingual educational practices, whether with intent to occupy ideological spaces opened up by policies or to prod actively toward more favorable ideological spaces in the face of restrictive policies. Ideological spaces created by language and education policies can be seen as carving out implementational spaces at classroom and community levels, but implementational spaces can also serve as wedges to pry open ideological ones.

It appears that the participants in this study are working in spaces of enormous implementational potential, but that they are constrained by a lack of ideological space within which to question what they have always known. The spaces left open by an absence of clear policy are being closed down, or left empty, by deep-rooted beliefs about what is appropriate. The challenge is thus twofold: to find ways to open up ideological spaces in which alternatives can be imagined; and, then, to find ways to occupy and wedge open these and other spaces that already exist, bringing the unrecognised language practices out into the open and making their use official.

The remainder of this chapter will discuss these two issues. It will be argued, firstly, that there are a number of factors that are conspiring to prevent the opening of ideological spaces, which must be tackled before change can be sought. Secondly, it will be argued that, although implementational spaces may be left open for the use of multiple linguistic resources within schools, these cannot be capitalised on in any productive way unless there is accompanying support for their use. I therefore differentiate between *implementational tolerance* (allowing something to happen) and *implementational support* (helping something happen).

A number of myths were set out in 1.1.3 that conspire to keep ideological and implementational space for multilingual resources closed. This thesis has explored the way language is currently being used, taught, learnt, controlled and talked about at two schools in Vanuatu, as a way of examining the practices and discourses that serve to keep these myths in circulation. 9.2 will synthesise the practices and discourses through which the first five myths from

1.1.3 are considered to operate, restricting ideological space in particular. 9.3 will address the second five myths from 1.1.3, which I argue prevent the provision of implementational support for change. Of course, the ideological and implementational aspects are far more interconnected than this separation suggests, but it is still helpful to differentiate between arguments that are primarily theoretical (essentially beliefs about languages and language learning) and those that are framed in practical terms (beliefs about the practicalities of implementation). Within these two sections, practices and discourses that point to the potential to challenge each myth will be considered, in order to suggest ways to open up (and keep open) ideological and implementational spaces for change.

9.2 An ideological stalemate

9.2.1 Myth 1: Education operates most effectively through a single medium of teaching and learning

The first and most influential myth that feeds into all others is the belief that education operates most effectively through a single medium of teaching and learning, i.e. a monolingual ideology or habitus (García, 2009; Gogolin, 1997). In 5.2, school language rules have been argued to work alongside other institutional symbols to make public the requirements of appropriate behaviour. Through a combination of the official policy texts, follow-up reminders (in the case of Angolovo College), and discourse about school rules and punishments, it is clear that L2 has become normalised as the only language that should be used, both drawing on and reinforcing the monolingual ideology. Meanwhile, the way teachers work hard to orchestrate classroom interaction through this language alone, taking on most of the work themselves in whole-class interaction and turning a blind eye to the use of alternative resources in student-student interaction (6.2), reveals the same ideology. Classrooms are expected to be monolingual L2 sites, so participants do everything they can to ensure that this norm is upheld.

Discussion of change thus becomes understood to involve a choice between different monolingual alternatives. The question of whether L1 can be made use of in the classroom becomes reimagined as the question of whether L1 can *replace* L2 as the classroom language, rather than of whether elements of both can work together. Although teachers demonstrate their awareness of the utility of L1 in the classroom throughout 6.3, they are quick to comment that there will be a problem when they have to come back to L2. In particular, there are concerns about the different languages getting mixed up together (see also XIV:569-73/xiv:533-8; XVII:80-84/xvii:75-9; XIX:98-9/xix:93-5). It seems difficult for teachers to imagine a scenario in which resources of a number of languages can be incorporated together. The debate thus focuses on which language is the single best option out of all those in contention.

This myth is perhaps the most deep-rooted of all, and its influence on education policy has been lamented by scholars writing from and about a wide range of contexts (Banda, 2010; Brock-Utne, 2009; García, 2009; Heugh, 2002; Hornberger, 2005; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013). However, Vanuatu's double 'heritage' may actually provide potential space within which to challenge the monolingual ideology, due to the ambiguity over whether it is L2, or L2 *and* L3, that counts as being institutionally appropriate. At Angolovo, English and French are promoted equally in the official set of rules (5.2.2.1), but the latter is never mentioned away from the noticeboard (5.3.1.1); at Faranako, the rules make no mention of English (5.2.2.1), and yet this language is mentioned in a number of interviews and has a presence in a number of public spaces of the school (5.3.1.2). This ambiguity creates the space to question the assumptions on which notions of institutional appropriateness are founded. If only one language is considered appropriate (i.e. L2), then it is easy to rationalise the status quo. All other languages become undesirable simply because they are *not* L2. However, if the use of both L2 and L3 is what counts as being institutionally appropriate, then the monolingual ideology no longer stands up, and uncomfortable questions need to be asked about why it is only certain languages that are considered inappropriate. If space can be made for one additional language (L3), then explanations must be given for why other languages (L1) cannot be granted space. Given that there clearly is a desire for

both English and French for all students (Chapters 7 and 8), it may actually be beneficial to capitalise on this desire, in order to break down the perception that there is room only for L2. Indirectly, this might open up space for the resources of more familiar languages (L1) within the classroom.

At the same time, empirical evidence that the status quo is *not* actually L2 monolingualism could be used to question why people go to such lengths to claim that it is. It is clear from 5.3.1.3 that a number of languages are used on a daily basis, and that these are not kept separate in different domains of usage. Students and teachers draw on the resources of a number of different languages, and overt reprimands for flouting the rules are rare. Although aware of the potential linguistic surveillance by teachers who might enforce punishments (5.3.2.4), students navigate the policy through a number of moves such as keeping the volume down, engaging in displays of judicious amounts of L2, or avoiding interaction with teachers altogether. Although pointing out that schools are not following their own policies might simply garner a negative reaction and a tightening of the rules, it is possible that similar data from a greater number of schools would show that this is not a local ‘problem’, but a wider institutional reality that could tell us something about the way language is actually being used productively in schools.

9.2.2 Myth 2: Any language can be mastered by trying hard enough

The second myth is that whichever language is chosen as the medium of instruction can be mastered simply by trying hard enough, and thus be used successfully as the medium of instruction. A number of references to the need to improve levels of L2 are made in Ministry guidelines and school rules (5.2.2), staff meetings (5.3.1.1), interviews and informal discussions (5.3.2.1), and questionnaire responses (5.3.2.3). Miss Agnes summed up the issue in Extract 6.11, as she explained that she had now solved her own lack of confidence using L2 in the classroom, but she was worried that students still struggled. The topos of *target language* was relied on to make the claim that L2 should be used as much as possible in order to enhance levels of L2 competence (6.3.2). This assumption that difficulties experienced in learning through an L2 can

simply be overcome with practice and determination closes down space for solving the difficulties.

The issue is underpinned by an autonomous conceptualisation of language as a tool that is available to be picked up, learnt, and used by those willing to apply themselves. 6.2.1 examined data in which learning was talked about as the transmission of knowledge (demonstrated through phrases such as “yumi pasem knowledge” (Extract 6.3) and “go insaed long bren blong hem” (Extract 6.5), and it was clear that ‘language’ was considered the instrument through which this transmission could be carried out. 6.2.2 described the construction of teachers and students as separate groups in the classroom, between which language had a role to play in the transfer of information. Feven’s suggestion in Extract 6.14 that teachers could come and ‘give’ them an additional language at the start of secondary school if they wanted them to use both English and French (“oli kam givim Inglish blong yumi bae yumi stap yusum”) made clear that language was conceptualised as a system external to its users.

As a result, there is little interrogation in Vanuatu of what is required in order for students to learn through a language that they have little exposure to outside the classroom. For example, it was pointed out in 6.3.2 that French is described as a difficult language, justifying Anglophones’ struggle to learn it as L3, and yet nobody questions that Francophones will be able to use this language as L2, the medium of instruction for all subjects. Rather than engaging with language learning issues, or seeking space for alternatives, it is easier to talk up the need to improve levels of competence in the conventional medium of instruction. It is easier to project the problem onto others than to deal with it: teachers blame either their students for not applying themselves, or the language teachers and primary teachers for failing to prepare students adequately; students appear to distance themselves from the issue completely, either unable or unwilling to recognise any difficulty (6.3.1). Until a problem is acknowledged openly, it is hard to see space for seeking alternatives.

One way to challenge this myth is by drawing on classroom data to demonstrate that lessons can be kept going with very little use of the L2 by students, since it was shown in 6.2 that teachers do most of the language work. Students were

able to fill in the content within their teachers' carefully orchestrated dialogue, suggesting that they will not simply master the classroom language and begin using it productively to engage with what they are learning. My observations throughout the fieldwork and my assessment of Year 10 students' ability to use both English and French suggest that students have insufficient competence or confidence to participate actively in lessons in the required language, including the students who teachers categorised as hard-working. Discussions with teachers about these results indicated significant ideological space for interrogating some of the assumptions held about language learning but it appears too easy to fall back on the argument that students *need to* acquire these languages, and thus must work harder at them.

Evidence from these classrooms can be used alongside the wealth of research conducted in a variety of other contexts that makes it clear that submersion programmes do not engender successful learning. Global evidence of indicators such as low attainment figures and high drop-out rates from L2 medium education contexts (Alidou, 2004; Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2011; Heugh, 2011) can be discussed in parallel with Vanuatu's own data on these indicators (Bibi, 2004; Niroa, 2012; Tambe, 2005), attempting to spark debate on the language factor within educational success. Lotherington's (1996) account of the unsuitability of this type of education for Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, based on contextual factors in these two countries, can be used to consider the issue in terms that are relevant to Melanesia in particular, thus seeking productive discussion of ways forward.

9.2.3 Myth 3: Knowledge of certain languages leads automatically to economic opportunity and development

The third myth, by no means unique to Vanuatu, is that knowledge of certain languages will lead automatically to economic opportunity and development. 7.3 presented a number of extracts in which links were drawn between acquisition of 'international languages' and access to new and different things. The awareness that languages such as English and French are used in a greater number of contexts than Vanuatu's other languages leads to the false

conclusion that exposure to these languages brings guaranteed access to these contexts. The problem is compounded in Vanuatu as both English and French are considered essential for all, following the logic of what has been referred to here as the topos of *double opportunity* – the belief that, if one language provides opportunities, then two such languages must provide twice these opportunities (7.3.2). At the level of individuals, families and Vanuatu as a whole, both English and French are considered to bring advantages that cannot be accessed through one of these languages alone. Despite very little evidence that French really does open additional doors for individuals, a very strong theme running through my data has been the assertion that English/French ‘bilingualism’ is essential for everybody.

The result is the privileging of English and French above all others. If these languages are both considered desirable, then it becomes harder to see space for Bislama and the vernaculars to be used. Since policy debates are underpinned by a framework in which each language is kept separate, there can logically only be space for a certain number of languages to be learnt and used. Ideological spaces for the use of known languages are thus shut down by moves to ensure that less familiar languages can be learnt. The desire for both former colonial languages thereby pushes others further out of the system in an attempt to provide ‘bilingual’ instruction in English and French.

The strongest challenge to this situation can be made on pedagogical grounds, building on those presented above. Given that students are already considered to be struggling through the use of L2 in the classroom, it is highly likely that the use of L3 as a further medium of instruction would only compound the problems. Research showing the burden placed on children when placed in submersion programmes (Ouane & Glanz, 2011) can be used to demonstrate just how unrealistic a proposal to submerge children in two foreign languages is. It is important that such an argument makes clear that the burden is not caused by an additional *number* of languages (since this merely reinforces the monolingual ideology), but by the use of languages that are *even less familiar*.

It may also be possible to utilise the economic discourse itself to argue that cohorts of failing students will be of no use to Vanuatu’s labour market. A well-

prepared workforce requires more than language skills in order to bring the benefits that education is supposed to deliver, and students who are taught badly in English and French, acquiring no useful skills through any language, will not make productive employees. The danger is that school leavers will have been exposed to languages that are considered useful for further opportunities, and yet not have gained sufficient knowledge and skills through the process of school education to enable them to take up these opportunities. Urban drift and unemployment are becoming increasing concerns in Vanuatu, and it should therefore be possible to open up ideological space, once again, to examine how language factors may fit into this issue.

Finally, a more controversial counter-argument to the topos of *double opportunity* in particular could be made through a presentation of the statistics (2.2.3) and official policy discourse (7.2.1) to show that ni-Vanuatu do not appear to gain twice as much opportunity by speaking both English and French. Very few employment and scholarship opportunities appear to require competence in both languages, and those who have been educated through the Anglophone system do not appear disadvantaged by a lack of French. Those who have been educated through the Francophone system can access additional opportunities with the help of English, but they often make little use of French from this point forward. It is rare for ni-Vanuatu to have cause to use both English and French on a regular basis, although of course some individuals do so. Indeed, participants were often unsure why both languages were necessary, with both school principals, for example, stating that they were unable to answer this question directly (7.3.2). Meanwhile, some of the anecdotes used can easily be shown to construct an imagined need for these languages, such as when Mr Felix states that he will need English if he ever deals directly with a technical advisor at the Ministry of Education, and when Mrs Angela argues that she needs one of her children to be able to speak French in case a French-speaking tourist should come to her house (7.3.3). 7.4 demonstrates ambiguity over whether this version of 'bilingualism' is really about the instrumental gains to be had through two international languages, or whether it is a way of justifying the importance of equal opportunities for all. Data in 8.3 supports the latter suggestion, with arguments made in official policy

texts and interviews that both English and French are considered part of the 'heritage'. It may therefore be possible to open up space to consider how much of each of these languages would be necessary in order to 'count' as speaking both English and French, given that their maintenance appears to be more a matter of pride and identity than economic gain.

The argument to be made is that the relatively small number of ni-Vanuatu who can be shown to benefit from the use of both English and French are far outnumbered by those who struggle to learn anything at all within the school system. The instrumental potential of certain languages for seeking employment and scholarships should not be used to override the need for children to learn effectively at school.

9.2.4 Myth 4: Certain languages have no instrumental value

A related myth draws on the same logic. Bislama and the vernaculars are considered to hold no instrumental value, and are therefore unnecessary to learn. The argument is self-reinforcing, since languages that have historically been kept away from formal domains become tarnished with the assumption that they *cannot* be used in these domains. The result is that ideological space that might open briefly for the inclusion of these languages in education does not stay open for long.

In addition to challenging the perception that English and French bring automatic opportunities, it is therefore essential to demonstrate the instrumental potential of other languages. Data from within the school contexts themselves can demonstrate Bislama being used to convey meaningful information (such as the posters illustrated in 5.3.1.3, the anecdotes in 6.3.2 that suggest Bislama is used when a teacher wants genuine communication to proceed, and the interviews through which much of my data was collected). Once again, another way in which to do this is to draw on the body of research that has been accumulated internationally to demonstrate the advantage of making use of familiar languages within the classroom (Brock-Utne & Alidou, 2011; García & Flores, 2012; Hornberger, 2005; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003).

More importantly, it should be demonstrated that the vernaculars and Bislama do hold enormous instrumental value for life beyond school, in contrast to English and French, which by no means guarantee any opportunity at all for the majority. As Chapter 2 made clear, Bislama and the vernaculars dominate in many spheres outside school, including parliament, the media and the workplace, and these languages are of considerable value for participation as a citizen in Vanuatu. It is also clear that Bislama is now far more widely used in domains such as the media and advertising than was previously the case. The use of mobile phones (and, at a slower rate, email, internet chat and social media) is also having an impact (Vandeputte-Tavo, 2013). As people become aware of the range of functions that Bislama is already fulfilling, and thus the range of topics it is able to deal with (as well as the material value that this language can be considered to have), ideological space may open up for its inclusion in education.

9.2.5 Myth 5: Pidgins and creoles are inferior to other languages

Compounding the fourth issue is the myth that Bislama is unsuitable for use in school. Not only is it less desirable than English and French, it is actually considered problematic within academic contexts. Guidelines sent from the Ministry note that “Although Bislama is an official, national language, ... where possible it should not be used” (see 5.2.2.1). This position is reinforced in the two sets of school rules, and followed up with reminders at Angolovo (5.3.1.1). Although the Faranako teachers and principal appear more tolerant towards this language in the classroom, their discourse makes clear that this should only be as a fallback strategy when children are confused, or when the expected language “doesn’t work” (6.3.1). The topos of *linguistic adequacy*, discussed in 6.4, constructs Bislama as a language that is not fit for purpose, despite its use as a lingua franca making it a strong candidate for inclusion in the education system. Once again, such attitudes are not unique to Bislama (Rajah-Carrim, 2007; Siegel, 1997b; Tucker, 1998, p.9), and it is clear that an enormous amount of effort would be needed to break down deeply held attitudes against this language due to its categorisation as a pidgin.

The first way that this could be attempted is to draw attention, in addition to the wide range of instrumental functions that Bislama fulfils (cf. 9.2.4), to the nature of the domains in which it is used outside school. It is used in high-status arenas such as parliament, it is the sole language in which the national anthem and motto are written, and it is the medium of instruction in programmes such as police training. All of these are recognised to be high-status contexts, and it is hard to maintain the argument that Bislama is not fit for use in education on account of its intrinsic worth. Opening up discussions around the contradiction between the norms of formal education and those in other high-status contexts may at least force recognition of these double standards.

Another source of contradiction that could open up discussions with teachers is found between their descriptions of Bislama and English/French. Although teachers feel their arguments against the use of Bislama are based on rational justifications, the conflict between these and other arguments suggests potential ideological space to examine these arguments openly. For example, by asking teachers to examine the way they refer to Bislama, English and French as living languages, but consider only the first of these to be unstable (6.4.2), it may be possible to break down the perception that Bislama is a 'made up' or rule-less language. Similarly, by asking teachers to consider why they feel that Bislama leads only to interference for Anglophones, but only to positive transfer for Francophones, they may be able to assess whether they are simply repeating arguments that they have never questioned. Finally, by pointing out to teachers that they use complex arguments to disparage the academic suitability of Bislama, but do this through the medium of Bislama during my interviews, it may be possible for teachers to realise the complexity that the language is able to deal with. Creating opportunities for such questioning may enable space to be opened up for alternatives.

9.3 From 'implementational tolerance' to 'implementational support'

It has been suggested that there are spaces of considerable implementational potential for the use of multiple linguistic resources, and 9.2 has provided a number of ideological barriers that may underpin the failure to utilise such

spaces. However, it is clear that there is another factor, lying within the implementational dimension. It is argued here that the implementational space identified in 9.1 amounts only to *implementational tolerance*, which is insufficient for the productive use of ideological space, unless actively accompanied by *implementational support* for the use of other resources.

I define *implementational tolerance* as a situation in which students and teachers are not prevented from using the resources associated with certain languages, and may even be encouraged to do so. This may cover a range of situations from ‘turning a blind eye’ to explicitly sanctioning the use of L1. I define *implementational support* as a series of necessary measures that must be in place in order for these resources to actually be used, i.e. to capitalise on the tolerance that may exist. Any attempts at wedging open ideological spaces for multilingual education must be accompanied by practical steps that actually enable multiple linguistic resources to be integrated.

The first area for consideration is assessment. As tests and examinations require answers to be given monolingually, it is not surprising that the focus of teaching is placed solely on this language. Throughout the data in Chapter 6, a clear tension for teachers emerged between ensuring understanding in the classroom (in whichever language worked) and preparing students for exams (in L2). As Shohamy (2006a, p.180) notes, the powerful nature of assessments creates a de facto policy in which “only the tested language counts”. The second, related, area is materials development. Since materials are presented solely in English or French, the implication is once again clear: these are the languages that are appropriate for education. Unless materials incorporate more than one language, it is hard to break down the perception that only one language is fit for academic purposes, and enable teachers and students to bring other languages into the classroom. The final area in which change to implementational support must be made is therefore teacher training. Supporting the use of other linguistic resources requires giving teachers the skills to manage classrooms in which interaction takes place in languages that they may not, themselves, speak, and allowing them to consider alternatives to the pedagogies that they have always known (Arthur Shoba, 2013, p.379).

In order to see the incorporation of additional and different linguistic resources, significant change is therefore required at many levels. Such implementational changes appear costly and complex, and these concerns cannot be dismissed. However, a number of arguments are consistently put forward that it is simply too difficult to incorporate other languages in education, and these arguments are rarely questioned. Following the same approach as in 9.2, the remainder of this section presents and refutes five such myths that prevent the utilisation of implementational space for alternatives.

9.3.1 Myth 6: Corpus planning in a large number of small languages makes multilingual education impractical

The first implementational myth that serves to close down any serious discussion of multilingual education is that complex corpus planning procedures would be required in several languages that have not previously been used in education. The use of Bislama, in particular, has been argued against, on the grounds that it has an underdeveloped lexicon. It is argued to have an insufficient range of discrete lexical items (6.4.1) and to have an unstable lexical system (6.4.2). It is held up against the norms of English and French, so that a lack of lexical equivalence between Bislama and English (e.g. Extract 6.37, in which Mme Adrienne states that it isn't possible to explain the word 'consequence' in Bislama) is considered to be a shortcoming of the former. It is considered that Bislama would need to undergo extensive lexical development in order to bring it up to some kind of imagined standard alongside the languages that are currently used in school. The result is that corpus planning is positioned as an intermediary step that must be completed before any real consideration needs to be given to the use of Bislama in the classroom, and this myth feeds easily off discourses of a lack of financial resources for such work.

Two approaches can be taken to breaking down this myth. Firstly, an examination of the myriad topics that Bislama is used to discuss in the world outside school (for example, human rights awareness resources produced by Wan Smolbag theatre, political analysis of election manifestos in the 2012 general election, and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry website)

demonstrates the expansion in vocabulary that has occurred to meet new needs. Through awareness raising programmes, policymakers and teachers can consider the lexical range that Bislama can and does have, and the range of topics that are already being discussed through this language.

The second approach is to invert the problem so that it is no longer about the language. Comments such as those made by Miss Adina about the tension between getting the message across and lacking a range of lexical items to do so – “Sapos oli save andastanem samting better in Bislama? There is no harm in expl- (.) be problem ia nomo from sam long ol samting long Bislama? Oli minim ... tu tri samting at once” (Extract 6.34) – can be used to examine what is actually being done through language. From a social practice perspective, the question is not whether *a language* is capable of fulfilling a task, but whether learners are able to draw on sufficient linguistic resources in order to fulfil that task, regardless of which language the different resources are considered to belong to. So, rather than seeking to transform *the system* of Bislama, questions can be asked about how best to discuss new concepts when a topic is introduced that learners have never discussed before. This might entail helping learners to develop strategies for practices such as questioning, comparing, arguing and analysing, but such strategies need not rely solely on what might traditionally be considered ‘question forms’, ‘the language of comparison’, and so on, in any particular language. Space can be opened up for the incorporation of multiple linguistic (and non-linguistic) resources in order to make meaning.

A good example of how this works in practice can be seen in a global warming awareness video produced recently in Bislama (Live and Learn, 2013). In the animated video, one fruit bat explains the concept of ‘greenhouse gas’ to another. Three frames from this explanation are reproduced here, with transcripts of the audio track.



Oli talem se bae ples i kam mo hot from we i gat tumas greenhouse gas. Ol gas ia oli stap kavremap wol ia olsem wan blanket. Hemia nao i mekem se ples i hot.

[They say that the environment (lit. place) will become hotter because there are too many greenhouse gases. These gases are covering up the world like a blanket. That's what is making the environment hotter.]



Ol greenhouse gas. Hemia nem blong ol defren gas o ol rabis win we i stap kavremap wol blong yumi mo mekem ples i hot.

[Greenhouses gases. That's the name for the different gases or harmful emissions (lit. bad winds) that are covering up the world, making the place hot.]



Traem imagine sapos we trak ia hem i olsem wol blong yumi. Afta windo blong trak i olsem ol greenhouse gas ia. Laet mo hot blong san i save kam insaed, be hot blong san i no save kamaot from windo i blokem. Ol rabis gas mo rabis win oli stap mekem sem mak fasin long windo ia.

[Imagine that this truck is like the world. And that the windows are like these greenhouses gases. The light and heat from the sun can come inside but the heat can't escape because the windows block it. The harmful gases and emissions do the same thing as these windows.]

Throughout the video, non-linguistic resources such as diagrams, animation, humour, and the use of the common fruit bat as characters, are used to contextualise the explanation. The verbal explanation primarily draws on the linguistic resources of Bislama, but there are a number of strategies used where a lexical item is not readily available in this language. The term 'greenhouse gas', which would be considered to be English, is incorporated directly into both the spoken and written text (maintaining the English orthography, rather than coining a Bislama spelling of *grinhaos gas*). An explicit definition is given for this term, using Bislama lexical items. Familiar items that are now considered to be Standard Bislama, such as 'blanket' and 'windo', but which also exist as

Standard English items, are used as similes to explain what greenhouse gases are like. Other Bislama items are used in ways that extend their literal meanings, such as '*ples*' (which literally means 'place' but would be translated more meaningfully as 'environment' here) and '*rabis win*' (which literally means 'bad winds' but would be translated more meaningfully as 'harmful emissions'). A combination of these linguistic and non-linguistic resources means that a complex concept becomes perfectly understandable. The use of Bislama certainly does not hinder intelligibility, but is one strategy that enables the unfamiliar concept to become familiar.

It is perhaps necessary to separate terminology (i.e. the names given to phenomena) from explanation and discussion of these phenomena. It is clearly important that we are able to refer to specific parts, elements, processes and so on with precision and clarity, with the expectation that others will know what we are talking about. Terminology will need to be learnt, and the example of 'greenhouse gas' above demonstrates that it may often work best to draw on established terms from a language such as English. It should be remembered that a native speaker of English also needs to learn new terms for concepts they encounter in the Science classroom, even if they are using English as the medium of instruction, because these are often not familiar words from their everyday linguistic repertoires. However, the explanation of what the term 'greenhouse gas' means, and the effect it has on the earth, does not need to be restricted by an idealised notion of 'scientific language'. The important thing in this case is that Pacific islanders have the opportunity to understand the processes that are having such an impact on their immediate environment, and the opportunity to participate in the search for solutions, regardless of the etymology of each term that they use in the process.

The current linear view of corpus planning and language teaching suggests that Bislama will need to be developed as a language, then taught to the students, and then used as a medium of instruction. However, by shifting the focus to the task that needs doing, we may be able to stop thinking about the language, and think instead about how best to accomplish the task by drawing on multiple resources. This point will be returned to in Chapter 10.

9.3.2 Myth 7: Materials development in multiple languages is too costly and complex

The greatest impediment to the use of multiple languages in Vanuatu's education system may be the perceived cost and complexity of making use of so many different languages. Although steps have been taken to develop materials in certain vernacular languages for the early grades, there remains relatively little written in languages other than English or French. The influence of this situation can be seen in the way students talk about the different languages that provide access to information inside books (6.2.1), and the way the Anglophone principal wants to enforce English only to help students understand what they read (5.3.1.1), as books are known to exist only in languages such as English and French. Similarly, when the Francophone principal states that Bislama cannot be written (6.4.2), he may well be following the logic that it is currently not written very widely or in a standardised way. My participants do not even consider the possibility of producing materials in languages such as Bislama, and a number of policy documents such as the Priorities and Action Agenda 2006-2015 (Government of the Republic of Vanuatu, 2006) refer to the number of languages as one factor that places a strain on the education system and national budget.

From a purely economic point of view, yes, it would be expensive to produce new sets of materials in multiple languages for multiple levels. However, even this argument can be revisited. As Heugh (2002) points out, many postcolonial countries are currently spending vast amounts of money on textbooks written in the former colonial language, with little evidence of successful learning. She notes that, to provide effective education through this medium would require, at the very least, different and better textbooks that are designed specifically for L2 medium programmes across the curriculum, which would also be expensive. From a sheer economics perspective, it could thus be said that a proportion of Vanuatu's education budget is currently being spent on materials, and that this money could be better spent. Indeed, the fact that Vanuatu is currently spending money duplicating all training and teaching materials in two languages creates a problem for an argument that links use of the fewest languages possible to maximal efficiency.

Secondly, the argument that an expensive range of materials would need to be produced in order for education to proceed in a new language suggests that classrooms in Vanuatu are currently well-resourced with materials in either English or French. This is simply not the case. Although the government is expected to provide class sets of textbooks for each subject up to Year 10, neither Angolovo College nor Collège de Faranako had enough books for the students they were teaching. The principal approach I saw at both schools was for teachers to either dictate notes or write them on the blackboard for students to copy down in their exercise books. The few copies of textbooks that did exist had to be passed around the classroom, or shared on a homework rota system, so that all students had access. These types of observation present a problem for those who argue that a language can only be used as medium of instruction if textbooks exist in that language. Such materials would undoubtedly be useful, but there are currently insufficient supplies of materials in any language.

Finally, although not ultimately successful, the recent programme implemented in Papua New Guinea, discussed in 1.1.3.1, can be used to dismiss the arguments that it is not *possible* to create materials in over a hundred different languages. It can at least enable thorough consideration of such a programme in Vanuatu. Perceived implementational difficulties must not be allowed to shut down ideological space for the use of these resources before they have even been seriously considered.

9.3.3 Myth 8: Teaching or managing a class in which multiple languages are in use is impossible

Another myth to be examined is that teaching and classroom management are compromised by the use of multiple languages. It is clear from the way teachers describe their own switches to L1 in the classroom throughout Chapter 6 that they consider this a practice to solve immediate communication difficulties before switching back to the intended language. The fact that I saw almost no instances of this practice throughout the fieldwork suggests either that they used it rarely, or that they did not wish to use it in front of me. It was clear to me that the use of L1 and L2 together was not considered a resource to make use of.

It also appears that the strongly teacher-led approach to classroom interaction, described in 6.2, leaves little opportunity to imagine a more fluid use of multiple linguistic resources, given that teachers control almost all classroom talk. In particular, it might be difficult to conceive of a classroom in which a teacher allowed the use of languages that he or she did not personally speak. However problematic teachers consider the current submersion model to be, they at least know that they can retain control of their classes, since the language policy effectively keeps most students silent. It is hard for teachers to imagine teaching and controlling a class in which so many other languages are openly used.

Talking about such prospects and concerns would be valuable. In many cases, the imagined scenario is more extreme than reality and there would not be so many languages used. In many primary classrooms, a vernacular and/or Bislama is likely to provide an additional resource for both teachers and pupils, regardless of the number of other languages spoken by some children in the class. At secondary level, Bislama would almost certainly be shared by the teacher and all students. Bringing additional languages into the classroom would predominantly mean drawing on these shared languages, thereby enabling many students to participate more actively, without lessening the teacher's control.

However, there is also no reason why a greater number of languages cannot be used, regardless of the teacher's linguistic repertoire. If this issue is addressed in conjunction with those of assessment and materials, the role of language within the classroom can be discussed from the perspective of ensuring understanding and communication. Different opportunities can be explored for students to draw on whichever linguistic resources they have access to, by considering pair and group activities as well as whole-class interaction. Undoubtedly, this would reduce the level of control that teachers maintained over what was said within the classroom, but the whole-class data within Chapter 6 reveals that the current patterns of interaction are so dominated by teacher turns that students can be carried along with very little receptive or productive use of any language at all. Helping teachers to see how little language is currently being used would at least open up space to consider alternatives. Again, keeping this space wedged open through implementational

support for change would require changes to teacher training, without which teachers may feel they face a choice between losing control of their classes, or, in order to retain their authority, resorting to a language such as English in which all participants have limited competence.

9.3.4 Myth 9: Assessment in multiple languages is impractical

An area of education that appears particularly resistant to the use of different languages is assessment. Throughout interviews and informal discussions, considerations of exams very rapidly closed down any talk about the potential to use multiple languages in the classroom. For example, Miss Adina talked on a number of occasions about the tension between using any language to ensure that content was understood and needing to prepare students to sit the exams in English (e.g. Extract 6.28). As with materials development, nobody seemed to question the fact that assessment had to be conducted in L2. This is undoubtedly underpinned by the monolingual ideology, discussed in 9.2.1, but there is also considered to be a practical constraint on the provision of alternative forms of assessment. To produce, standardise, and mark tests in multiple languages requires personnel with sufficient linguistic competence in all of the necessary languages. Concerns are already raised about standardisation between the Anglophone and Francophone streams, so it is hard to see space for a greater number of languages being used.

Two points can be made here that can at least problematise this issue. Firstly, questions need to be raised about the extent to which students are able to fully demonstrate their knowledge in a second language. A matched guise test that I carried out at Angolovo College in 2008 (Willans, 2008) showed that teachers consistently rated the Bislama guises higher than the English guises (for understanding, successful explanation, intelligence, and high academic achievement) when asked to listen to students defining academic concepts in both languages. At the end of the experiment, the teachers were very interested in the results and recognised that they might be judging students on their English rather than content knowledge. They were certainly aware that many of their students struggled to express themselves through the medium of L2, although they often fell back on the argument that students *should* be able to

express themselves in L2 (drawing on Myth 2). More interrogation of this issue needs to be made in order to question whether assessments are testing what students feel safely able to express in L2, rather than what they really know.

However, teachers felt they had no alternative given their task to prepare students for national exams, which also needs to be questioned. Following the same principles as were used in 9.3.1, we should focus on finding ways for students to demonstrate knowledge and understanding, rather than on mastery of the designated language that will be used to test these things. Teachers in Vanuatu are already responsible for administering a significant amount of internal, school-based assessment throughout primary and secondary levels, and there is therefore potential for this assessment to be carried out with flexibility regarding the linguistic resources used. If the teacher and students share knowledge of L1(s), there is no practical reason why students shouldn't be able to use resources from these languages in completing written and spoken internal assessments.

Decisions on national written assessments that are marked externally, such as the Year 8 and Year 10 examinations, would need to be made with regard to practical constraints. So, for example, students would not be able to write in a local vernacular, since it is unlikely that a marker in the central assessment team would be familiar with this language. However, students would never address someone from another island in their own vernacular, so this constraint conforms to Vanuatu communication norms. There is no practical reason why students should not be able to use Bislama, English and French in assignments marked nationally, as the human resources are available.

9.3.5 Myth 10: The use/teaching of familiar languages takes up time that could be spent learning additional languages

The final implementational myth is that there is insufficient time available to master new languages if time is taken up using or learning languages that are already spoken. It is considered that opportunities to pass higher level exams and apply for scholarships to institutions that require the use of English or

French as the medium of instruction will be compromised unless sufficient time is spent practising these languages. The result is that such languages are used as media of instruction, enabling the maximum amount of exposure to them. Given the desires to learn both English and French, what is known as the ‘time-on-task’ argument (Siegel, 1997b) is compounded in Vanuatu, since time must be found for two foreign languages. The recent policy proposals for a double transitional model, discussed in 2.2.2.2, are clear evidence of the impact of this myth, as the timetable has been divided up to accommodate English and French as separate media.

A possible way to break down these assumptions is through separating “the dual focus” of language teaching and content teaching (Arthur Shoba, 2013, p.379). If certain languages are considered important to know, then ways for teaching them as foreign languages can be found. However, it is necessary to break down the assumptions that using a language as the medium of instruction will lead to competence in this language and, conversely, that the teaching *of* this language will automatically provide sufficient foundations for teaching *through* this language.

Once these two aspects can be separated, periods can be designated for the teaching of each of English and French, by specialist teachers, using specialist language pedagogy, if these languages are both considered necessary to learn. Evidence from other contexts can be used to demonstrate that it is perfectly possible to learn a language such as English to a high standard without using it as the medium of instruction throughout the entire school system.

If it is education, then let us teach it in the language that most learners and teachers understand. If it is English language then let us talk about how best to teach English, and assign this work to those who are trained to teach it. (Qorro, 2006, p.13)

9.4 Summary

Locating and making use of ideological and implementational spaces for a realistic multilingual language policy thus requires several factors to operate. Seeking ideological spaces entails breaking down the ideologies against particular, named languages, as well as deconstructing the belief that it is necessary to choose between (or add together) separate languages.

Meanwhile, opening up these spaces with implementational moves requires more than tolerance for the use of multiple linguistic resources. Currently, there is implementational tolerance for the use of all linguistic resources, but there is only implementational support for the resources of a single language – English at Anglophone schools and French at Francophone schools – to which learners have limited exposure outside school. Implementational space may be being left open through implementational tolerance or ambivalence (often in spite of strong ideological opposition), but can only be wedged open or used productively through implementational support.

This chapter has attempted to tease apart the ideological and implementational aspects of the debate in order to examine why the space that appears to be left open for multilingual education is not being utilised. However, the myths that I have dealt with in ten separate subsections are clearly interrelated and mutually reinforcing, and there has been a certain amount of repetition and overlap throughout. This is in part because many of the issues discussed in both 9.2 and 9.3 are underpinned by the ideological assumptions that education works best through a single language, and that only certain languages are worthy of this role. Many of the challenges I have presented to the ten myths point towards the need to rethink these core assumptions.

At the same time, it is helpful to question implementational arguments in the practical terms on which they are based. So, for example, if an argument is made that learning *cannot* be tested through multilingual assessments, then I would want to ask why not? What are the practical grounds on which this cannot happen? It is too easy to accept the existence of these constraints, given that Vanuatu does not have limitless resources with which to implement change, but it is important not to take these implementational myths at face value. It is necessary to deconstruct them and decide which elements really are matters of implementation, and which are simply masks for a desire to maintain the status quo. However, any attempts to open up and utilise ideological and implementational spaces can only be fulfilled through awareness raising that something is actually wrong with the current system.

10 Conclusion

10.1 Summary

10.1.1 Sinking within two separate submersion models

This thesis has set out to examine the potential for change within Vanuatu's language-in-education policy. It is generally accepted that submersion models are ineffective (Benson, 2009; Heugh, 2003; Lotherington, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Children struggle to understand what they are being taught, and to participate meaningfully in their own learning, because they have limited exposure to the language they are expected to use. Many therefore fail to engage in the education process, and drop out of school altogether. Others manage to get by, but leave school with few skills that really help them. Only a minority appear to actually benefit from this form of education. Skutnabb-Kangas (1981, p.139) refers to this as the "sink or swim" approach. Vanuatu operates a dual submersion approach in which some children are submerged in English, while their siblings are submerged in French.

Meanwhile, proposals have been put forward recently (Education Language Policy Team, 2010b) for what would effectively become a double transitional programme: an early-exit transition from a familiar language to one foreign language, before a second transition to another foreign language (2.2.2.2). This appears to be driven by considerations of the languages that Vanuatu and its citizens are perceived to need, rather than by what is both pedagogically appropriate and implementationally realistic. This would surely sink those who were currently managing to stay afloat (if not exactly swim). Those that were currently doing well would have to be doing extremely well if they were to survive an additional transition.

None of the models discussed in Table 1.1 is appropriate in Vanuatu. Each model is guided by a language-oriented goal that is underpinned by a monoglossic ideology, thereby treating each individual language as a discrete system that needs to be mastered in order to be used for educational purposes. Decision-making becomes underpinned by beliefs about learning in one language only, the ease with which any language can be used for this purpose,

the opportunities that can be accessed (automatically) through some languages but that are considered inaccessible through others, and the inadequacy of some languages to fulfil educational goals (9.2). It is also impeded by beliefs that corpus planning, assessment innovation, materials production and classroom management are too complicated and costly in multiple languages, and that there is insufficient time available to learn all the necessary languages (9.3).

10.1.2 Interrogation of alternatives

10.1.2.1 An unconvincing display of 'good' linguistic behaviour

The first research question asked was: How is 'language' constructed within education practices and discourses? Chapters 5 and 6 have described a situation at two schools where education is not actually conducted solely in L2, but where teachers and students give the impression that this is the case. School language rules, which are talked about as being more draconian than they really are, are displayed on the noticeboards, stipulating the domains in which English and/or French should be used. The use of these languages becomes emblematic of how to behave in these schools, such that speaking in Bislama or a vernacular must remain covert. Meanwhile, in the classrooms, almost all public talk is done in either English or French, and teachers do most of the talking. Students appear to understand much of the content being taught, and they are able to respond to teachers' questions, provided that they are phrased in such a way as to enable very short, formulaic answers. Teachers work hard to ensure that classroom activity does not break down, and they avoid uncomfortable silences by rephrasing their questions and instructions to make them more manageable.

Students never directly challenge the expectation to respond in L2. They either provide an answer when asked to do so, or they remain silent until the attention is redirected elsewhere. Interaction outside the classroom also avoids overtly challenging the rules. Students draw on a range of interaction (and avoidance) strategies when addressed by a teacher, and they keep much of their interaction with peers out of teachers' earshot. However, both inside and outside the classroom, practices are far from monolingual. The 'business as

usual' discussed in 5.3.1.3 has been shown to draw fluidly on elements of both L1 and L2 (although rarely L3), without keeping these 'languages' separate.

Chapters 7 and 8 have described the way the different languages are talked about with reference to the opportunities they are considered to bring, and to the symbolic value they hold in Vanuatu. English and French, together, are constructed both as gateways to 'double opportunity' and as part of the national heritage and identity. The two former colonial languages have become reimagined as positive vestiges of the past, and Anglophones and Francophones alike make clear the desirability of 'bilingualism' in these two languages. Although the instrumental value of Bislama as a lingua franca, and the symbolic value of the vernaculars as carriers of traditional culture are also recognised, they are considered to limit the opportunities available to ni-Vanuatu. This desire for both English and French overrides any concerns people might have that students are already struggling to learn through one of these languages.

10.1.2.2 Waiting for somebody else to rock the boat

Interview data throughout Chapters 5 and 6 suggests that the situation described above has become normalised. Participants are reluctant or unable to recognise any problem with the use of L2. When a problem *is* acknowledged, it is assumed that it can be alleviated simply through greater competence in the language. The situation is compounded by the desire for all ni-Vanuatu to have access to both English and French, as outlined in Chapters 7 and 8. People are unwilling to engage with the difficulties faced using unfamiliar languages as the media of instruction, and they are determined to increase the number of such languages that are used.

Chapter 9 has discussed ten myths that are considered to be preventing change. The chapter has attempted to account for the circulation and perpetuation of these myths with reference to the practices and discourses identified in this particular case study. It has been suggested that many barriers to the use of a greater range of linguistic resources in Vanuatu are ideological in nature but that a number of myths also feed off perceived practical constraints. Despite indication of implementational *tolerance* for the incorporation of

languages other than the official medium of instruction, these barriers are considered to prevent implementational *support* for these to be made use of. It has been suggested that there is indeed great potential for change, but that this would require a number of conditions to be in place.

Participants are also all too well aware that the government is politically unstable, lacks coherent policies, and has limited resources. It is very hard to imagine a policy innovation being developed and implemented because the government keeps changing, and the country has seen so many Ministers of Education coming and going. Participants in three different interviews (XIV:609-15, 801-2/xiv:573-9, 754-5; XVII:417-9/xvii:401-3; XIX:503-5/xix:494-6) made the point that the future of the education language policy depends on whether the next incumbent is Anglophone or Francophone. The teachers told me that it was up to the government to decide (XIV:487-8, 606-8/xiv:456-7, 570-2; XVII:527-8/xvii:509-10), while representatives from the Education Language Policy team told me that they were waiting for the Director General to make a decision (XIX:251-66, 591-3/xix:244-61, 577-8; technical advisor, personal communication, October 2011), and the Director of Educational Services, who was the Acting DG when I spoke to him, simply said that the whole idea was “on hold” (XX:142-70/xx:141-69). Within this configuration, it is hard to imagine change.

10.1.2.3 Finding space amongst the bits and pieces of language

The second research question asked was: Can ideological and implementational spaces be identified amongst the education practices and discourses that indicate opportunities for additional or different linguistic resources to be used? The data in this thesis shows that the resources of a number of different languages hold functional and symbolic value for ni-Vanuatu, both inside and outside school contexts. English is considered to be of high functional value for all ni-Vanuatu, but this recognition does not detract from desires for French. Both languages are considered to be a vital part of Vanuatu’s heritage and national identity, within discourses that rely on the equality of status between the two former colonial languages. French cannot be part of the heritage without English, and vice versa. However, there is no

suggestion that these are the *only* languages needed, and considerable value is also placed on the vernaculars as the indigenous languages of Vanuatu.

Meanwhile, Bislama has both de jure and de facto importance as the national language that is used by all. In summary, no single language is considered to hold sufficient functional and symbolic value by itself.

From the way participants talk, it appears that it is therefore necessary to be proficient in at least four different languages – one or more vernaculars, Bislama, English and French – in order to be a true ni-Vanuatu. This suggests a complex of discrete languages, within which each separate system must be mastered. However, the data has shown that this is not necessarily the case, as there are many occasions on which the use of fairly limited linguistic resources is enough, in both national and institutional contexts.

For example, there is a desire for ‘bilingualism’ in English and French, and Anglophone participants express regret that they don’t speak French, but it has become clear that mastery of both languages is unnecessary. Although participants suggest a functional need for both former colonial languages, the anecdotes and justifications given reveal that only small amounts of each of these languages may be necessary, and people are well aware of the lack of scholarship and employment opportunities in French-speaking institutions. The arguments put forward, in instrumental terms, for all students to become competent in both English and French appear to be underpinned by the desire to maintain what people are accustomed to, rather than rocking the boat through change. Provided that some French is being used, this may satisfy the criterion to maintain this language, without the whole school system having to be transformed into the complex double-transitional model put forward in 2010.

Similarly, school participants tell me that it is essential to speak L2 at all times around the campus, since this is the medium of instruction. There clearly is a need for students to feel comfortable using whichever language(s) are used in the classroom, but there appears to be a greater concern with being seen to do the right thing, conforming to the longstanding belief that schools are institutions in which only English or French *should* be spoken. This sense of institutional appropriateness is thus instrumentalised as a need for mastery of the medium of instruction. However, the data from Chapters 5 and 6 shows that school life

proceeds through the use of a number of different languages, provided that sufficient amounts of the official school language are seen to be being used. A range of texts such as school mottos, constant reminders to speak in L2, and a day of celebration of Francophonie served to reaffirm each institution as an officially L2-only space without compromising the heteroglossia of daily life.

Finally, a number of mentions are made of the importance of preserving the vernaculars, even during interviews in which the focus was predominantly on the two former colonial languages. Negative opinions were expressed about those who had no knowledge of any vernacular, as this was equated to not knowing 'your own language' (see XIV:362-3/xiv:340-2; XX:448-58/xx:446-56). The indigenous languages are clearly considered extremely important, and there is no indication that the desire for 'bilingualism' in English and French overrides this importance. However, once again, there are a number of ni-Vanuatu today, particularly in urban areas, who have fairly limited competence in the language(s) spoken on their home islands, and this is generally considered acceptable – it is only the shift away from the vernaculars and traditional culture by whole communities or families that is frowned upon.

Being ni-Vanuatu seems to entail knowledge of one or more vernaculars, Bislama, English and French, but it does not appear to require mastery of any of these 'languages'. The discourse reveals the valuing of a repertoire that is a composite of the linguistic resources of all these languages, with the ability to draw on different resources for different situations, without separating these into discrete codes. The notion of 'repertoire' has become widely used in Sociolinguistics. Hymes (1996, p.33) suggested the need to think of communities and speakers "in terms, not of a single language, but of a repertoire", which he defined as "a set of ways of speaking" and, more explicitly, as "the mixes of means and modalities people actually practise and experience" (p.207). This observation has been built on recently by those who have attempted to describe the complexity of language use in terms of the different features associated with different linguistic varieties, rather than in terms of those varieties themselves (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Jørgensen et al., 2011; Snell, 2013). The practices and discourses described within this thesis suggest that participants make use of a range of features associated with 'English',

‘French’, ‘Bislama’ and various vernaculars, in order to fulfil institutional and national identities, and to negotiate their daily routines, but that they are unlikely to consider themselves fluent speakers of each of these languages. They command complex linguistic repertoires comprising the resources associated with several languages, which they employ in different ways for different purposes.

Ideological space may well, therefore, exist for a more democratic and plurilingual reimagining of a national education system than it at first appears. If we can build on the fact that ni-Vanuatu make use of complex repertoires of linguistic resources, without separating these into discrete codes, we can begin to think about how best to capitalise on this in the classroom.

10.2 Moving towards a more flexible framework

10.2.1 From language-oriented education policy to learning-oriented language policy

I consider that an appropriate version of education is one that, firstly, recognises and develops the existing linguistic resources that children already have access to; secondly, makes productive use of whichever linguistic resources are necessary in order for learning to be successful; and thirdly, provides opportunities to develop new linguistic resources that are considered necessary. Rather than arguing for the implementation of a particular type of programme, I suggest the need for a broad framework within which teachers and learners have greater freedom to draw on whichever linguistic resources are appropriate in negotiating learning.

In this way, I therefore make learning, rather than language(s), the focus, aiming to undermine “the centrality of the school language, and challenge its hegemonic role in education” (Hélot & Ó Laoire, 2011, p.xiii). I believe there is a need to reorient the problem from an approach to *education policy and planning* that is driven by *language*, to an approach to *language policy and planning* that is driven by *learning*. The difference between these two approaches is shown in Figure 10.1 and Figure 10.2. In the former, the desire for English and French creates demands for competence in these languages that drive subsequent

demands on teaching and assessment. In the latter, considerations of teaching and assessment are driven by the desire to ensure that learning actually takes place.

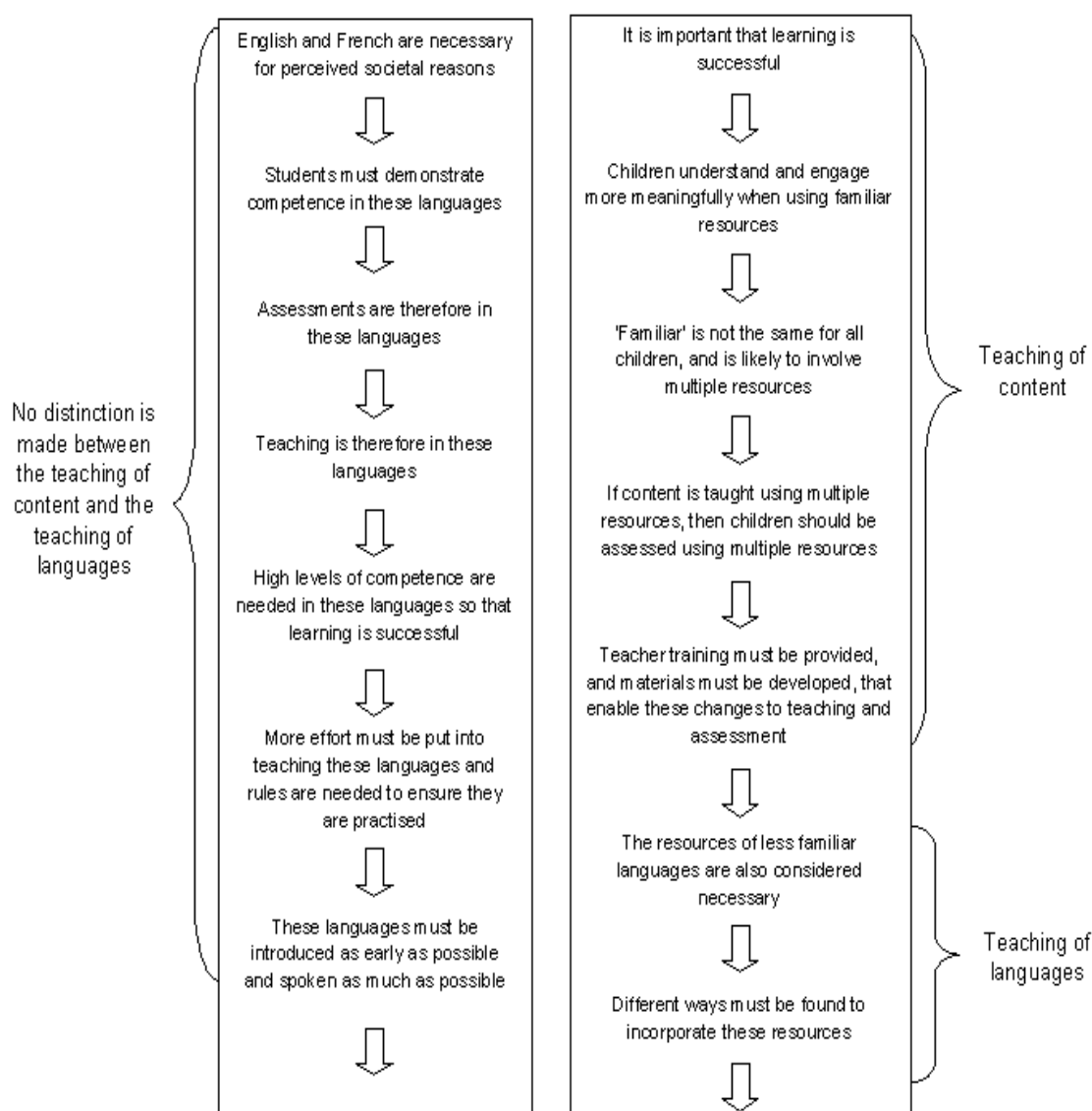


Figure 10.1 A language-oriented education policy

Figure 10.2 A learning-oriented language policy

Figure 10.2 prioritises learning, and then considers the best way to achieve this, rather than trying to accommodate learning within a framework that is oriented

to proficiency in certain languages (cf. Figure 10.1). It suggests that familiar resources will enable children to understand and engage more meaningfully with their learning than if unfamiliar resources are used. Snell (2013, p.122) argues that learners should “be encouraged to respond, question, challenge and elaborate their thinking using whatever language they find most comfortable”, following the constructivist principle that classroom dialogue is essential for learning (Lefstein & Snell, 2011; Vygotsky, 1978). Such dialogue engenders what Van Avermaet (2013) refers to as a “powerful learning environment” that “exploits learners’ plurilingual repertoires as didactic capital for learning” (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013, p.206), so that education doesn’t become something that is “simply done to students” (García & Flores, 2012, p.232).

The use of a language that learners are not accustomed to using compromises this active engagement. It also leads to the teacher-dominated interaction patterns observed in classrooms at Angolovo College and Collège de Faranako. The “poverty of classroom dialogue” (Black, 2013) that occurs when teachers persistently reformulate their open questions into closed questions, or give insufficient wait time for learners to think, closes down productive learning environments. Brock-Utne and Alidou (2011) provide similar critique based on observations from two different classes in Tanzania, taught by the same teacher about the same topic – one in English and one in Kiswahili. They present clear differences in the way learners were engaged, showing the Kiswahili medium group to be building on prior knowledge, co-constructing new knowledge, and competing to be heard in the class discussion, while the English medium group were silent, fearful, and learning only the strategies needed to survive the lesson. The authors make the same call to keep the learner at the centre of multilingual education discussions, although their account continues to pit one discrete medium of instruction against another, whereas it is suggested here that learners may be able to draw productively on the resources of several languages from their repertoires.

10.2.2 From media of instruction to repertoires of learning and teaching

As a potential way forward within Vanuatu, the case can be made for the fuller use of teachers' and learners' linguistic repertoires within the content classroom than is currently the case. There is potential for a framework in which teachers and learners are given more freedom to negotiate teaching and learning through whichever resources are available to be used (Willans, 2013), such that languages are "deployed pragmatically, as a resource rather than an undesirable obstacle" (Arthur Shoba, 2013, p.377). Children in Vanuatu learn to understand and participate multilingually in all other areas of life, from formal occasions such as church services and traditional ceremonies to less formal events such as socialising with relatives from a different island. If children are used to using multiple linguistic resources to negotiate meaning from an early age, then it makes no sense to insist that formal classroom learning is conducted through a single language only (and particularly one that is rarely used outside school). Even within schools, teachers and learners already do draw on multiple linguistic resources to negotiate meaning, so this proposal simply validates what people are already doing.

Such a proposition moves beyond the debate between a single medium and plural media of instruction. It calls for the need to rethink the notion of media of instruction, and to look for ways to foster the productive use of *repertoires of learning and teaching*. It requires us to stop thinking in the categories we have always known, thereby opening up possibilities for something other than a *different language* (as is the case in proposals for 'mother tongue education') or *an additional language* (as is the case in proposals for 'bilingual education'). The suggestion to foster repertoires of learning and teaching is underpinned by what García (2009) refers to as a heteroglossic framework, and challenges the belief that one subset of resources must be bound together in a discrete system (called 'English', for example) and used in the classroom, while all other resources must be left at the door.

The particular resources used will be different in different classrooms, for different individuals, and at different times, as this will depend on which resources are available to be used. This factor of availability is important.

Whichever resources learners have at their disposal can be used. The converse logic should also make clear that it is unrealistic to expect resources to be used actively within the classroom if they are not available within learners' repertoires. In the current submersion model, the linguistic resources that are expected to be used (i.e. those of English and French) are not available to the vast majority of children when they start school, and yet they are expected to learn (monolingually) through one of these languages. Far greater implementational support is needed in order for these resources to become part of an *active* repertoire of learning and teaching, rather than assuming that children will be able to pick the language up and use it.

However, this does not stop new resources being added to the repertoire. If it is considered desirable that languages such as English and French are learnt, then they can continue to be taught as foreign languages, by trained language teachers²⁶ using appropriate materials²⁷, with a clear idea about why these languages are being learnt (Murray, 2012, with reference to different language curricula used in South Africa). Provided that the desire for these languages does not override the importance of learning in content subjects, there is no reason why students should not have the chance to learn both English and French to a high level. Indeed many of the resources of these languages will become active within the repertoires of learning and teaching, as learners become skilled at drawing on an increasing range of resources to negotiate the content they are encountering, and as they encounter an increasing range of texts. At the same time, pressure to 'master' these less familiar languages will be reduced, if the sole burden of learning is not placed on one L2.

This is not a radical policy suggestion. The Council of Europe (2007, p.8), for example, recommends "a holistic and coherent approach" to language education in order to "promote an integrated competence and a consciousness

²⁶The junior French teacher at Angolovo College trained as a Science teacher in the Francophone system. However, his wife teaches at the school, so he asked to be posted there to join her. The only subject it was felt he could teach at an Anglophone school was French.

²⁷The English textbook currently used in Francophone schools is called *Apple Pie*. It is published in France and its content and tasks appear oriented to European learners of English who are likely to travel to the UK and US. Meanwhile, in a French lesson at an Anglophone school, I saw students having to label pictures according to the nationalities of the characters shown. Students were unable to identify that the speech bubble with 'G'day mate' necessitated the answer 'Il est Australien'.

of learners' existing repertoires and of their potential to develop and adapt those repertoires to changing circumstances" (p.41). They define an individual's plurilingual repertoire as a "group of language varieties ... mastered by the same speaker, to different degrees of proficiency and for different uses" (p.51). However, despite the rhetoric to recognise existing repertoires, emphasis has typically been placed on the acquisition of additional resources (i.e. those that are considered to have high instrumental value) (Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2013). It also appears that, while discussion of the development of repertoires is becoming common with reference to the learning of *languages*, insufficient attention has been paid to the potential to make use of the full range of linguistic repertoires in the learning of *content subjects*.

The proposal made here challenges the assumption that a language needs to be mastered before it can be used in the classroom. If teachers and students have more freedom to talk about Science, Geography, and so on, using resources from L1 and L2 together, they will adapt their repertoires to accommodate and develop the resources they have at their disposal. From this perspective, students become repositioned as active learners rather than swimmers struggling to stay afloat. This falls in line with Van Avermaet's (2013) call to shift from a proficiency-based model of language learning (with a single target language) to a performance-based model that recognises and draws productively on linguistic repertoires.

The proposal also avoids many of the arguments that can close down implementational space for additional languages. Traditional, monoglossic approaches to multilingual education require each language to be developed and codified through formal corpus planning, they require teaching and assessment materials to be produced in each language, and they require teachers who speak each language to be trained to teach in it, as well as being posted to an area in which the language is spoken. With over 100 languages, the government of a developing country such as Vanuatu understandably sees this groundwork as too costly and complex. However, by shifting the focus to a learning-oriented policy, the question is not whether *a language* has sufficient vocabulary, material resources or teachers, but whether *learners* have sufficient

linguistic and non-linguistic resources at their disposal to make sense of the topics they are encountering.

10.3 Implications

10.3.1 Implications for Vanuatu

A long-term vision for multilingual education in Vanuatu is therefore one in which the learning of content is negotiated through the use of multiple linguistic resources. This requires the removal of school rules and associated practices that perpetuate the belief that Bislama and the vernaculars have no place within schools. This also requires changes to assessments, teaching materials and teacher training, in order to ensure that children are able to learn through whichever resources help them make sense of what they are learning. Finally, this requires a more explicit separation between the teaching of content and the teaching of languages, so that all ni-Vanuatu can have the opportunity to learn a certain amount of both English and French without affecting their progress in all other subjects. A long-term vision thus probably moves beyond a dual education system, and achieves the government's desire to avoid Anglophone/Francophone polarisation.

However, I don't believe it is productive at the present time to suggest another major education innovation. The government has been criticised for trying to change too many things (with teachers and even Ministry of Education personnel particularly critical of the 'top-up' reform of 2002). Government instability makes effective change hard to foresee. However, I also do not believe that it is productive to dream of ideal conditions, thereby justifying stalling any attempt to implement change. Undoubtedly, any education programme would work best in well-resourced classrooms with teachers who were well-trained in pedagogy and fluent in multiple languages, administered by a supportive and stable government with access to limitless funds, impervious to the agendas of supranational bodies and indeed to the implications of global economic and political developments. The Vanuatu Ministry of Education is not working within these imagined conditions.

In the short-term, it is assumed that the dual system will continue, and there will therefore be greater use of English in some schools and greater use of French in others. Many schools have stocks of teaching materials in these languages, and these will continue to be used. The first step is thus to open up spaces for additional linguistic resources *alongside* those that have traditionally been used (whilst removing policies that ban or devalue these resources). While an ideal situation would see “flexible multiplicity” (García & Flores, 2012, p.240) in the integration of languages within curricula and materials, if only monolingual materials are currently available, other linguistic and non-linguistic resources can still be employed to “talk the texts into being” (Martin, 1999, p.50). In this way, multilingual talk can help to “unpack the meaning of the written word” (ibid., p.41), thereby “bridg[ing] the gap between the world of the textbook and the students’ existing knowledge” (Ndayipfukamiye, 1996, p.43). As Heugh (2009) documents, even when the structures and materials in place are less than adequate, and when attitudes are initially against such an approach, positive results can be achieved (including a significant change in attitudes), thus wedging open space for a more permanent change.

Changing mindsets about how this can be done requires demonstrating that this will work. A practical step is therefore to use examples of positive practice from around Vanuatu’s schools that show how teachers already are drawing on multiple resources within their classrooms. A teacher at the primary school attached to Collège de Faranako, who I had the opportunity to observe for a morning, provides one such example that really demonstrated to me the potential for this type of approach. She drew on the resources of North-East Ambae, Bislama and French in order to explain and reinforce new concepts, and the Year 1 and 2 children responded using all three languages. Video recordings of such classroom practice and copies of multilingual materials already being produced can be used to open up dialogue amongst teachers, trainers and policymakers about the possibilities that exist. Such items can be shared at relatively low cost and with limited technology. Teacher training can therefore be bottom-up, through the sharing of effective practice. Concurrently, internal school-based assessments can be modified to enable students to demonstrate their knowledge using the resources of any language(s) with which

they and their assessors are familiar. Schools can make decisions about how to do this, based on their human resources, but this requires very little systemic change.

At the same time, more systematic data on low attainment figures can be used to build up a case for change, and to begin discussing the problem with the current dual submersion model. Assessment-driven discourses that are informed by Vanuatu's results in tests such as VANSTA and EGRA (Niroa, 2012; Tambe, 2005) should be made use of to challenge the belief that the status quo is adequate, and open up dialogue for change. Even at a very local level, the recent public consultations held by the curriculum and language policy teams appeared to have had a significant impact on the way people on Ambae were talking about education, in a way that I had never seen during the time I lived there from 2004 to 2006. People are clearly interested in the education system, and are open to new ideas, so this must be capitalised on.

To move towards longer-term goals, more work is needed in order to make changes to national assessments, to the provision of materials that are compatible with a repertoires approach, to the training of content teachers, and to the training of specialist language teachers. Work being carried out by the multitude of NGOs and other organisations in Vanuatu to create dictionaries and literacy materials in many of the vernaculars (e.g. the Summer Institute of Linguistics) and to create educational materials about topical issues in Bislama (e.g. Wan Smolbag, Live and Learn) can help pave the way for materials development, given that there is currently still so little that is written in any of Vanuatu's languages other than English or French. Similarly, there are plenty of organisations such as Alliance Française and several English-dominant NGOs who have the resources to help develop more realistic approaches to the teaching of English and French as foreign languages. If a goal of multilingual education became a genuine vision for the government, it would be possible to harness some of these activities, picking out the elements that join up with other curriculum and teacher training developments. With the current work being done on a new national curriculum, this is an appropriate time to be having these discussions.

10.3.2 Implications beyond Vanuatu

This case study contributes to the body of research on multilingual education, providing a perspective from a region that is under-represented within the field. Given that Melanesia is the most linguistically diverse region in the world, there is a significant amount that can be learnt about multilingual education from school-based studies in this context. More specifically, Vanuatu's unique historico-political background presents an intriguing site in which to examine the complexity of language-in-education policy. The current period of intense education reform in Vanuatu makes this an apt time to conduct this case study. The ongoing language policy debates present an opportune moment to understand the mechanisms that can close down (or prevent the opening of) ideological and implementational spaces for change, whilst identifying how other potential spaces may be sought, opened up and exploited.

In addition to presenting a case study from a less-researched context, this thesis has examined the possibilities for new ways of thinking about multilingual education, through a combination of ethnography and discourse analysis. It has drawn on the concept of ideological and implementational spaces, as a useful metaphor for examining the potential for change amidst the complexity, and used the tools of the Discourse-Historical Approach to help make sense of this complexity through the perspectives of those involved. This section returns to the four areas that were set out in 1.1.3, summarising the contributions made by this thesis to the field of multilingual education.

10.3.2.1 Education within postcolonial, multilingual contexts

1.1.3.1 summarised a range of education models that have been used throughout postcolonial, multilingual contexts, and it seemed that these models provided a reasonable frame of reference for the research. It made sense to categorise the existing model of education in Vanuatu as a dual submersion programme, and the recently proposed model (Education Language Policy Team, 2010b) as a double transitional programme. It was also noted that scholars such as Heugh (2011) argue strongly for late-exit transitional and additive bilingual programmes, following the linguistic and pedagogical

principles that sufficient foundations must be built up in L1 before a transition can be made to L2.

However, it is clear that these models provide a short-hand for complex realities. This case study has shown that, although the medium of instruction can be said to be L2, being 'submerged' in this language clearly does not keep all other languages out. In addition, teachers take on most of the L2 burden, with the unintended consequence that many students are actually using very little of the expected language themselves. Despite the characterisation of the current system as a dual submersion model, this does not paint a very accurate picture of the way language(s) are actually being used in schools. It is unlikely that changing to another model would produce different results, as teachers and students would find new ways to navigate the spaces for alternative practices to meet their needs, rather than following the norms intended.

Insights gained through ethnographic attention to these realities should be used to drive a more realistic approach to policy change. Rather than considering what the best 'model' may be, through which content and languages can best be learnt under ideal conditions, we should consider how teaching and learning actually proceed, and how local perceptions may shape interpretation. We should be starting from current practice, and working out how to harness the ways that teachers and students negotiate learning, in order to establish an appropriate approach (García, 2009; Leung, 2005). It has therefore been suggested that a more appropriate approach would be to start from classroom practice, and build on what teachers and learners are currently doing, giving them more freedom (and, crucially, legitimacy) to negotiate learning through whichever resources are available. By re-orienting from a language-oriented approach to a learning-oriented approach, we can move beyond 'bilingual education' typologies.

10.3.2.2 Languages jostling for inclusion: Language ideologies

1.1.3.2 discussed three aspects of the language ideological component of language policy: the prioritisation of former colonial languages, the relative positions of two former colonial languages, and the denigration of pidgins and creoles.

With reference to the first and second aspect, it is clear from the data in this thesis that English and French retain their hierarchical position above all indigenous languages in Vanuatu, thus reaffirming findings from so many other postcolonial contexts. However, it appears that the dominance of English, itself, is not absolute, as French is vociferously argued to be of both instrumental and symbolic value to ni-Vanuatu. This may present a certain amount of optimism in the face of the wealth of research findings that suggest the universal desire for this 'global' language. In a comparative analysis of attitudes towards English and French in both Vanuatu and Cameroon (Abongdia & Willans, 2014), Abongdia and I argue that there is a strengthening of the desire for English/French 'bilingualism' in both countries, but that French is not being pushed aside in attempts to access English. The global hegemony of English is thus tempered to a certain extent, although this still paints a dismal picture for indigenous languages.

This finding also challenges arguments that language policies in developing countries are simply *de facto* responses to the machinery of supranational organisations such as the World Bank, driven by the publishing and technical assistance strings attached to aid packages (Brock-Utne, 2007, 2008; King, 2007; Mazrui, 1997). On the one hand, Vanuatu's determination to maintain a balance between Anglophone and Francophone interests shows that postcolonial countries are adept at maintaining strategic links with a range of sources of support, and are not simply swept along by the agendas of powerful organisations. On the other hand, it reminds us of the historical processes through which language ideologies are formed, since it is clear that the resurgence of support for French in Vanuatu is not driven by the orders of the current global (or regional) sociolinguistic economy (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), and is not solely in response to donor agendas. Ideologies of heritage and national identity, which appear resilient alongside instrumental ideologies, clearly draw on long histories that continue to shape local responses to global processes.

In terms of the third ideological aspect, the data in this thesis reaffirms the negative attitudes documented elsewhere towards pidgins and creoles (Siegel, 1999b, 2006a, 2008). Although both the high status of Bislama outside school

and its uncontested position as the lingua franca throughout the entire island group present this language as an ideal candidate for a dominant role within education, this is clearly not considered a desirable prospect. The study demonstrates the clear conflict between the way a pidgin may be used and talked about by the same group of speakers. Bislama was the primary language of all interviews, in which sophisticated arguments were put forward, and yet the language was consistently denigrated as being incapable of dealing with complexity and precision. The points of conflicting logic between the linguistic and the metalinguistic present a clear case of the operation of a “complex of micro-hegemonies within which subjects situate their practices and behavior” (Blommaert & Varis, 2011, p.3).

The absence of any change in attitudes towards pidgins and creoles, despite consistent and repeated challenges by linguists (Siegel, 2007), demonstrates the need to go beyond the “different-but-equal” approach (Snell, 2013). As Snell notes, debates about language inequality have long been polarised between notions of deficit and notions of difference, following the work of early Sociolinguists such as Labov (1969) and Trudgill (1975) in demonstrating that all language varieties can be considered equal, on strictly *linguistic* terms. With reference to UK dialects of English, Snell argues instead for a move from difference to repertoires, acknowledging that speakers draw fluidly on resources that would be considered to belong to both standard and non-standard varieties, rather than speaking one bounded ‘dialect’. This circumvents judgements of the relative worth of different varieties. Pidgin and creole studies has been trapped in the same dichotomy, with specialists (Da Pidgin Coup, 1999; Siegel, 2007, 2008) demonstrating that pidgins and creoles are just as systematic and rule-governed as any other languages, i.e. that they are different but equal, but with little impact on attitudes towards their inclusion in education. The approach to repertoires of learning and teaching suggested in 10.2.2 may enable a similar move to be made towards recognising that speakers draw fluidly on the resources of pidgins and creoles, but also of other languages, and that there is no need to force an either/or choice between distinct languages. The re-orientation towards learning-focused approaches that I have been arguing for

may avoid many of the arguments about whether *a language* such as Bislama is equal to others such as English.

10.3.2.3 Rethinking the ‘multilingual’ in ‘multilingual education’

1.1.3.3 summarised the monoglossic framework (García, 2009) within which multilingual education tends to be conceptualised. It was suggested that for multilingual education to offer anything other than multiple strands of monolingual education (cf. Banda, 2009), it is necessary to think in terms of repertoires rather than languages. This study therefore attempts to push the debate beyond the search for additional or alternative media of learning and teaching, i.e. beyond the arguments for mother tongue education, or for additive models of bilingualism (cf. Heugh, 2011). Although the inclusion of plural media of learning and teaching appears to go beyond a monoglossic approach to education, it requires a further move towards repertoires of learning and teaching before this can be realised. The study suggests the need to value and utilise the linguistic resources that children use in other contexts of their lives, helping them to develop a repertoire of learning and teaching through which they can navigate the learning process.

Taking this perspective thus avoids many of the implementational myths discussed in 9.3 that often serve to close down space for multilingual education before it has even been attempted. Where implementation appears costly, hard to coordinate across multiple languages, and a threat to the learning of languages of wider communication, de facto monolingual policies inevitably maintain the status quo. Instead, the perspective is more about opening up space for the use of all resources that are available, linguistic and non-linguistic, adding and adapting further resources as necessary.

This perspective also forces the focus back to learners rather than languages. The typologies of models that frame discussions of bi/multilingual education tend to set out *which language(s)* are used when and for what purposes. Similarly, implementational debates centre on whether *a language* is adequately developed for use in particular subjects, rather than on whether learners have sufficient linguistic resources to deal with those subjects. To refocus attention on learners, we should use the insights from ethnographic data to focus on the

way learning is or isn't being achieved. We should ask questions about how students can understand new knowledge, how they can relate this new knowledge to what they already know, how they can demonstrate this knowledge, and how we can prepare them for their future lives, through the different linguistic and non-linguistic resources available to them.

10.3.2.4 Ideological and implementational spaces

Hornberger's (2002) notion of ideological and implementational spaces was introduced in 1.1.3.4 as a useful metaphor to help focus on potential for policy change. Chapter 9 has attempted to operationalise this notion, by separating its ideological and implementational aspects, and noting how implementational space may be left unutilised for two main reasons – the absence of ideological space, and the limitations of 'implementational tolerance' without the addition of 'implementational support' for the use of alternative or additional linguistic resources. Chapter 9 exemplified these different aspects with the help of a series of ideological and implementational myths about multilingual education that are kept in circulation by complex practices and discourses.

Language policy has been defined in this thesis as a constantly evolving process that is created and sustained through such practices and discourses. The myths set out in Chapter 9 synthesise the different practices and discourses that serve to keep ideological and implementational spaces shut, and it was noted that these myths were overlapping and interrelated. It is therefore useful to return to the metaphor of the policy network (Vidovich, 2007) introduced in 3.1.2.4 that enables simultaneous attention to be paid to practices and discourses at several points at once, and avoids feeding into the dichotomy of 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' policy. Instead, it considers the interrelatedness of these points and the multidirectionality of their linkages.

Myths about multilingual education are serving to keep spaces shut at points across and throughout the policy network. At the same time, what practices and discourses there are that indicate spaces opening up for alternatives (such as the discourse of the importance of learning through whatever means necessary) are also working at a number of points across this network. Students, teachers and policymakers respond to the realities of the social roles that they occupy,

and draw on logics that make sense in those realities. There are thus little bubbles of opportunity all over the network, but they are in constant tension with the practices and discourses that oppose change and keep ideological and implementational space closed. A number of authors have made the point that micro-level changes can have only limited effect without simultaneous changes at the macro-level (Chick, 1996; Hornberger, 2010; Weber, 2008), and it is clear that attention is required at multiple points in the network.

Importantly, this research has demonstrated that there is no ‘top-down’ discourse that is quelling counter-discourses and practices from the classrooms, but that the discourses both for and against multilingual alternatives are circulating at all levels. There is not such a difference between the views of my interviewees at the schools and at the Ministry of Education and there is certainly no draconian directive from above that can alone account for the denigration of L1. The challenge is thus to find a way to work simultaneously at all these different points, wedging open spaces that appear to be closing, finding new opportunities to open up other spaces, and so on. Clearly, this is a complex task, and it is hard to work at all levels and domains of an education system, responding to all the different logics in conflict. However, opening up dialogue between those who work at these different levels and domains, and engaging sufficient policy actors in this dialogue, may present an opportunity to look holistically at the issue. The nexus between the different perspectives and logics may thus be a productive space for policy change, rather than a sign of contestation and conflict. By combining Ethnography with the Discourse-Historical Approach to discourse analysis, this thesis has attempted to build up a detailed case study of the complexity of a policy network within which spaces for change open and close at different points.

10.4 Future directions

10.4.1 Engaging with policymakers, teachers and the public

For the myths discussed in Chapter 9 to be broken down, and for space to be wedged open for an appropriate approach to multilingual education, there is a

clear need to find new and better ways to communicate with policymakers, teachers, and the public. Siegel (2007), for example, argues that academics have been demonstrating for forty years that pidgins and creoles are valid languages, without having any apparent effect on attitudes towards these languages. He calls for a more proactive linguistic community that disseminates findings through teacher training and community programmes, and publishes in formats and places that are accessible to those outside academia.

A key difficulty is establishing the terminology through which to communicate about research. Most opposition to multilingual education is framed, intentionally or otherwise, by Western conceptualisations of 'language' (Banda, 2009). So arguments for and against each language within the education system draw on the monolingual ideology with its origins in language learning in the West (Brock-Utne, 2009). Engaging with stakeholders requires one of two approaches: either making use of similar conceptualisations and their associated terminology to frame counter-arguments (such as that Bislama is a systematic language, or that French does not bring the benefits that it is assumed to); or problematising the notion of discrete, bounded languages on the grounds that this lies at the root of the problem. The latter solution risks never even being able to start a conversation.

10.4.2 Building collaboration into the research

Some of the challenges of dissemination could be circumvented if there was greater collaboration from the outset with those for whom the research is intended to be relevant. Given the ethnographic endeavour to value and draw on local perspectives, a limitation of this study has been that participants were insufficiently involved throughout the research process. I have done my best to present the opinions and accounts of the participants, and to reflect on my impact on what they might otherwise have said. However, from the decision to begin the research in the first place, through the design of the study, to the analysis and writing up of the data, participants had little involvement in the research process. The research certainly changed direction in response to what I sensed was important to people, but the decisions taken were ultimately my

own. Indeed, whenever I approached the Faranako principal to ask his permission to do something, I received the same response:

Hem i risej blong yu. Wanem we yu wantem, yu gohed.

[It's your research. Whatever you want, just do it.]

It would not have been possible, given the constraints of the PhD process, to build collaboration with participants into the initial design of the research, particularly given the difficulty I face communicating with people on Ambae when I am in the UK. However, this is an angle to pursue for future research. There is potential to incorporate greater involvement with, and the voices of, policymakers, teachers, students and communities, through approaches such as ethnographic team methodologies (Blackledge & Creese, 2010pp. 82ff.), ethnographic monitoring (Hymes, 1980; Van der Aa & Blommaert, 2011) or the model that Johnson (2013) sets out as Educational Language Policy Engagement and Action Research. Interview data from this study reveals that participants are often aware of the contradictions between their views about language(s), so opportunities for user-collaborative research might provide ways to interrogate and keep open what are currently only *potential* ideological and implementational spaces.

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12 Appendices

Appendix I – Glossary

Basic education: Kindergarten and Years 1-8 (This classification cross-cuts the division between Primary and Secondary education, and is in response to the desire to provide eight years of education for all (following the global Education for All strategy).

Bilingual schools: Schools that contain both Anglophone and Francophone streams. Both streams continue to learn through the medium of one language only.

Centre schools: Schools catering for pupils from Years 1-8 (or 3-8), transformed from former primary schools offering Years 1-6. Centre schools were created by the addition of 'top-up' classes to primary schools, which enabled students not selected into Year 7 at existing secondary schools to continue their education for a further two years. While the 'top-up' provision initially catered only for those who would otherwise have been pushed out of the mainstream system, all children are now expected to remain in centre schools until the end of Year 8, before competing for a place in secondary schools in Year 9.

Diplôme d'accès aux études universitaires (DAEU): An internationally-recognised diploma that Francophone students completing Year 14 are eligible to sit for.

Dropouts: Those who leave the education system before the end of the cycle in which they are already enrolled (thus, for reasons other than a lack of places, cf. pushouts).

Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA): A US-Aid funded assessment tool developed to measure foundational literacy skills, recently used in Vanuatu.

Emalus Campus: The Vanuatu campus of the University of the South Pacific

Harmonisation: The alignment of the two streams of education, in terms of structure, curriculum content and assessment, whether or not the same medium of instruction used

Junior secondary education: Years 7-10 (following a national programme in separate Anglophone and Francophone streams).

Pacific Secondary School Certificate (PSSC): The regional certificate taken by Year 12 Anglophone students across the Pacific.

Primary education: Years 1-6 (following a national programme in separate Anglophone and Francophone streams).

Pushouts: Students who are unable to continue with their education because of limited numbers of places at the next level of education (cf. dropouts).

Secretariat of the Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA): Administrative and advisory board for senior level education in – Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu, The Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Nauru, Kiribati and Tuvalu.

Senior secondary education: Years 11-13 for Anglophones, Years 11-14 for Francophones (with the two streams following entirely different curricula and assessments).

Top-up education: Years 7-8 offered at former primary schools for students not selected to Year 7 at a secondary school, thus enabling them to rejoin the mainstream system in Year 9 if successful (under review).

Union of Moderate Parties (UMP): Political party formed in 1981 out of predominantly 'Francophone' parties.

Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie (UNC): The University of New Caledonia

University of the South Pacific (USP): An institution that is financed and controlled by Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu, The Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Nauru, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Niue, The Marshall Islands and The Cook Islands. The three main campuses are in Fiji, Vanuatu and Samoa.

Vanuatu Standardised Test of Achievement (VANSTA): National literacy and numeracy assessment carried out in Years 4 and 6.

Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education (VITE): The institution at which the majority of primary and junior secondary teachers are trained to diploma level.

Vanua'aku Pati (VP): The first political party to rule Vanuatu.

Wan Smolbag Theatre: A non-government organisation that organises educational workshops, resources and services.

Appendix II – Ethical approval from King's College London

Fiona Willans,
Department of Education & Professional Studies,
18th August 2010,



Dear Fiona,

REP(EM)/09/10-60 'An investigation into the enactment of a single language policy in Vanuatu's dual-medium education system: An ethnographic case study of one Anglophone school and one Francophone school.'

I am pleased to inform you that the above application has been reviewed by the E&M Research Ethics Panel that FULL APPROVAL is now granted.

Please ensure that you follow all relevant guidance as laid out in the King's College London *Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research* (http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/attachments/good_practice_May_08_FINAL.pdf).

For your information ethical approval is granted until 17th August 2012. If you need approval beyond this point you will need to apply for an extension to approval at least two weeks prior to this explaining why the extension is needed, (please note however that a full re-application will not be necessary unless the protocol has changed). You should also note that if your approval is for one year, you will not be sent a reminder when it is due to lapse.

If you do not start the project within three months of this letter please contact the Research Ethics Office. Should you need to modify the project or request an extension to approval you will need approval for this and should follow the guidance relating to modifying approved applications: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/ethics/applicants/modifications.html>

Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the approving committee/panel. In the event of an untoward event or an adverse reaction a full report must be made to the Chairman of the approving committee/review panel within one week of the incident.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

If you have any query about any aspect of this ethical approval, please contact your panel/committee administrator in the first instance (<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/ethics/contacts.html>). We wish you every success with this work.

Yours sincerely

Daniel Butcher
Research Ethics Administrator

Appendix III – Research approval from the Vanuatu Cultural Council

Research Agreement

AN AGREEMENT made the ...15...day of ...2..., 2002011...

BETWEEN: THE CULTURAL COUNCIL, representing the Government of the Republic of Vanuatu and the local community, (hereinafter called "the Council") of the one part.

AND: FIONA WILLANS

of (institution) KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

(hereinafter called "the Researcher") of the other part.

WHEREAS:

- (1) The researcher has applied to the Council to do research work in the Republic of Vanuatu, and agrees to the conditions placed upon her/him in this document and to compliance with the intent of the ethics described in the Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy.
- (2) The Council has agreed to allow the Researcher to do such research, and has agreed to the obligations placed upon it by this document and by the Vanuatu Cultural Research Policy.

AND THEREFORE THE PARTIES AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

- (1) The Council hereby authorises the Researcher to undertake research work in Vanuatu on the subject of

with the ~~communit~~^{SCHOOLS}(y/ies) of ANGOLOVO COLLEGE + COLLEGE DE FARANAKO

on the island/s of AMBAE

on the island/s of

in the capacity of (if more than one research is involved)

for the period up until (Specify if research will involve more than one visit) 26 MAY 2011

- (2) The Researcher has paid an authorisation fee of 25,000 vatu to cover all administrative costs incurred in the setting up and implementation of the research venture, or this fee has been waived by the Council.

to be paid
after coming
back from
Ambae - OK
paid - 17/2
A1. 25/000

- (3) The right to the products of research shall belong to the Researcher shall be entitled to reproduce them for educational, academic or scientific purposes, provided that traditional copyrights are not compromised and the permission

to use material has been obtained, through the Traditional Copyright Agreement, from copyright holders. The products of research shall not be reproduced or offered for sale or otherwise used for commercial purposes, unless specified under section 12 of this agreement.

- (4) Copies of all non-artefact products of research are to be deposited without charge with the Cultural Centre and, where feasible, with the local community. Two copies of films and videos are to be provided, one for public screening and the other for deposit in the archives. In the case of films, a copy on video is also required. Any artefacts collected become the property of the Cultural Centre unless traditional ownership has been established in the Traditional Copyright Agreement. The carrying of any artefacts or specimens outside the country is prohibited as stipulated under cap.39 of the Laws of Vanuatu. Artefacts and specimens may be taken out of the Country for overseas study and analysis under cap.39(7). The conditions for the return of the following materials are:

(Specify artefacts/specimens/other materials and conditions for return)

The Researcher has either

- (a) provided a letter from the institution to which they are affiliated guaranteeing the researcher's compliance with the above conditions, or
 - (b) provided a retrievable deposit of 40,000 vatu to ensure their compliance with these conditions.
- (5) The Researcher will be responsible for the translation of a publication in a language other than a vernacular language or one of the three national languages of Vanuatu into a vernacular or one of the national languages, preferably the one used in education in the local community. They will also make the information in all products of research, subject to copyright restrictions, accessible to the local community through such means as audio cassettes or copies of recorded information, preferably in the vernacular. The Researcher will also submit an interim report of not less than 2000 words no later than 6 months after the research languages and in "layman's terms" so as to be of general use to all citizens.
- (6) There will be maximum involvement of indigenous scholars, students and members of the community in research, full recognition of their collaboration, and training to enable their further contribution to country and community. The Council nominates the following individuals to be involved in research and/or trained, in the following capacities:
- (7) A product of immediate benefit and use to the local community will be provided by the Researcher no later than 6 months after termination of the research period. This product is:
- (8) In addition to their research work, the Researcher will, as a service to the nation of Vanuatu, undertake to: (section 3 (viii) of the Cultural Research Policy suggests possible services of benefit to the nation)



(9) In undertaking research the Researcher will:

- a) recognise the rights of people being studied, including the right not to be studied, to privacy, to anonymity, and to confidentiality;
- b) recognise the primary right of informants and suppliers of data and materials to the knowledge and use of that information and material, and respect traditional copyrights, which always remain with the local community;
- c) assume a responsibility to make the subjects in research fully aware of their rights and the nature of the research and their involvement in it;
- d) respect local customs and values and carry out research in a manner consistent with these;
- e) contribute to the interests of the local community in whatever ways possible so as to maximise the return to the community for their cooperation in their research work;
- f) recognise their continuing obligations to the local community after the completion of field work, including returning materials as desired and providing support and continuing concern.

10) In all cases where information or material data is obtained by the Researcher, a Traditional Copyright Agreement will be completed by the Researcher and the supplier of data regarding this material. The Researcher has a responsibility to make such informants fully aware of their rights and obligations, and those of the Researcher, in the signing of the Traditional Copyright Agreement.

11) A breach of any part of this agreement by the Researcher or a decision by the local community that it no longer wishes to be involved in the researcher venture will result in the termination of the research project.

12)(Addition clauses/conditions) (This section will detail commercial ventures, extra costs incurred by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, etc).

Signed: 
.....
The Researcher
Anthony Thompson
.....

.....
On behalf of the National Cultural Council

15/02/011



VANUATU NASONAL KALJORAL KAONSEL
Vanuatu National Cultural Council
Conseil National Culturel du Vanuatu

VANUATU KALJORAL SENTA
Vanuatu Cultural Centre
Centre Culturel du Vanuatu

P.O. Box 184, Port Vila, Vanuatu, South Pacific Phone / Fax: (678) 26590 Email: vks@vanuatu.com.vu

23rd May, 2011.

Fiona Willans,
PhD Student,
Kings College,
Londan,
UK.
c/o Port Vila,
Vanuatu.

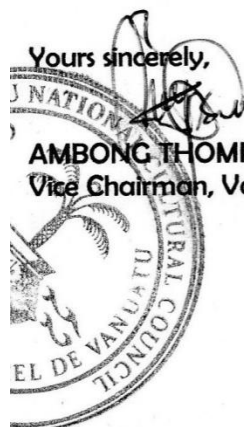
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to confirm that Fiona Willans original application has been approved on the 4th of January, 2011 and the signing of research agreement took place on the 15th of February, 2011.

Fiona Willans application for fieldwork period 2 to continue with the same research has been submitted and received on the 16th of May 2011 for her to return to Vanuatu in order to complete her research later on this year for the period of approximately 2 months.

As Vice chairman of the Vanuatu National Cultural Council, I confirmed that we have been informed and aware of the 2nd stage of this research and agreed for Fiona to continue with her 2nd stage of this research and her application will be endorsed and approved in the next council's meeting.

Yours sincerely,

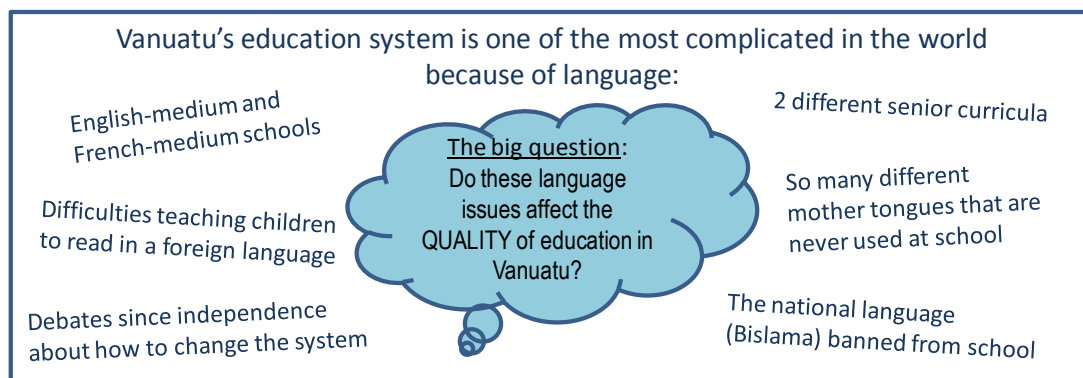


AMBONG THOMPSON.

Vice Chairman, Vanuatu National Cultural Council.

Appendix IV – Information posters displayed at the schools

What am I doing here?



To answer this question we need to know how languages are actually being used within schools. I will be staying at Angolovo and Faranako throughout this term, comparing the ways that the two schools use different languages.

Your opinions are very important to me ...

I will

- listen to the different languages used and to the way people talk about language
- talk to different groups of students and staff about their opinions
- ask students to fill in a short questionnaire

When I use a microphone to record people talking, I will always give you more information first. I will never record anybody speaking without their knowledge.

I may come and ask you if you can share some ideas with me but, if you don't want to, that is fine. Please feel free to come and approach me any time, if you would like to help me.

Remember...

I will never use your real name when I talk about what you have said. I will call you 'a boy in Year 10' or I will give you a completely different name.

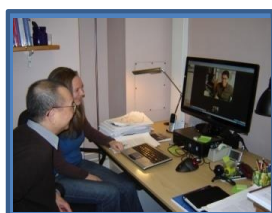
I will tell people that I am doing research at an English-medium secondary school and a French-medium secondary school on Ambae. People from Vanuatu will probably know that I am writing about Angolovo and Faranako

I will not tell other students and staff what you have told me.

If you change your mind and don't want me to use something you have told me, that's fine. Just come and tell me any time before I leave Ambae at the end of term.

If you have any questions for me come and ask me any time. When I am back in England, you can contact me through the principal or secretary.

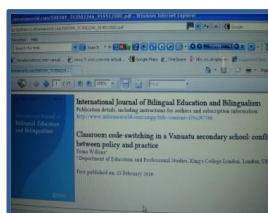
What will happen to your data?



When I go back to England, I will have regular meetings with my two supervisors. We will look at all the information I have collected and talk about what it means. One of my supervisors lives in Germany, so we talk to him using Skype, which is a way of talking using the Internet—you can see him on the computer screen!



I will go to conferences, where I will talk to other researchers about what I have been doing on Ambae. Some will be international conferences, where I will talk about Vanuatu with researchers from all over the world. In this picture, I am giving a presentation to staff and students at my university in London. I am showing them a picture of Angolovo.

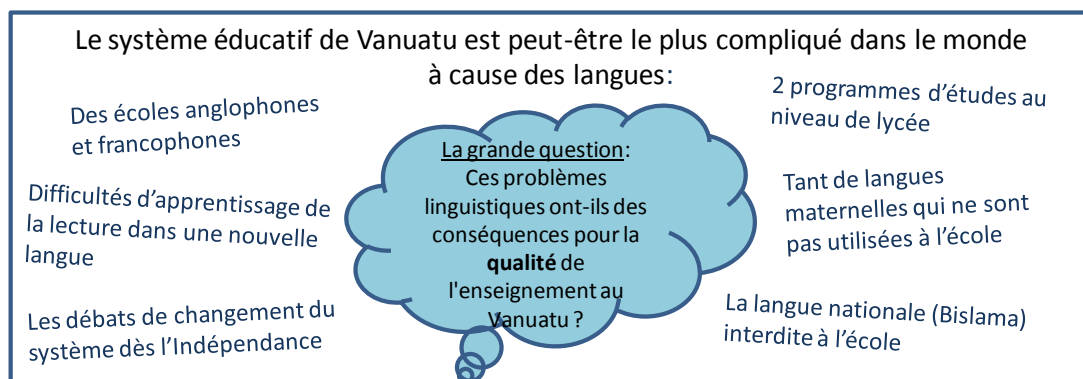


I will also write articles about my data from Vanuatu. Other researchers around the world will be able to read my articles because they will be published on the Internet. In this picture, you can see an article that I wrote about my previous research at Angolovo. If you want to read this article, there is a copy in your library.



When I finish my PhD (2012), the final copy of my thesis will be kept in the library at my university in London. Other people will be able to come to the library and read it. My dissertation written about my 2008 research at Angolovo is already there. There is also a copy in your library that you can read.

Que fais-je ici?



Pour répondre à cette question, il faut que nous comprenions comment est-ce que des langues sont utilisées dans des écoles. Je vais passer ce semestre à Angolovo et à Faranako, comparant la manière dans laquelle des langues sont utilisées.

Vos pensées sont très importantes pour moi ...

Je vais:

- observer des pratiques langagières autour de la communauté scolaire, en écrivant ce que j'écoute
- faire des discussions avec des groupes d'enseignants et d'élèves au sujet des langues dans le collège
- donner un questionnaire court à tous les élèves

Avant d'enregistrer un dialogue avec un microphone je vais toujours vous donner plus d'information. Je n'enregistrerai jamais quelqu'un sans sa permission.

Je vous invite à me faire part de vos remarques ou de votre aide. Si cela ne vous intéresse pas, ce ne sera pas un problème.

Souvenez-vous ...

Je n'utiliserai jamais votre réelle identité quand je ferai mon rapport sur ma recherche. Je vous appellerai « un garçon de 3^{ème} » ou je vous donnerai un nom imaginaire.

Je signalerai dans mon rapport que je fais ma recherche dans un collège anglophone et un collège francophone sur Ambae. Donc n'importe quelqu'un de Vanuatu va probablement savoir que j'écris au sujet d'Angolovo et de Faranako.

Je ne disai jamais à un autre élève ou enseignant ce que vous m'avez dit.

Si vous changez d'avis à propos de quelque chose que vous m'avez dit, et si vous ne voulez pas que je l'utilise, ce n'est pas un problème. Venez me le dire avant que je parte à la fin du semestre.

Si vous avez des questions, venez me voir. Vous pouvez me contacter en Angleterre en passant par le principal.

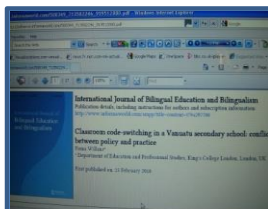
Qu'est-ce qui arrivera à vos données?



Quand je serai en Angleterre, je rencontrerai régulièrement mes deux directeurs de thèse. Nous regrouperons toutes les informations que j'ai recueillies et les discuterons. Un de mes directeurs habite en Allemagne donc nous parlons avec lui par « Skype » qui est un système pour parler sur internet. Vous pouvez le voir sur l'écran d'ordinateur ci-dessus !



J'assisterai aux conférences, où je parlerai de ma recherche sur Ambae avec des autres chercheurs. Certaines conférences vont être internationales, où je parlerai de Vanuatu avec des chercheurs venus de différents pays. Sur cette photo, je donne une présentation aux chercheurs à mon université à Londres. Je leur montre une photo d'Angolovo.



J'écrirai aussi des articles sur mes données. Des autres chercheurs autour du monde peuvent lire mes articles parce qu'ils seront publiés sur internet. Dans cette photo, vous pouvez voir un article que j'ai écrit sur ma recherche précédente à Angolovo.



Quand je finirai mes études (2012), une copie de ma thèse restera dans la bibliothèque de mon université à Londres. Des autres gens pourront venir à la bibliothèque pour la lire. Ma thèse sur ma recherche de 2008 à Angolovo est déjà là. Il y a une copie aussi dans la bibliothèque d'Angolovo.

Appendix V – Consent forms signed by principals on behalf of the school communities



King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/09/10-60

CONSENT FORM FOR PRINCIPAL IN RESEARCH STUDY

Title of Study: An investigation into the single language policy of Vanuatu's dual-medium education system

Thank you for considering taking part in this research.

Please complete this form after you have listened to an explanation about the research. If you have any questions, please ask me before you sign this form. You will be given a copy of this consent form for your reference.

I understand that this research will be carried out during the whole of Term 1 2011 and I agree to this research taking place at this school. I am signing this form on behalf of the whole school community.

I agree that the researcher can do the following activities (please tick or cross each box):

- ☐ • talk to students, staff and community members to find out their opinions about languages and the school language policy
- ☐ • record some of these conversations (ONLY with the prior permission of the people involved)
- ☐ • ask some students to wear a portable microphone for a whole school day, to record language use (ONLY after permission has been given by the community)
- ☐ • observe some classes (with the prior permission of the teacher) and other school activities
- ☐ • ask all students to complete a short written questionnaire
- ☐ • Copy or photograph written documents or notices

I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish for the school to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher and withdraw from it.

Signed: _____ (College Principal)

Date: _____

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

Titre de l'étude: An investigation into the single language policy of Vanuatu's dual-medium education system (Une étude de la seule politique linguistique dans le système éducatif du Vanuatu qui utilise deux langues)

Je tiens à vous remercier d'avoir décidé de considérer ma recherche.

Merci de signer ce formulaire après avoir écouté une explication de la recherche. Si vous avez des questions, merci de me les poser avant de signer ce formulaire. Je vous donnerai une copie pour votre information.

Je comprends que cette recherche aura lieu pendant l'ensemble du premier trimestre entier de 2011 et je donne permission que cette recherche ait lieu au Collège de Tagaga. Je signe ce formulaire de la part de la communauté entière.

Je suis d'accord que la chercheuse peut ... (cochez les cases) :

- ☐ • Parler avec des étudiants, des enseignants et des membres de la communauté pour découvrir leurs avis sur les langues et la politique linguistique de l'école.
- ☐ • Enregistrer quelques conversations (SEULEMENT après avoir obtenu l'accord des personnes concernées)
- ☐ • Donner un microphone portable à 2 élèves pendant une journée pour enregistrer des pratiques langagières pendant la journée (SEULEMENT après avoir obtenu l'accord de la communauté)
- ☐ • Donner un questionnaire court à tous les élèves
- ☐ • Observer des classes (avec la permission de l'enseignant) et d'autres activités scolaires
- ☐ • Faire une copie (ou prendre une photo) des formulaires ou des affiches

Je comprends que, si je décide n'importe quand pendant la recherche que je ne veux plus que la communauté participe à celle-ci, je pourrai notifier la chercheuse et nous pourrons terminer notre participation.

Signature: _____ **(Principal)**

Date: _____

Appendix VI – Consent forms signed by all interviewees



King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/09/10-60

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: An investigation into the use of language within Vanuatu's education system

Thank you for taking part in this research.

Please complete this form after you have listened to an explanation about the research. If you have any questions, please ask me before you sign this form.

Fiona Willans (King's College London, UK)

-
- ☐ I agree to take part in a recorded interview.
- ☐ I agree that the researcher will use the information I give in her research report. (Names will be changed for students and teachers; job titles will be used for principals or Ministry officials.)
- ☐ I agree that I will inform the researcher before Sunday 20 November 2011 if I decide that I do not want my information to be used.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

Titre de l'étude: An investigation into the use of language in Vanuatu's education system (Une étude de l'usage des langues dans le système éducatif du Vanuatu)

Je tiens à vous remercier d'avoir décidé de participer dans ma recherche.

Merci de signer ce formulaire après avoir écouté une explication de la recherche. Si vous avez des questions, merci de me les poser avant de signer ce formulaire.

Fiona Willans (King's College London, UK)

-
- ☐ Je suis d'accord de participer dans une interview enregistrée.
- ☐ Je suis d'accord que la chercheuse utilisera cette information dans son rapport sur sa recherche. (Des noms imaginaires seront utilisés pour les étudiants et les enseignants ; des titres d'emploi seraient utilisés pour les principaux et des personnels du Ministère de l'Education.)
- ☐ Je suis d'accord d'informer la chercheuse avant dimanche, le 20 novembre 2011 si je décide que je ne veux pas qu'elle utilise mes informations.

Signature: _____

Nom : _____

Date: _____

Appendix VII – Student questionnaires

Language questionnaire

Part 1 – About you

<p>1. Which year are you in now?</p> <p>Year 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 11 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Year 10 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 12 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p style="padding-left: 150px;">Year 13 <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<p>2. In which years have you attended Angolovo College?</p> <p>Year 7 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 11 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Year 8 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 12 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Year 9 <input type="checkbox"/> Year 13 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Year 10 <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>3. Which island(s) are you from?</p> <p>Ambae <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Pentecost <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Maewo <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Other (Please write your island)</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>4. Where do you <u>usually</u> spend your school holidays? (Choose <u>ONE</u>)</p> <p>Your home island(s) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Port Vila <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Luganville <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Other (Please write the place)</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>5. Which language(s) do you speak with your family?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>(Write the name of the languages, or the places where these languages are from)</p>	<p>6. Which language(s) do you speak when you are at school?</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

Part 2 – About languages

7. What are the Angolovo College rules about the way languages should be used at school?

8. What happens if you break these rules?

9. What is your opinion about these rules?

10. Do you think the following languages are important in your life? For every language, please tick one box and then explain why you think this.

	Very important	Quite important	A little bit important	Not important	Why?
Island language					
Bislama					
English					
French					

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your participation.

Questionnaire sur les langues

Section 1 – Sur toi-même

<p>1. Dans quelle classe es-tu maintenant?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">9 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">11 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">10 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">12 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">13 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">14 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div>	<p>2. Dans quelles classes es-tu allé(e) au Collège de Faranako?</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">7 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">11 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">8 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">12 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">9 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">13 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-top: 5px;"> <div style="text-align: center;">10 <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div style="text-align: center;">14 <input type="checkbox"/></div> </div>
<p>3. De quelle île(s) viens-tu?</p> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p>Ambae <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Pentecost <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Maewo <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Autre (Ecris le nom de cette île)</p> <p>_____</p> </div>	<p>4. Ou passes-tu tes vacances scolaires <u>habituellement</u> ? (Choisis <u>une</u> seule case)</p> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p>Ton île d'origine <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Port Vila <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Luganville <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Autre (Ecris le nom de ce lieu)</p> <p>_____</p> </div>
<p>5. Quelles langues parles-tu avec ta famille?</p> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> </div> <p style="margin-top: 10px;">(Ecris les noms de ces langues, ou les lieux dans lesquels ces langues sont parlées)</p>	<p>6. Quelles langues parles-tu quand tu es à l'école?</p> <div style="margin-top: 10px;"> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> </div>

Section 2 – Sur les langues

7. Quelles sont les règles du Collège de Faranako concernant l'usage des langues à l'école ?

8. Qu'est-ce qui se passe si on désobéit à ces règles?

9. Quel est ton avis sur ces règles?

10. Est-ce que tu crois que les langues suivantes sont importantes dans ta vie ? Pour

	Très important	Assez important	Un peu important	Pas important	Pourquoi?
Langue de l'île					
Bislama					
Français					
Anglais					

chaque langue, coche une case, et puis explique pourquoi tu le penses.

Voici la fin du questionnaire. Merci de ta participation.

Appendix VIII – Interview guides

Interview guide overview

Specific areas of interest	Area specific questions	Additional prompts and follow-up points
1. The school language (Focus on L2)	a) Difficulty of using an L2 medium of instruction b) Proficiency in L2 c) L2 language use outside class d) Space for other languages in education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inject the word 'bilingualism' if this hasn't come up, e.g. 'other groups have mentioned bilingualism. Do you know what this means?' Push hard for why 'bilingualism' is important if people say it is. Overall summary of A vs F – 'do you feel different from the students at [other school]?', 'think about your own opportunities as a A/F student' Clarify terms and check statements that are unclear
2. English <u>and</u> French (Focus on E and F)	a) Proficiency in L3 b) Benefits to individuals of using both E and F c) Benefits to Vanuatu of using both E and F	
3. English <u>or</u> French	a) Anglophone/Francophone chances of going overseas to study b) Anglophone/Francophone chances of finding a job c) Anglophone/Francophone language learning d) Prevalence of English and French in Vanuatu e) Prevalence of English and French throughout the world	
4. An appropriate education system for Vanuatu	a) Single or dual system b) Language(s) of instruction c) Language(s) of study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practicalities of any suggestions e.g. if they think both E and F should be used equally from Class 1 Clarify any terms used, e.g. 'bilingual school' Check any statements made e.g. with 'so you don't think' + opposite idea etc

Anglophone students

1. The school language

- a) Do you find it easy or difficult to use English to learn all of your subjects?
- b) Are you good at English? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- c) Students do not speak English very often outside the classroom. Why is this?
- d) Do you think any other languages (e.g. French, Bislama, Ambae languages) should be used more in school?

2. Using English and French

- a) Are you good at French? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- b) Is it good that you have the chance to know both English and French?
- c) Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?

3. Anglophones and Francophones

- a) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of going overseas to study?
- b) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of finding a job?
- c) Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French better?
- d) Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu?
- e) Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?

4. An appropriate education system for Vanuatu

- a) Do you think there should be one type of school for everybody in Vanuatu or separate Anglophone and Francophone schools?
- b) Which language(s) do you think schools should use to teach all the subjects?
- c) Which language(s) do you think students should study in school?

Francophone students

1. La langue de l'école

- a) Est-ce que tu trouves que c'est facile ou difficile d'utiliser le français pour apprendre toutes les matières ?
- b) Est-ce que tu es fort en français ? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler mieux ?
- c) Les étudiants ne parlent pas souvent le français au dehors de la classe. Pourquoi ?
- d) Est-ce que tu penses qu'on doit utiliser des autres langues (par exemple l'anglais, le bichelamar, les langues d'Ambae) plus souvent à l'école ?

2. Utiliser le français et l'anglais

- a) Est-ce que tu es fort en anglais ? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler mieux ?
- b) Est-ce que c'est bon que tu aies l'opportunité de savoir à la fois le français et l'anglais ?
- c) Est-ce que c'est bon que le Vanuatu utilise à la fois le français et l'anglais ?

3. Des Francophones et des Anglophones

- a) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus d'opportunités pour aller à l'étranger pour continuer leur éducation ?
- b) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus d'opportunités pour trouver un emploi ?
- c) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones apprennent le français et l'anglais le mieux ?
- d) A ton avis, y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou l'anglais au Vanuatu ?
- e) A ton avis, y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou l'anglais dans le monde ?

4. Un système éducatif approprié pour le Vanuatu

- a) A ton avis, devrait-il y avoir un seul type d'écoles pour tout le monde au Vanuatu ou des écoles séparées pour des francophones et anglophones ?
- b) A ton avis, les écoles devraient utiliser quelle(s) langue(s) pour enseigner toutes les matières ?
- c) A ton avis, les étudiants devraient apprendre quelle(s) langue(s) à l'école ?

Anglophone teachers

1. The school language

- a) Do you find it easy or difficult to use English to teach your subject(s)? Do you think the students find it easy or difficult to use English in your classes?
- b) Are you a confident user of English? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- c) Students and staff do not speak English very often outside the classroom. Why is this?
- d) Do you think any other languages (e.g. French, Bislama, Ambae languages) should be used in school?

2. Using English and French

- a) Do you speak French? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- b) Is it good for individuals to know both English and French?
- c) Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?

3. Anglophones and Francophones

- a) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of going overseas to study?
- b) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of finding a job?
- c) Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French better?
- d) Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu?
- e) Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?

4. An appropriate education system for Vanuatu

- a) Do you think there should be one type of school for everybody in Vanuatu or separate Anglophone and Francophone schools?
- b) Which language(s) do you think schools should use to teach all the subjects?
- c) Which language(s) do you think students should study in school?

Francophone teachers

1. La langue de l'école

- a) Est-ce que vous trouvez que c'est facile ou difficile d'utiliser le français pour enseigner toutes les matières ? Croyez-vous que les étudiants trouvent facile ou difficile de l'utiliser en classe ?
- b) Est-ce que vous utilisez le français avec assurance ? Est-ce que vous aimeriez le parler mieux ?
- c) Les étudiants et les enseignants ne parlent pas souvent le français au dehors de la classe. Pourquoi ?
- d) Est-ce que vous pensez qu'on doit utiliser des autres langues (par exemple l'anglais, le bichelamar, les langues d'Ambae) plus souvent à l'école ?

2. Utiliser le français et l'anglais

- a) Est-ce que tu parles l'anglais ? Est-ce que vous aimeriez le parler mieux ?
- b) Est-ce que c'est bon que les individuels sachent à la fois le français et l'anglais ?
- c) Est-ce que c'est bon que le Vanuatu utilise à la fois le français et l'anglais ?

3. Des Francophones et des Anglophones

- a) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus d'opportunités pour aller à l'étranger pour continuer leur éducation ?
- b) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus d'opportunités pour trouver un emploi ?
- c) Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones apprennent le français et l'anglais le mieux ?
- d) A votre avis, y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou l'anglais au Vanuatu ?
- e) A votre avis, y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou l'anglais dans le monde ?

4. Un système éducatif approprié pour le Vanuatu

- a) A votre avis, devrait-il y avoir un seul type d'écoles pour tout le monde au Vanuatu ou des écoles séparées pour des francophones et anglophones ?
- b) A votre avis, les écoles devraient utiliser quelle(s) langue(s) pour enseigner toutes les matières ?
- c) A votre avis, les étudiants devraient apprendre quelle(s) langue(s) à l'école ?

Principals

1. The school language

- a) How well do you think (L2) is being used in classrooms in this school? Do teachers find it easy to teach in (L2)? Do students find it easy to learn through (L2)?
- b) /
- c) Students and staff do not speak (L2) very often outside the classroom. Why is this? What are your thoughts at the moment about an L2-only rule?
- d) Do you think any other languages (e.g. (L3), Bislama, Ambae languages) should be used more in school?

2. Having English and French

- a) Do you speak (L3)? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- b) Is it good for individuals to know both English and French?
- c) Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?

3. Anglophones and Francophones

- a) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of going overseas to study?
- b) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of finding a job?
- c) Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French better?
- d) Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu?
- e) Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?

4. An appropriate education system for Vanuatu

- a) Do you think there should be one type of school for everybody in Vanuatu or separate Anglophone and Francophone schools?
- b) Which language(s) do you think schools should use to teach all the subjects?
- c) Which language(s) do you think students should study in school?

Interview question guide – Ministry of Education

1. The principal languages of education

- a) How well do you think English and French are being used in classrooms in Vanuatu?
Do teachers find it easy to teach in these languages?
Do students find it easy to learn through these languages?
(Primary / secondary ...)
Is the Ministry looking at any ways to improve the teaching of the principal languages?
- b) Which schools did you attend?
Did you ever have difficulties using [whichever L2 is used at these schools]?
- c) Students and staff do not speak English or French very often outside the classroom.
Is this a problem?
What are your thoughts about English-only or French-only rules?
Do you think the situation has changed at all over the years?
- d) What do you think about the use of Bislama and mother tongues in school?
How is the Vernacular Language Education policy going at the moment?
What about the second international language? Are you looking at any ways to improve the use of both principal languages at schools?

2. Having English and French

- a) Do you speak [L3]? Do you wish you spoke it better?
- b) Is it good for individuals to know both English and French?
- c) Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?

3. Anglophones and Francophones

- a) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of going overseas to study?
- b) Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances of finding a job?
- c) Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French better?
- d) Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu?
- e) Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?

An appropriate education system for Vanuatu

- a) What is the current thinking about the dual system or a single, combined system?
Do you agree with these plans?
Any problems with them?
- b) What is the current thinking about language(s) of instruction?
(What is happening with the Education Language Policy at the moment?)
Do you agree with these plans?
Any problems with them?
- c) Which language(s) do you think students should study in school?

Appendix IX – List of interviewees

The interviewees are referred to by the initials identified below, whereby the first initial represents their school (A for Angolovo, F for Faranako), the second their institutional role (P for principal, T for teacher, S for student), and the third, where necessary, a unique initial to differentiate between participants of the same role:

Angolovo College

Angolovo Students (Aston, Andrina, Amboline and Arthur)

Angolovo Teachers (Group 1) (Mr Aru, Miss Adina and Miss Agnes)

Angolovo Teachers (Group 2) (Mr Ala, Mr Andrew, Mrs Anne, Mrs Angela, Mme Adrienne)

Angolovo Principal (AP)

Collège de Faranako

Faranako Students (Fylene, Feven, Frinston and Frazer)

Faranako Teachers (Mr Felix, Mr Fred and Mlle Felicia)

Faranako Principal (FP)

Ministry of Education

Director of Policy and Planning (DPP) (educated in the Anglophone system)

Director of Education Services (DES) (educated in the Anglophone system)

Director of Basic Education (DBE) (educated in the Francophone system)

Former Minister of Education and Minister of Francophonie (FME) (educated in the Francophone system)

Appendix X – Transcription conventions

–	Emphatic stress
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
/	Boundary between morphemes of different ‘languages’ (see Appendix XXII)
(.)	Pause of less than 1 second
(1)	Pause of 1 second or longer (number of seconds)
::	Lengthened sound
=	Latching
[]	Overlapping speech
(xx)	Unclear utterance
()	Transcription doubt
...	Ellipsis (only used in data extracts in body of analysis chapters)
<>	Description of non-verbal action

Bold type will be used in extracts within the body of the thesis to mark particular features discussed.

Appendix XI – Interview with Angolovo College Student Group (Original)

Date: 31-10-11

Location: An empty classroom

Participants: Aston, Arthur, Amboline, Andrina

Notes: I approached Arthur to ask if he would be willing to take part. When he agreed, I asked him to find three friends (one other boy and two girls) to participate the following day. Aston and Amboline are considered to be above average students, according both to class records and my own language assessment. Arthur and Andrina are considered to be average students.

On the day, before starting the recording, I gave the students the list of questions and gave them time to look through them. I asked if they wanted me to explain any in Bislama, and Aston asked whether ‘Anglophone’ and ‘Francophone’ means people who school English and French. When they were happy with this and said they had no other questions, I turned the recording on. For the first 28 seconds, they each tried to encourage each other to be the first one to start, whispering and moving their heads, until Aston started.

1 Aston: Okei. Fes kwestin hem i se <reads> “do you find it easy or difficult to use
2 English to learn all your subjects?” Mi mi ting se (.) samfala nomo oli isi blong (1)
3 samfala nomo oli isi be samfala? Ating oli had. (1) Olsem French. French mi mi
4 tekem olsem French? Ating hem i had from (.) taem tija i eksplen long Inglis? Most
5 bae mi andastan. Be sapos we (.) hem i (.) continue blong (.) eksplen long French
6 nomo? Ating bae mi no (.) bae mi no save andastanem nomo.

7 (2)

8 Andrina: Okei. Mi. Tingting blong mi? Hem i olsem. (1) Er. Olsem. Mi luk se i (.)
9 difficult smol olsem long Inglis olsem (.) ol tija oli stap yusum olsem (.) expensive
10 words? Olsem (.) blong (1) blong talem olsem (.) olsem long ples ia bae oli sud
11 talem se mining blong hem (.) mekem se bae mi andastan. Se bae wod ia i olsem ia
12 long Inglis nomo.

13 (12)

14 Amboline: <whispers> Talem kwestin.

15 Arthur: <reads> “Are you good at English? Do you wish (.) you spoke it better?” Mi
16 ting se (.) hem i gud blong (.) mi mi ting se mi mi gud blong Inglis from (.) long
17 Inglis? Sapos yu speak long hem? Bae (.) mo yu save gud bae evri samting long
18 buk we (.) long defren kaen sabjek (.) we hem i had? Hem i (.) yu save andastanem
19 nomo bae yu save gud Inglis.

20 (2)

21 Amboline: Okei yu (.) yu save toktok gud Inglis sapos we yu stap practise/im toktok
 22 long hem evri taem we yu save (.) toktok gud long hem. Sapos we yu (.) yu toktok
 23 Bislama be Inglis smol nomo? Bae i had smol ia blong toktok long Inglis. Proper
 24 English.

25 Andrina: Se kaen ia? Olsem. Yumi stat long olsem long Klas 1 kasem long (.)
 26 kasem long upper klas/es? Olsem bae yumi stap lanem Inglis uh? Mekem se bae
 27 yumi go antap long ol upper klas/es yumi save speak er (.) se Inglis (.) olsem speak
 28 it good. Bae yumi save andastanem plante. But sapos ol tija oli talem long yumi (.)
 29 yumi save ansarem olgeta. (12) Be sometimes? Taem ol styuden olsem (.) oli
 30 mekem i gud olsem (.) Klas 1 go kasem lo::ng olsem (.) bigfala klas? Hemia olsem
 31 Inglis blong olgeta i isi nomo.

32 Aston: Yes afta wan samting tu? Sapos we (.) yu continue blong toktok Inglis evri
 33 taem? Bae olsem (.) taem yu wantem raet (.) raet long Inglis? Bae hem i isi nomo
 34 blong yu save raet.

35 Amboline: Yes?

36 Andrina: <reads> "Students do not speak English very often outside the classroom.
 37 Why is this." (1) Hemia? Mi ting se (.) from (.) se sometimes oli stap speaking olsem
 38 (.) speak tumas long mother tongue blong olgeta mekem se (.) olsem taem blong
 39 Inglis hem i no save speak Inglis. Olsem hem i no save talem ol samting olsem.

40 Aston: Afta wan (.) wan samting tu from (.) olsem yumi long Vanuatu olsem (.) yumi
 41 gat olsem toktok long tri lanwis (.) olsem especially Inglis olsem Inglis ia long taem
 42 blong klas. Be taem yumi kam aot saed? Olsem naoia olsem ol man olsem (.) ating
 43 oli (.) oli no gat intres (.) afta tu? From yumi no gat ol fren olsem (.) oli stap toktok
 44 Inglis evri taem (.) blong kam oli stap wetem yumi blong yumi stori o mek fan olsem
 45 wetem olgeta (.) blong toktok Inglis. Mekem se yumi stap continue nomo blong (.)
 46 toktok Bislama olsem (.) evri taem.

47 (8)

48 Andrina: <reads> "Do you think any other languages? French. Example French.
 49 Bislama. Ambae languages? Should be used more in (.) in school."

50 Amboline: Mi tingting blong mi mi luk se Bislama i mo gud from taem yu toktok
 51 Bislama? Bae i save helpem yu blong save toktok (.) er Inglis sapos yu toktok
 52 lanwis bae (.) bae yu no save toktok gud Inglis tumas.

53 (2)

54 Aston: Yes afta wan samting tu from olsem (.) long (.) oli mention/em Ambae lanwis
 55 long ples ia? Be (.) mi mi ting se i no gud blong yu stap lanem Ambae lanwis nomo
 56 from (.) Ambae lanwis yu save yusum nomo long Ambae. Be taem yu aot i go long
 57 ol defren aelan/s? Olgeta oli gat defren lanwis o bae yu save toktok wetem olgeta
 58 nomo long Bislama [o French] olsem.

59 Amboline: [Yes]

60 (5)

61 Arthur: Mi mi ting se (.) ol lanwis ia mi ting se hem i gud blong yumi (.) yusum
 62 insaed long skul from (.) hem i save yus long (.) iden- identification blong yumi?
 63 Olsem wanem aelan yumi belong long hem o wanem kaontri yumi belong long hem.
 64 Sapos yumi go long nara ples/es.

65 (13)

66 Amboline: <reads> “Are you good at French? Do you wish to spoke it better?”

67 (4)

68 Andrina: [Okei]

69 Amboline: [Mi] stap ting se sapos (.) sapos we yu (.) since we kindy up to (.) yu
 70 finisim edyukesen blong yu? Sapos we yu stap skul French? Bae yu save toktok
 71 French be sapos yu lanem Inglis since yu smol be (.) bae yu save Inglis nao (2)
 72 sapos yu lanem taem yu smol bae yu save French.

73 Aston: Um (2) mi mi ting se mi no gud tumas long French? From mi jes (.) mi jes
 74 skul long (.) statem skul long French long (.) Klas 6 nomo? Afta (.) olsem fulap
 75 samting (.) mi no andastanem gud fulap wod/s long French mi no andastanem gud
 76 mekem se taem (.) mi no save (.) bae i tekem hamas yia bifo mi save toktok French.

77 Andrina: Okei mi tu olsem mi no gud long French? Olsem mi no save toktok gud
 78 long hem from (.) olsem mi lanem French nomo long Yia 7? Se Yia 7 (.) kasem
 79 naoia? From (.) olsem (.) tija blong hem i nogat mekem se (.) taem mifala go olsem
 80 long top-up olsem oli jes stap sanem ol tija i kam. Hem i olsem French (.) olsem ale
 81 translate i go long Inglis. Mekem se mi no save olsem toktok French long (.) er (.)
 82 blong (.) er (.) se blong speak it good.

83 (7)

84 Arthur: <reads> “Is it good that you have the chance to know both English and
 85 French?” Mi long tingting blong mi mi ting se i gud blong yumi lanem both English
 86 and French. From tudei long kaontri blong yumi? Whole/fala kaontri we i go i gat
 87 fulap wok i stap long hem? Many people oli yusum both English and French. So mi
 88 mi ting se hem i gud blong yumi lanem both English and French long skul. Blong
 89 hem i save helpem mi (.) helpem yumi that (.) sapos yumi go long other places be
 90 (.) yumi save Inglis and French sapos wan person hem i toktok long yumi.

91 (2)

92 Amboline: Okei communication bae i isi sapos we yumi save fulap kaen lanwis.

93 (10)

94 Aston: <reads> “Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?” Mi mi ting
 95 se hem i gud blong yumi lanem tugeta lanwis Inglis wetem French. From tudei long
 96 Vanuatu? Ating (.) yumi gat er sam (.) olsem bifo Indipendens? Yeah French wetem
 97 France wetem British oli bin lukaotem kaontri blong yumi? Mekem se tudei samfala

98 olsem (.) oli stap yet olsem (.) oli toktok French? Mekem se bae yu mas lanem both
 99 lanwis nomo from sapos yu go wetem (.) yu go (.) go stap wetem ol famli we olsem
 100 oli toktok French nomo evri taem? Bae yu save hao blong communicate wetem
 101 olgeta.
 102 (8)
 103 Amboline: <reads> “Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances to (.) of
 104 going overseas to study?”
 105 (5)
 106 Andrina: Mi ting se (.) i gud olsem blong go oversea? Se blong gat janis blong
 107 lanem ol samting? <others exchange looks and laugh> Olsem (.) blong attend nara
 108 kaontri? Blong tekembak kam long kaontri blong olgeta.
 109 (2)
 110 Aston: Mi mi ting se (.) both Anglophones and Francophones oli gat better janis
 111 blong go aot overseas (.) blong stadi. From tudei i no (.) ol man nomo we oli stadi
 112 Inglis oli go aot. Ol man tu oli stadi French? Olgeta tu oli go aot blong (.) stadi
 113 oversea.
 114 (7)
 115 Andrina: <reads> “Do Anglophone or Francophone have better chance to find (.) of
 116 finding a job?”
 117 (1)
 118 Amboline: Yes?
 119 Andrina: Se?
 120 Amboline: Sapos long dei olsem tudei? Fulap man oli (2) se i gat ol man we i skul
 121 French? Hem tu i employ. Afta man we i skul Inglis hem tu i gat er (.) janis blong
 122 employ long wan er (.) wok. Long eni kaen ofis de- (.) defren kaen man we i employ
 123 long hem.
 124 (4)
 125 Aston: Mi mi ting se (.) tugeta oli gat better janis blong faenem job from (.) long (.)
 126 kaontri blong yumi tudei? From loa blong (.) long kaontri blong yumi? Yumi yusum
 127 uh (.) yumi yusum tu lanwis olsem hem i nasonal lanwis blong yumi Inglis wetem
 128 French. Mo tudei oli se (.) yu we yu gud yu save toktok Inglis mo French? Bae yu
 129 save stap long wan ofis. So mi mi ting se tugeta oli gat (.) better janis blong faenem
 130 job.
 131 (9)
 132 Amboline: <reads> “Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French
 133 better?”

134 (4)

135 Aston: Mi mi ting se Francophone? Oli save la- (.) lanem Inglis and French better.
136 From (.) as mi experience finis? Ol smol boe we oli go (.) oli stat long praem- long
137 Klas 1 i go antap? Oli tekem French? Oli tekem hariap nomo be (.) oli (.) taem oli
138 stap long Klas 1 nomo oli save toktok French finis. Be Anglophone? Taem yu stat
139 long (.) yu stap long Klas 1 nao (.) bae i had blong yu toktok Inglis. Bae yu save
140 kasem Klas 6 olsem? Afta bae yu save hao blong (.) toktok Inglis. (1) Be mi ting se
141 (.) French nao i gud from (.) taem (.) oli lanem French? Hem i isi. Afta blong kam
142 long Ing- (.) blong kam long Inglis? Bae oli save tekem hariap nomo.

143 Amboline: M-m.

144 Andrina: M-m.

145 (15)

146 Arthur: <reads> “Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu.” Long
147 tingting blong mi mi ting se (1) mo Inglis nao oli speak (.) long Vanuatu. From tudei
148 bae yu go bae yu luk (.) fulap (.) insaed long ofis (.) ol olfala jobs blong yumi (.)
149 insaed long Vanuatu (.) mi mi ting se Inglis nao fulap (.) sapos yu go insaed long
150 wan ofis/es bae yu (.) ol (.) sam wok we i stap insaed fulap oli yusum ol Inglis wod/s
151 nomo. Be French hem i no tumas insaed long Vanuatu. (1) So mi mi ting se mo
152 pipol long Vanuatu nao oli speak/im mo Inglis (.) than French.

153 (18)

154 Andrina: <reads> “Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?”
155 Mi ting se (.) se evri pipol nomo? Olsem long wol oli toktok long Inglis mo French se
156 blong communicate wetem nara wan? Se (.) blong (.) mekem wan olsem (.) wan
157 wok blong (.) developem kaontri blong olgeta.

158 (4)

159 Arthur: Mi long tingting blong mi mi ting se (.) the world? Fulap pipol nao oli speak
160 Inglis. From (.) fulap (.) ol fulap jobs mo occupation we i kam insaed blong yumi mo
161 fulap pipol we oli go aot long kaontri? Oli go oli skul long Inglis. Be French oli no
162 stap skul long hem tumas from (.) fulap pipol raon long wol olgeta long (.) olsem oli
163 no save toktok (.) gud er French. Be oli save tok Inglis nomo. (1) So long tingting
164 blong mi mi ting se (.) throughout long wol? Many people nao oli speak Inglis.

165 (4)

166 Amboline: Se mi tu mi ting se (.) long wol ia olsem fulap kaontri oli speak Inglis from
167 (.) French ating hamas kaontri nomo oli speak French be (.) whereas fulap oli speak
168 Inglis.

169 (4)

170 Andrina: Mi ting se er (.) ol (.) samfala tu oli speak French nomo. (1) Olsem long ol
171 (.) olsem long nara kaontri/s taem oli kam olsem (.) se eksampol olsem samfala
172 waetman oli kam olsem long mifala long Maewo we oli kam ia? Hemia oli speak

173 French nomo olsem samfala (.) samfala tija we oli (.) ol French tija oli go blong (.)
 174 olsem toktok long olgeta? Mekem se (.) blong talem wan samting blong olgeta oli
 175 folem.

176 (13)

177 Amboline: <reads> “Do you think there should be one type of school for everybody
 178 in Vanuatu or separated Anglophone and Francophone schools.” Mi? Blong mi ting
 179 se i gud se yumi separate/em from (.) sapos we yumi miksim hem i had lelebet uh
 180 blong yu tekem both.

181 Andrina: [No]

182 Amboline: [Both] English and French.

183 Andrina: Mi mi ting se (.) mi mi ting se bae yumi go tugeta nomo from bae yumi (.)
 184 tugeta bae yumi stat long Klas 1 go kasem antap olsem bae yu go mekem se bae i
 185 isi nomo. Blong yumi speak French wetem Inglis wantaem.

186 <Amboline shakes her head and pulls a face>

187 (3)

188 Arthur: Long tingting blong mi mi tu mi ting se hem i gud blong yumi save putum
 189 Anglophone wetem Francophone (.) tugeta from (.) sapos yumi stat? Olsem taem
 190 yumi smol yumi go antap long Klas 1 yumi lanem tugeta lanwis bae i mo isi.

191 Andrina: Yeah.

192 Arthur: From sapos yumi separate/em? Bae yumi grow up long wan gogo:: be taem
 193 yumi bigwan? Bae yumi kam go long narawan? Be from yumi no stat taem yumi
 194 smol i kam antap. Mekem se bae yumi no save (.) save gud mo yu no save
 195 andastanem nara wan. Long tingting blong mi mi ting se hem i gud yumi putum
 196 Anglophone wetem Francophone tugeta. Oli skul long wan skul nomo.

197 F: Sapos yu disagree Amboline yu save go bak bakegen. Talem opinion blong yu.
 198 <Amboline shakes her head> Mi luk se yu harem i se no (.) yu no agri wetem
 199 tufala? Yu save talem poen blong yu nomo i oraet. Yu no stap kwaet nomo sapos
 200 yu no agri. <laughs>

201 (5)

202 Andrina: Olsem olsem mi (.) tingting blong mi se (.) se (.) nowadays long Vanuatu
 203 oli separated from (.) olsem blo::ng <laughs> samfala (.) olsem from samfala
 204 styuden oli (.) er samfala styuden tu oli wantem lanem French mo samfala oli
 205 wantem lanem (.) Inglis mekem se oli separate/em? So blong mekem se intres
 206 blong ol styuden bae oli kam (.) samfala oli French samfala long Inglis.

207 Aston: Ah mi? Mi mi ting se i gud blong yumi (.) joenem tugeta nomo (.) an- joenem
 208 Anglophone wetem Francophone tugeta nomo from olsem (.) mi mi (.) yumi long
 209 Vanuatu? Olsem (.) ol gavman i nidim ol man nomo we oli save (.) toktok Inglis mo
 210 French blong stap long ofis.

211 (7)

212 Andrina: <reads> “Which languages do you think schools should use to teach all the
213 subjects.”

214 (3)

215 Arthur: Long tingting blong mi mi ting se ating bae (.) yumi save yusum (.) Inglis
216 nomo? Mo French. (1) Inglis mo French. From (1) tudei ol tu- ol sabjek blong yumi
217 we yumi stap yusum long skul? Tugeta oli yusum Inglis wetem French. From tufala
218 sabjek ia nomo? Uh tufala lanwis ia nomo? Be yumi stap lanem blong yumi save
219 andastanem ol wod/s we olsem oli had insaed long ol buk (.) textbook o ol buk we
220 bae yumi stadi long hem. From sapos yumi lanem ol narafala lanwis? Naoia bae i
221 mekem i difficult blong yumi nao. Blong yumi andastanem ol (.) ol er (.) wod/s
222 insaed long buk o (.) ol texts we bae yumi ridim. Mi mi ting se bae yumi save yusum
223 tufala lanwis ia nomo.

224 (2)

225 Andrina: Mi mi ting se bae yumi yusum tri. Olsem Inglis French mo Bislama. From
226 (.) sapos olgeta olsem um ol tija oli go long toktok Inglis? Afta olsem oli no
227 andastanem? Bae oli eksplenem bakegen long Bislama. From se uh samfala
228 styuden oli olsem oli no skul gud long olsem long Inglis olsem mifala? French?
229 Mekem se bae (.) bae i yusum Bislama blong eksplenem long olgeta. Bae oli
230 andastanem gud.

231 (7)

232 Arthur: Mi mi ting se oli mas yusum tu nomo from sapos oli stat i kam antap we oli
233 smolsmol i kam antap wetem tufala Inglis ia? Bae hem i no iven had wanpis blong ol
234 tija we oli eksplen bakegen long Bislama. From olgeta oli save gud Inglis finis taem
235 oli smol oli kam antap wetem French. Mekem se bae hem i isi blong olgeta. Oli save
236 andastanem wanem we ol tija blong olgeta i mekem. Be sapos oli ademap Bislama i
237 go bakegen? Naoia bae i jes stap mekem i had ia nao from (.) wan i wantem toktok
238 Inglis? O French? Wan i wantem tok Bislama? Mekem se tufala lanwis er trifala
239 lanwis ia bae oli no save gohed gud wanpis. So bae oli mas yusum tu ia nomo from
240 (.) mi ting se hemia nao bae i save mekem yu save catch up long ol wok blong yu?
241 Bae yu save andastanem ol texts mo (.) wod/s insaed long (.) buk blong yu.

242 Amboline: [Mi ting]

243 Andrina: [Mi mi ting] se (.) mi mi ting se yumi save yusum (.) yusum nomo? From
244 se yumi speak/im long own taem blong hem olsem (.) taem blong olsem ol
245 explanation. Se Inglis we oli no andastanem? Mas eksplenem long Bislama from (.)
246 er <laughs> olgeta oli andastanem. So bae yumi yusum tri lanwis nomo. Olsem
247 hemia tingting blong mi. Tangkiu.

248 Amboline: Mi mi ting sapos Anglophone skul? Hem i sud uh tij wetem (.) hem i sud
249 uh (.) tijim ol sabjek ia wetem Inglis from hem i wan Inglis skul ia. Be sapos
250 Francophone hem i sud (.) tij wetem French. Bae i no save Anglophone tija i no
251 save go tijim ol (.) uh Francophone tija oli no save kam tijim Fran- olsem (.) French.

252 I toktok French se i tijim ol pikinini from bae oli no andastanem. So Francophones tij
 253 (.) sud er wanem ia (.) tija/s blong ol oli sud tijim wetem French bakegen olsem ol er
 254 Anglophone er skul sud toktok Inglis. Er tij wetem Inglis. Olsem.

255 Andrina: No from ol (.) se ol tija ah (.) taem olsem oli go tekem ol kos blong kasem
 256 olsem wok blong olgeta olsem tija? Mas oli tekem evri sabjek blong kam wan tija
 257 uh? Bae oli tekem French mo Inglis blong oli kam wan tija taem yu kam long
 258 klasrum yu save eksplenem.

259 Aston: Uh mi mi ting se (1) mi mi ting se i gud blong (.) ol tija oli eksplenem ol
 260 sabjek ia long (.) both French wetem Inglis from tru long ol buk/s we yumi stap stadi
 261 long hem ia? Fulap instruction (.) oli raetem long (.) Inglis and French. From yu no
 262 save faenem wan instruction long ol buk we yumi stap stadi long hem? We
 263 instruction oli raetem long Bislama.

264 (4)

265 Andrina: <reads> "Which languages do you think students should study in schools."

266 Amboline: Mi ting se both. I gud blong yumi lanem both.

267 Andrina: French and English?

268 Amboline: Yes. From se yu save (1) faenem defren kaen jobs.

269 (6)

270 Aston: Uh mi mi ting se (.) mi tu mi ting se i gud blong yumi lanem uh both French
 271 wetem Inglis from (.) sapos yu skul gogo yu go further stadi blong go stadi
 272 overseas? Be from fulap kaontri long wol olsem oli toktok French wetem Inglis. Be
 273 sapos i hapen blong yu go long wan French kaontri we ol pipol oli stap toktok (.)
 274 French nomo (.) be yu save (.) yu yu bin stadi hao blong toktok French finis? So bae
 275 yu save go nomo from yu yu save toktok French nomo. O yu save toktok Inglis.

276 (9)

277 F: Eni mo comment long hem? <all laugh and shake their heads> Okei mi gat tu mo
 278 kwestin nomo bae mi askem tufala samting. Okei fas wan ating Aston nao? Yu
 279 talem uh (.) ol Francophone pikinini taem oli stap long Klas 1? Oli save toktok
 280 French finis.

281 Amboline: Yes.

282 F: Afta yufala i talem yes yes. Yu agri.

283 Amboline: Yes.

284 F: From wanem?

285 Amboline: Eh mi no

286 F: From wanem yu ting se ol smol pikinini long French oli save toktok French be
 287 yufala yu wet long

288 Aston: From (.) ol French ol Francophone styuden? Taem we oli stat long Klas 1?
 289 Ol tija blong olgeta oli stap tijim olgeta hao blong toktok French mo evri samting oli
 290 eksplenem long French. Be ol Anglophone styuden taem oli stat long Klas 1 (.)
 291 olsem yumi long Vanuatu? Bae samtaem ol tija bae oli eksplen long Bislama o bae
 292 oli save eksplen long lanwis. Be French taem yu stat long Klas 1 be (.) evri samting
 293 ol tija oli eksplen long French.

294 F: So hem i experience blong yufala evriwan long praemeri? [(.) Ol] tija blong yufala
 295 oli yusum Bislama nomo o lanwis uh?

296 Amboline: [Yes.]

297 Andrina: [Yes.]

298 Arthur: Yes.

299 Andrina: [No olsem mifala i no andastan (.) Bislama (.)] blong mifala i andastanem
 300 gud.

301 Amboline: [(xx)]

302 F: Be yu yusum Inglis smol? Long Klas 1.

303 All: Yes.

304 F: Tija i mekem poen blong hem long Inglis [be taem] yufala i no kasem (.) Bislama i
 305 go.

306 Amboline: [Yes]
 307 Bislama ia.

308 Andrina: Bislama.

309 F: Okei afta yu talem se ol Francophone we oli jenis i kam long Inglis? Naoia oli gud
 310 bakegen? Be (.) hemia from wanem?

311 Amboline: Yu talem wanem?

312 F: Olsem wan pikinini we hem i skul French fastaem? Afta hem i jenis i kam

313 Amboline: Ah okei (.) long Inglis?

314 F: Long Inglis? Yu talem se bae hem i save kasem hariap?

315 Amboline: Yes=

316 Aston: =Yes from Inglis hem i more easier than=

317 Andrina: =Yes than French.

318 Arthur: From French sapos yu stat [i kam antap]

319 Arthur: [French i had] we.

320 F: Be from wanem Inglis hem i mo isi?

321 Aston: Inglis hem i isi from=

322 Andrina: =Inglis i sem mak nomo olsem Bislama.

323 Amboline: M-m.

324 Arthur: Bislama hem i both French and English oli joenem tugeta blong yu save (xx).

325 Olsem i mo isi blong French i go long Inglis.

326 F: Okei. So yu save fulap pikinini we oli stat French? Afta oli mov i kam long Inglis=

327 Aston: =[Yes.]

328 Amboline: =[Yes] wan ia long Yia 11.

329 F: Okei Simon we hem i stap long Yia 11 yes.

330 Amboline: Yes.

331 F: Afta yu save eniwan we oli Inglis fastaem? Ale oli jenis i go long French?

332 Arthur: Olsem mifala?

333 F: Uh-uh.

334 Arthur: I stap long Inglis i go antap blong mifala i go long French bae i had we i had.

335 Amboline: I had.

336 F: Be yu save sam fren we oli bin traem?

337 Arthur: No.

338 Andrina: Yes. Sista blong mi.

339 Amboline: Si?

340 F: Uh?

341 Andrina: Hem i stap long Collège de Faranako finis afta hem i aot i go long Londua.

342 F: Be Londua hem i Inglis.

343 Andrina: Yes.

344 F: No be yu save wan we hem i bin stat long Angolovo College afta hem i aot i go

345 long Collège de Faranako. Defren direction ia. Long Inglis fas wan afta i go long

346 French.

347 <all shake heads>

348 F: Yu save eniwan we oli bin

349 All: No.

350 F: From wanem? From wanem ol Francophone oli wantem jenis i go long
 351 Anglophone be

352 Amboline: Yes wan Tariella ia

353 F: Tariella hem i Francophone i aot i kam Anglophone. I gat fulap cases ia. Be mi mi
 354 neva mitim wan we hem i go long (.) [Inglis go long French.] Be from wanem?

355 Amboline: [Inglis (.) go long French]

356 Arthur: Um (.) from [i had tumas.]

357 Amboline: [I had we] (.) French i had.

358 F: Lanwis nomo i had?

359 Arthur: Yes.

360 Andrina: Sapos i bigwan finis bae i go long (.) olsem i go long French bakegen
 361 blong statem smol oli go antap? Hemia bae i sem blong hem ia. <laughs> From i
 362 bigwan finis be i go stadi long (.) stadi French bakegen.

363 F: Okei. Okei wan kwestin bakegen. Um (1) okei taem yumi bin stap long kwestin (.)
 364 4 (.) A? (1) Yufala evriwan i bin tokbaot (.) eh 4 wanem? Yes A. <reads> "Should
 365 there be one school for everybody or separate Anglophone Francophone." Yufala
 366 evriwan i stap talem se yes (.) hem i gud se yumi lanem Inglis mo French long sem
 367 taem long Klas 1 i go antap.

368 Andrina: Yes. Yes.

369 F: Be sapos yu (.) bae yu putum system ia? Hao nao bae yu save divide/em taem?
 370 Bae i gat evri klas bae i gat Inglis French insaed? O bae i gat haf timetable hem i
 371 Inglis? Nara haf hem i French? O long Klas 1 2 3 hem i Inglis? Ale French? Hao nao
 372 bae yu save mekem?

373 Arthur: Olsem bae oli separate/em. Sapos yumi gat Inglis tudei long moning. Yu
 374 mekem ol Inglis subjek long moning. Taem yu go long aftenun? Bae yumi lanem
 375 French wetem er subjek blong French mekem bae i isi.

376 F: From Klas 1 i go antap?

377 Andrina: Yes.

378 Arthur: Yes.

379 F: So hem i min se bae i gat Maths evri dei long moning? Maths bae i stap long
 380 Inglis nomo? O bae yu yusum sam dei (.) Mande Maths hem i long Inglis? Ale
 381 Tusde Maths hem i long French?

382 Andrina: Yes.

383 Arthur: Yes.

384 F: Which one?

385 Andrina: Olsem (.) olsem (.) long moning? Se long Inglis ale long (.) olsem moning
 386 kasem lunch? Inglis. Ale (.) lunch kasem aftenun hemia French.

387 F: Be sapos yu traem tingbaot timetable naoia?

388 Amboline: Hemia bae i fesem stret.

389 F: So Social Science for example. Taem yu stap long Yia 10? Yes yu bigwan lelebet
 390 be iven (.) Yia 5 6 7 yu stap go long Social Science. Science. Maths.

391 Andrina: Yes.

392 F: Bae yu yusum tufala lanwis tugeta long wanwan sabjek? O bae evri taem (.)
 393 Social Science Inglis nomo.

394 Arthur: Social Science yumi mekem Inglis nomo. Sabjek blong French yumi toktok
 395 French nomo.

396 Andrina: Yes.

397 Arthur: Blong Inglis yumi toktok Inglis nomo.

398 Amboline: Sabjek blong French?

399 F: Be which nao (.) which wan bae i sabjek blong French? (3) Yu jes jusum nomo?

400 Arthur: M-m.

401 <Amboline laughs, everyone joins in>

402 F: Okei be=

403 Andrina: =No mi [ting se]

404 Amboline: [sapos no] tekem French nomo.

405 Andrina: Yes (1) mi ting se evri olsem evri sabjek bae yumi toktok long Inglis mo
 406 French wantaem.

407 F: Uh?

408 Andrina: [Yes.]

409 Amboline: [Yes.]

410 F: From Klas 1?

411 Andrina: Yes. Olsem blong Klas 1 go kasem Yia 13 uh? Mekem oli toktok olsem
 412 Inglis? Er French wantaem.

413 F: Be hao nao bae oli mekem? Olsem faef minit i pas finis ale switch i go long
 414 French?

415 Amboline: Hemia? nao.

416 Andrina: No olsem oli toktok Inglis finis? Ale (.) oli tanem olsem (.) toktok olsem sem
 417 sentens bakegen long French.

418 (2)

419 F: Blong evri sentens?

420 Andrina: Yes.

421 Amboline: Kas. Mekem se (xx)

422 F: Afta long eksam blong yu? Wan sentens long Inglis wan long French?

423 Amboline: Mekem long wan nomo.

424 Aston: Mi mi ting se (.) olsem evri sabjek blong Inglis? Oli sud tijim nomo long Inglis
 425 be (.) long taem blong French? Hemia nao bae olsem oli tijim olgeta long=

426 F: =Be yu talem evri

427 Amboline: Olsem yumi dis taem olsem taem aoa olsem lesen blong French? Afta yu

428 Aston: Yes.

429 F: Yu min lanwis nomo? [Bae] yu tijim long French?

430 Amboline: [No] Lanwis no.

431 F: So i min se evri klas bae i hapen long Inglis nomo? Social Science. Science.
 432 Maths. Evriwan Inglis nomo?

433 Aston: Yes.

434 F: Be i gat wan period nomo blong French? [Ale hem nao French.]

435 Amboline: [Ah bae yu no save lanem nomo.]

436 F: Be hemia yumi tokbaot kwestin ia se yumi evriwan bae yumi skul long sem wei?
 437 O bae i gat sam Anglophone? Sam Francophone. Be yu yu talem se evriwan (.)
 438 wan system.

439 Amboline: Yes.

440 F: So min se lego French nomo uh?

441 <all laugh>

442 F: Wanem bae hapen long olgeta we oli wantem lanem French? (3) So hemia
 443 olsem hem i wan difficult question. I no olsem se i isi [ansa]. I no gat ansa long hem.
 444 Yu save gavman i stap faet from.

445 Andrina: [Yes]

446 F: Be from fas wan Amboline i talem se no. Bae yumi gat Anglophone Francophone.

447 Amboline: Yes.

448 F: Ale yufala i talem se no. Yumi combine/em. Be problem ia nao? Olsem yumi ting
449 se oh combine/em yes hem i gud.

450 Andrina: M-m.

451 F: Yumi evriwan sem mak. Yumi evriwan lanem tufala. Be taem yumi kam long ol
452 detail ia? Hao nao bae yu save [mekem?]

453 Amboline: [Hemia nao] i had blong yu mekem.

454 F: So. Bae yumi traem kwestin 4 A bakegen? Wanem nao ansa blong yufala?

455 Amboline: Olsem long Collège de Faranako? Olgeta i lanem wanem Agriculture.
456 Maths. Hemia olsem instruction oli givim long French nomo. Be yufala i ting se
457 sapos yumi mekem olsem (.) both long ples ia olsem. Afta bae yumi lanem lanwis
458 nomo long French bae yumi no save kasem French nomo. Olsem hamas (.) wan
459 lesen nomo long wan dei ia? Afta yu tekem lanwis blong French? Bae yu no save
460 andastanem (xx).

461 F: So wanem nao ansa. Bae yumi gat Anglophone Francophone tufala system? O
462 bae [yumi] combine/em. Yumi joenem.

463 Andrina: [No.] Mi ting se (.) sapos long Anglophone? Oli
464 putum wan tija Inglis tija blong olgeta. Afta (.) long (.) olsem long Francophone? Bae
465 yu putum wan (.) wan (.) French tija.

466 Amboline: Ka::s.

467 Andrina: Mekem se bae long

468 Arthur: Naoia bae i mekem ol sabjek ia bae oli miks uh. [From]

469 Andrina: [No.] Olsem i gat timing
470 blong ol tija bae oli tijim.

471 (3)

472 Amboline: <very quiet> Bae i tijim wanem?

473 <laughter and whispering>

474 Aston: Okei from French? Olsem Francophone? Ol sabjek blong olgeta tu i sem
475 mak olsem [Anglophone nomo]

476 Amboline: [Sabjek? Evri sabjek] blong Fra- wanem ia Anglophone evri sabjek long
477 er Francophone i sem mak nomo=

478 Aston: =Okei so naoia i min se

479 F: M-m. Oli folem sem syllabus nomo. French wetem Inglis nomo i defren.

480 Aston: Okei so i gud blong yumi separate/em nomo.

481 Amboline: Hm?-m.

482 <all laugh>

483 Aston: From (.) Inglis hem i gat evri sabjek olsem (.) [French] nomo. Be olsem
484 hemia nao=

485 Amboline: [French]
486

487 Aston:=So yumi nao long ples ia yumi stap mekem blong save lanwis blong French
488 nomo hem i yumi stap mekem wan lesen wan dei i gat wan lesen ia. Be yumi save
489 smol nomo long hem. Be i nogat i no iven wan sabjek long hem yumi lanem lanwis
490 nomo long French. Be French i gat sabjek oli sem mak olsem yumi. Olsem
491 instruction oli givim long French evri samting. Ansa blong hem nomo long French.

492 F: So hao nao bae yu save (.) olsem yu talem se yu wantem se evriwan oli toktok
493 Inglis mo French. O yu yu harem se i no impoten?

494 Amboline: Si impotent bae yumi (.) tekem both.

495 F: So hao nao bae yumi improve/um French? Sapos yumi kipim tufala system ia?
496 (2)

497 Amboline: Ating bae yumi mekem olsem ia (.) taem yu smol yu go antap French
498 nomo? Ale bigwan (.) ale jes stap go long Inglis olsem we Simon i stap mekem.

499 F: Uh?

500 Arthur: [No bae yu]

501 Amboline: [From bae i] isi (.) from sapos yu statem Inglis bae yu go long French (.) i
502 had. So that yu save both.

503 F: So min se evri pikinini oli skul French fastaem? (2) Afta oli go long Inglis?

504 Arthur: Mekem olsem ia bae samfala topic long Inglis tu bae yu no save
505 andastanem.

506 Andrina: M-m.

507 Amboline: Be French sem topic nomo ol sem samting long buk blong Inglis evri
508 samting.

509 Arthur: No from (.) yu luk long samfala buk tudei (.) fulap buk ia? Bae yu luk long
510 Inglis oli mekem ol working out blong hem ol kaen (xx) i defren? Afta long French
511 buk (2) er (.) sabjek=

512 Amboline: =Ol topic oli sem mak nomo bae yu go jekem long Faranako.

513 F: Yes ol topic oli sem mak. From mi mi kam long Faranako ia. Mi mi luk se topic
514 hem i sem mak. Be lanwis (.) no be (.) sapos yu tingbaot? Yu stap long Klas 6?

515 Sapos yu harem se yu weak lelebet long Maths. Hem se namba yu stap konfius
516 from. Yu save sam pikinini oli no really gud long Maths.

517 Andrina: Yes.

518 F: Afta sapos yu stap struggle from? Be long sem taem tu yu jenis i go long nara
519 lanwis ia?

520 Amboline: Okei.

521 F: Naoia yu harem se ol namba oli confusing yet? Be lanwis tu i mekem se i go
522 worse nao. Bae yu jes faenem se yu konfius. Hem i had blong switch be

523 Arthur: M-m.

524 (2)

525 F: So yu okei <addresses Amboline directly> (.) final ansa bae yu talem se evri
526 pikinini oli French fas wan? Afta i go long Inglis?

527 (3)

528 Amboline: No olsem mi talem nomo from sapos we:: (.) [xx]

529 F: [O yu] minim wanwan
530 pikinini nomo?

531 Amboline: Sapos wan pikinini i wantem se i save gud (.) speaking blong French
532 wetem Inglis? Be (.) hemia nao yu stat wetem French. From sapos yu stat wetem
533 Inglis bae i had blong yu (.) ol=

534 F: =Be basically bae yu kipim tufala system ia?

535 Amboline: M-m.

536 F: Inglis wetem French.

537 Amboline: M-m.

538 F: <addresses Andrina directly> Yu tu bae yu agri wetem tu system o yu wantem se
539 yu joenem.

540 Andrina: <quietly> Bae yu save joenem (.) yu save joenem. <laughs>

541 <all laugh>

542 Amboline: Be yu stap tingting se (.) olsem long ples ia? Hemia we yumi lanem
543 lanwis nomo.

544 Andrina: Lanwis nomo.

545 Amboline: Be olsem Fran- Francophone skul? Hemia ol sem topic (.) sem topic
546 nomo. Olsem mi talem (.) yumi lanem [gogo gogo] be information evri samting
547 French.

548 Aston: [Okei olsem]
549 Olsem hemia olsem (.) yu talem hemia (.) hemia i tru. Be from olsem (.) yumi long
550 Vanuatu oli wantem se (.) yu nomo we yu save (.) Inglis? Wetem French? Bae yu
551 save stap long (.) se bae yu save stap long wan ofis. Be (.) sapos we (.) yu (.) yu
552 stap skul F- Fra- yu stap skul long French nomo. Afta hao nao bae yu save Inglis?

553 Amboline: Be bae yu go kasem antap ale yu jenis yu::

554 Andrina: No bae i take [long taem]

555 Aston: [Be taem yu] kasem an[taem? (1) Kasem] antap? (.) Blong
556 go long Inglis?

557 Amboline: [No bae i isi nomo]

558 Aston: Hemia (.) mi ting se ating bae i had smol long yu.

559 Amboline: But look Simon afta wan mo (xx) sem system.

560 Andrina: Be olsem samfala wod long Inglis oli no save olsem bae oli andastanem
561 gud.

562 (1)

563 F: Be yu <addresses Amboline> yu stap tokbaot wanwan pikinini nomo. Be yu
564 <addresses Andrina> ating yu stap tokbaot evri

565 Amboline: Evri (.) [hol]

566 F: [Evri] styuden long Vanuatu uh?

567 Andrina: Yes.

568 F: From hemia i defren. Yes wanwan pikinini yumi gat evidence se oli save jenis.
569 Olsem Simon.

570 Arthur: Yes.

571 F: Be sapos yumi tingbaot ful kaontri nao? Yu no save decide se evri pikinini oli
572 switch from (.) system ia bae i no stap.

573 Andrina: Yes.

574 Arthur: Samfala nomo.

575 <bell rings>

576 F: Oh bel i ring. Okei las kwestin nomo hem i wan kwik wan nomo. Yufala i neva
577 talem wan wod we mi harem fulap taem? Wod ia hem i bilingualism. Or bilingual.
578 Yufala i save wod ia? O no.

579 Arthur: No.

580 F: Bi-ling-ual

581 Arthur: Hem i wanem ia?

582 F: <laughs> Hem i wanem ia?

583 Aston: Hem i wan Inglis wod o wan French wod?

584 <F writes "BILINGUALISM BILINGUISME" and shows the paper to the group>

585 Arthur: Inglis ia.

586 F: Okei hemi i Inglis wan?

587 Amboline: Bi:: lalala Bi

588 F: Tufala tugeta ia hem i Inglis French nomo. Hemia <points> "bilingualism". Hemia

589 Inglis. Or <points> "bilinguisme"? Hem i French. Sem samting. Yu neva harem wod

590 ia long laef blong yu?

591 Amboline: Nogat.

592 Aston: No.

593 Arthur: No.

594 F: Okei. No hem i minim tu lanwis/es. Sapos yu bilingual? Yu save ling hem i minim

595 lanwis.

596 Amboline: M-m.

597 F: Bi hem i minim tu.

598 Amboline: Tu.

599 F: So bilingual i min se someone we hem i save toktok tufala lanwis.

600 Andrina: Oh yes.

601 Amboline: Yes.

602 F: O monolingual? Mono hem i minim wan.

603 Amboline: Wan.

604 F: So sapos yu monolingual yu save wan lanwis nomo. Yu harem multilingual?

605 Multilingualism?

606 Arthur: Um (.) no.

607 F: No. Hem i minim many. Many languages. Hem i wan kwestin we mi intres long

608 hem from mi harem wod ia fulap taem long Vanuatu? Taem oli tokbaot ol lanwis. Be

609 hem i interesting yufala i neva harem wod ia so (.) lego nomo. Bae yumi nomo

610 tokbaot. (1) Okei. Any more comments blong ademap?

611 <all laugh and shake heads>

612 F: Okei tangkiu tumas.

Appendix xi – Interview with Angolovo College Student Group (Translation)

Date: 31-10-11

Location: An empty classroom

Participants: Aston, Arthur, Amboline, Andrina

Notes: I approached Arthur to ask if he would be willing to take part. When he agreed, I asked him to find three friends (one other boy and two girls) to participate the following day. Aston and Amboline are considered to be above average students, according both to class records and my own language assessment. Arthur and Andrina are considered to be average students.

On the day, before starting the recording, I gave the students the list of questions and gave them time to look through them. I asked if they wanted me to explain any in Bislama, and Aston asked whether ‘Anglophone’ and ‘Francophone’ means people who school English and French. When they were happy with this and said they had no other questions, I turned the recording on. For the first 28 seconds, they each tried to encourage each other to be the first one to start, whispering and moving their heads, until Aston started.

1 Aston: Okay. The first question says <reads> “do you find it easy or difficult to use
2 English to learn all your subjects?” I think that (.) some are easy to (1) some are
3 easy but some? I think they’re hard. (1) Like French. Take French like French? I
4 think it is hard because (.) when the teacher explains in English? I can understand
5 most of it. But if (.) he (.) continues to (.) explain in French? I don’t think I (.) I will be
6 able to understand.

7 (2)

8 Andrina: Okay. Me. My opinion? Is like this. (1) Er. Like. I think it is (.) quite difficult
9 like in English like (.) the teachers use like (.) expensive words? Like (.) to (1) to
10 explain (.) whereas they should explain their meaning (.) so that I understand. That
11 these words are like this in English.

12 (12)

13 Amboline: <whispers> Say the question.

14 Arthur: <reads> “Are you good at English? Do you wish (.) you spoke it better?” I
15 think that (.) it is good to (.) I think that I am good at English because (.) in English?
16 If you speak it? Then (.) and you know it well then everything in the books from (.)
17 the different subjects (.) that is hard? It (.) you can understand it if you know English
18 well.

19 (2)

20 Amboline: Okay you (.) you can speak good English if you practise speaking it all
 21 the time so that you can (.) speak it well. If you (.) you speak Bislama but only a little
 22 English? It will be quite hard to speak English. Proper English.

23 Andrina: These things? Like. We start in like Class 1 until (.) up to the upper
 24 classes? Like we learn English uh? So that when we go up to the upper classes we
 25 can speak er (.) English (.) like speak it well. We will be able to understand a lot. But
 26 if the teachers explain to us (.) we can answer them. (12) But sometimes? When the
 27 students like (.) they do well in (.) Class 1 up to:: like (.) the big classes? Then like
 28 English will be easy for them.

29 Aston: Yes and something else? If (.) you continue to speak English all the time?
 30 Then like (.) when you want to write (.) write in English? Then it will just be easy for
 31 you to write.

32 Amboline: Yes?

33 Andrina: <reads> “Students do not speak English very often outside the classroom.
 34 Why is this.” (1) This one? I think that (.) because (.) sometimes they speak like (.)
 35 speak too much of their mother tongue so that (.) when it’s time for English they
 36 cannot speak English. Like they don’t know how to say things.

37 Aston: And then one (.) one thing too because (.) like us in Vanuatu like (.) we have
 38 like we speak three languages (.) like especially English like English during classes.
 39 But when we come outside? Like now like people like (.) maybe they (.) they aren’t
 40 interested (.) and also? Because we don’t have friends who (.) speak English all the
 41 time (.) who hang around with us to story or have fun with them (.) speaking English.
 42 So we just continue to (.) speak Bislama (.) all the time.

43 (8)

44 Andrina: <reads> “Do you think any other languages? French. Example French.
 45 Bislama. Ambae languages? Should be used more in (.) in school.”

46 Amboline: In my opinion I think that Bislama is better because when you speak
 47 Bislama? It will help you to speak (.) er English but if you speak lanwis then (.) then
 48 you cannot speak English very well.

49 (2)

50 Aston: Yes and then another thing because like (.) in (.) it mentions the Ambae
 51 language here? But (.) I don’t think we should learn the Ambae language because
 52 (.) you can only use the Ambae language on Ambae. But when you leave and go to
 53 different islands? They have different languages or you can speak to them in
 54 Bislama [or French].

55 Amboline: [Yes]

56 (5)

57 Arthur: I think that (.) these languages I think it's good that we (.) use them in school
58 because (.) they can be used as (.) our iden- identification? Like which island we
59 belong to or which country we belong to. If we go to other places.

60 (13)

61 Amboline: <reads> "Are you good at French? Do you wish to spoke it better?"

62 (4)

63 Andrina: [Okay]

64 Amboline: [I] think that if (.) if you (.) since kindy up to (.) the end of your education?
65 If you learnt French? You would be able to speak French but if you have learnt
66 English since you were little (.) then you will know English (2) if you learn it when
67 you are little you will know French.

68 Aston: Um (2) I think that I am not very good at French? Because I just (.) I just
69 learnt (.) started learning French in (.) Class 6? And then (.) like many things (.) I
70 don't understand many of the words well in French I don't understand them well so
71 when (.) I don't understand (.) it will take years before I can speak French.

72 Andrina: Okay me too like I'm not good at French? Like I can't speak it well because
73 (.) like I just learnt French in Year 7? From Year 7 (.) to now? Because (.) like (.)
74 there was no teacher so (.) when we went to top-up then they just sent the teacher.
75 He was French (.) so he translated into English. So I don't know how to speak
76 French (.) er (.) to (.) er (.) to speak it good.

77 (7)

78 Arthur: <reads> "Is it good that you have the chance to know both English and
79 French?" In my opinion I think it's good for us to learn both English and French.
80 Because today in our country? In the whole country there are lots of jobs? Many
81 people use both English and French. So I think that it is good for us to learn both
82 English and French at school. So that it can help me (.) help us that (.) if we go to
83 other places then (.) we know English and French if a person speaks to us.

84 (2)

85 Amboline: Okay communication will be easy if we know many different languages.

86 (10)

87 Aston: <reads> "Is it good that Vanuatu uses both English and French?" I think that
88 it is good that we learn both languages English and French. Because today in
89 Vanuatu? Maybe (.) we had er some (.) like before Independence? Yeah French
90 and France and British ruled our country? So today some like (.) they are still here
91 (.) they speak French? So we have to learn both languages because if you go with
92 (.) you go (.) go and spend time with families who just speak French? Then you will
93 know how to communicate with them.

94 (8)
95
96 Amboline: <reads> "Do Anglophones or Francophones have better chances to (.) of
97 going overseas to study?"

98 (5)

99 Andrina: I think that (.) it's good like to go oversea? To have the chance to learn
100 something? <others exchange looks and laugh> Like (.) to attend other countries?
101 To bring this back to our country.

102 (2)

103 Aston: I think that (.) both Anglophones and Francophones have a better chance to
104 go out overseas (.) to study. Because today it's not (.) only people who study
105 English who go out. People who study French too? They can also go out to (.) study
106 oversea.

107 (7)

108 Andrina: <reads> "Do Anglophone or Francophone have better chance to find (.) of
109 finding a job?"

110 (1)

111 Amboline: Yes?

112 Andrina: It's?

113 Amboline: In times like today? Many people (2) there are people who school
114 French? They are also employed. And then people who school English they also
115 have er (.) the chance to be employed in a er (.) job. In any kind of office di- (.) there
116 are different people employed there.

117 (4)

118 Aston: I think that (.) both have a better chance to find a job because (.) in (.) our
119 country today? Because the law (.) of our country? We use uh (.) we use two
120 languages as our national language English and French. And today they say (.)
121 those of you who speak English and French? You can work in an office. So I think
122 that both have (.) a better chance to find a job.

123 (9)

124 Amboline: <reads> "Do Anglophones or Francophones learn English and French
125 better?"

126 (4)

127 Aston: I think that Francophones? They can lea- (.) learn English and French better.
128 From (.) as I have experienced? The little ones who go (.) start in prim- in Class 1
129 and go upwards? They learn French? They learn it quickly (.) they (.) when they are
130 just in Class 1 they can already speak French. But Anglophones? When you start in

131 (.) you are in Class 1 (.) it will be hard for you to speak English. You will be in about
132 Class 6? And then you will know how (.) to speak English. (1) But I think that (.)
133 French is good because (.) when (.) they learn French? It is easy. And then to come
134 to Eng- (.) to come to English? They can learn it easily.

135 Amboline: M-m.

136 Andrina: M-m.

137 (15)

138 Arthur: <reads> "Do more people speak English or French in Vanuatu." In my
139 opinion I think that (1) more English is spoken (.) in Vanuatu. Because today if you
140 go you will see (.) many (.) inside the offices (.) all our jobs (.) in Vanuatu (.) I think
141 that there is a lot of English (.) if you go into an office you will (.) the (.) some work in
142 there many just use English words. But there is not much French in Vanuatu. (1) So
143 I think that more people in Vanuatu speak more English (.) than French.

144 (18)

145 Andrina: <reads> "Do more people speak English or French throughout the world?"
146 I think that (.) everybody? Like in the world they speak English and French to
147 communicate with others? To (.) to (.) do like (.) work to (.) develop their countries.

148 (4)

149 Arthur: In my opinion I think that (.) the world? Many people speak English. Because
150 (.) many (.) many jobs and occupations that come into the country for us and people
151 who go outside of the country? They go and study in English. But they don't study in
152 French much because (.) many people around the world (.) like they don't speak (.)
153 er French well. But they just speak English. (1) So in my opinion I think that (.)
154 throughout the world? Many people speak English.

155 (4)

156 Amboline: Me too I think that (.) in the world like many countries speak English
157 because (.) French there are many just a few countries that speak French but (.)
158 whereas many speak English.

159 (4)

160 Andrina: I think that er (.) some (.) some too just speak French. (1) Like in (.) like
161 when people from other countries come (.) for example like some white people
162 come to our place on Maewo? They just speak French so like (.) some teachers
163 who (.) the French teachers go to (.) like speak to them? So that (.) to explain things
164 for them to understand.

165 (13)

166 Amboline: <reads> "Do you think there should be one type of school for everybody
167 in Vanuatu or separated Anglophone and Francophone schools." Me? I think that

168 it's good that we separate them because (.) if we mixed them it would be quite hard
 169 for you to learn both.

170 Andrina: [No]

171 Amboline: [Both] English and French.

172 Andrina: I think that (.) I think that we should just go together because we would be
 173 (.) together if we started in Class 1 and went up like it would be easy. For us to
 174 speak French and English at the same time.

175 <Amboline shakes her head and pulls a face>

176 (3)

177 Arthur: In my opinion too I think that it would be good if we could put Anglophones
 178 and Francophones (.) together because (.) if we started? Like when we were small
 179 and we went up from Class 1 learning the two languages it would be easier.

180 Andrina: Yeah.

181 Arthur: Because if we separate them? Then we grow up with one and on and o::n
 182 but when we are big? For us to come to the other one? But we haven't started when
 183 we were small and all the way up. It means that we can't (.) know it well and you
 184 can't understand the other one. In my opinion I think that it is good for us to put
 185 Anglophones and Francophones together. They study in one school.

186 F: If you disagree Amboline you can come back again. Give your opinion.
 187 <Amboline shakes her head> I feel that you (.) you don't agree with these two? You
 188 can give your point it's okay. Don't sit there quietly if you don't agree. <laughs>

189 (5)

190 Andrina: Like me (.) my opinion is (.) that (.) nowadays in Vanuatu they are
 191 separated because (.) like to:: <laughs> some (.) like some students (.) er some
 192 students want to learn French and some want to learn (.) English so they separate
 193 them? So to make the students interested to come (.) some are French and some
 194 are English.

195 Aston: Ah me? I think that it's good that we (.) just join them together (.) an- join
 196 Anglophones and Francophones together because like (.) I (.) us in Vanuatu? Like
 197 (.) the government needs people who can (.) speak English and French in the
 198 offices.

199 (7)

200 Andrina: <reads> "Which languages do you think schools should use to teach all the
 201 subjects."

202 (3)

203 Arthur: In my opinion I think that maybe (.) we should use (.) just English? And
 204 French. (1) English and French. Because (1) today to- our subjects that we use in

205 school? Together they use English and French. Because just these two subjects?
206 Uh just these two languages? But we learn them so that we can understand the
207 words that are hard inside the books (.) textbooks or books that we study with.
208 Because if we learn other languages? That will make it difficult for us now. For us to
209 understand the (.) the er (.) words inside the books or (.) the texts that we'll read. I
210 think that we should only use these two languages.

211 (2)

212 Andrina: I think we should use three. That is English French and Bislama. Because
213 (.) if they like the teachers go and speak English? And then like they don't
214 understand? Then they explain again in Bislama. Because uh some students like
215 they haven't learnt English well like us? Or French? So they (.) they should use
216 Bislama to explain to them. They will understand properly.

217 (7)

218 Arthur: I think that we should just use two because if they start and come up from
219 when they are tiny and come up with these two Englishes? Then it won't be hard at
220 all and the teachers won't need to explain again in Bislama. Because they already
221 know English from when they're small onwards and French. So it will be easy for
222 them. They can understand what their teachers are doing. But if they add Bislama in
223 again? That will just make it difficult now because (.) one wants to speak English?
224 Or French? One wants to speak Bislama? So that the two languages er the three
225 languages can't go ahead at all. So they should just use these two because (.) I
226 think that will mean you can keep up with your work? You will be able to understand
227 the texts and (.) the words inside (.) your books.

228 Amboline: [I think]

229 Andrina: [I think] that (.) I think that we can use them (.) just use them? Because if
230 we speak them at the right time (.) like during explanations. If they don't understand
231 in English? Must explain in Bislama so that (.) er <laughs> they understand. So we
232 should use three languages. Well that's my opinion. Thank you.

233 Amboline: I think that if it's an Anglophone school? It should teach in (.) it should uh
234 (.) teach the subjects in English because it's an English school. But if it's
235 Francophone it should (.) teach in French. Anglophone teachers can't go and teach
236 (.) uh Francophone teachers can't come and teach Fre- like (.) French. If they speak
237 French to teach the children they won't understand. So Francophones teach (.)
238 should er what's that (.) their teachers should teach French again while the er
239 Anglophone er schools should speak English. Er teach in English. Like that.

240 Andrina: No because (.) the teachers ah (.) when like they go and take their courses
241 to train to become teachers? They must take every subject to become a teacher
242 uh? They should take French and English to become a teacher so when you come
243 to the classroom you can explain.

244 Aston: Uh I think that (1) I think that it's good for (.) teachers to explain subjects in (.)
245 both French and English because throughout the books that we study from? Many

246 of the instructions (.) are written in (.) English and French. Because you won't find
 247 any instruction in the books that we study from? Where the instructions are written
 248 in Bislama.

249 (4)

250 Andrina: <reads> "Which languages do you think students should study in schools."

251 Amboline: I think both. It's good that we learn both.

252 Andrina: French and English?

253 Amboline: Yes. So that you can (1) find different jobs.

254 (6)

255 Aston: Uh I think that (.) me too I think that it's good for us to learn uh both French
 256 and English because (.) if you school all the way and you go for further studies
 257 overseas? Many countries of the world like speak French and English. But if you
 258 happen to go to a French country where people speak (.) French only (.) you will
 259 know (.) you will have learnt how to speak French already? So you can just go
 260 because you will be able to speak French. Or you can speak English.

261 (9)

262 F: Any other comments on that? <all laugh and shake their heads> Okay I just have
 263 two questions I want to ask two things. Okay the first one I think it was Aston? You
 264 said that uh (.) Francophone children when they are in Class 1? They can speak
 265 French already.

266 Amboline: Yes.

267 F: And you all said yes yes. You agreed.

268 Amboline: Yes.

269 F: Why?

270 Amboline: Eh I don't

271 F: Why do you think that these little children in French they can speak French but
 272 you wait until

273 Aston: Because (.) the French the Francophone students? When they start in Class
 274 1? Their teachers teach them how to speak French and they explain everything in
 275 French. But when Anglophone students start in Class 1 (.) like us in Vanuatu?
 276 Sometimes the teacher will explain in Bislama or they can explain in lanwis. But for
 277 French when you start in Class 1 (.) the teachers explain everything in French.

278 F: So is that the experience all of you had in primary? [(.) Your] teachers just used
 279 Bislama or lanwis uh?

280 Amboline: [Yes.]

281 Andrina: [Yes.]

282 Arthur: Yes.

283 Andrina: [No if we didn't understand (.) Bislama (.)] so that we would understand.

284 Amboline: [(xx)]

285 F: But you used English a bit? In Class 1.

286 All: Yes.

287 F: The teachers made their points in English [but when] you didn't get it (.) Bislama
288 was used.

289 Amboline: [Yes]

290 Bislama.

291 Andrina: Bislama.

292 F: Okay and then you said that Francophones who switched to come to English?
293 They were good again? But (.) why is that?

294 Amboline: What do you mean?

295 F: Like a child who schooled French first? And then changed to come to

296 Amboline: Ah okay (.) to English?

297 F: To English? You said that he would learn quickly?

298 Amboline: Yes=

299 Aston: =Yes because English is easier than=

300 Andrina: =Yes than French.

301 Arthur: Because French if you start [and come up]

302 Arthur: [French is really hard].

303 F: But why is English easier?

304 Aston: English is easy because=

305 Andrina: =English is just the same as Bislama.

306 Amboline: M-m.

307 Arthur: Bislama is both French and English joined together so you can (xx). Like it's
308 easier for French to go to English.

309 F: Okay. So do you know lots of children who have started in French? And then
310 moved to English=

311 Aston: =[Yes.]

312 Amboline: =[Yes] there's one here in Year 11.

313 F: Okay Simon who is in Year 11 yes.

314 Amboline: Yes.

315 F: And then do you know anyone who was in English first? And then changed to
316 French?

317 Arthur: Like us?

318 F: Uh-uh.

319 Arthur: Being in English and going up for us to go to French would be really hard.

320 Amboline: It would be hard.

321 F: But do you know any friends who have tried it?

322 Arthur: No.

323 Andrina: Yes. My sister.

324 Amboline: Really?

325 F: Uh?

326 Andrina: She was at Collège de Faranako and then she went to Londua.

327 F: But Londua is English.

328 Andrina: Yes.

329 F: No but do you know any who have started at Angolovo College and then left to
330 go to Collège de Faranako. The other direction. In English first and then going to
331 French.

332 <all shake heads>

333 F: Do you know anyone who

334 All: No.

335 F: Why? Why do Francophones want to change to Anglophone but

336 Amboline: Yes one is Tariella

337 F: Tariella was Francophone and then came to Anglophone. There are many of
338 these cases. But I've never met anyone who went from (.) [English to French.] But
339 why?

340 Amboline: [English (.) to French]

341 Arthur: Um (.) because [it's too hard.]

342 Amboline: [It's really hard] (.) French is hard.

343 F: It's just the language is hard?

344 Arthur: Yes.

345 Andrina: If he's grown up already to go to (.) like to go to French he will have to start
 346 at the bottom again and go up? He will be ashamed. <laughs> Because he's
 347 already grown up but he's studying (.) studying French again.

348 F: Okay. Okay one more question. Um (1) okay when we were on question (.) 4 (.)
 349 A? (1) You all talked about (.) eh 4 what? Yes A. <reads> "Should there be one
 350 school for everybody or separate Anglophone Francophone." You all said that yes
 351 (.) it's good that we learn English and French at the same time from Class 1
 352 upwards.

353 Andrina: Yes. Yes.

354 F: But if you (.) suppose you had this system? How would you divide the time?
 355 Would you have every class with English and French in there? Or would half the
 356 timetable be English? The other half French? Or would Class 1 2 3 be English? And
 357 then French? What would you do?

358 Arthur: Like they would separate them. If we had English today in the morning. You
 359 would do the English subjects in the morning. Then when you go to the afternoon?
 360 You would learn French with the French subjects so it would be easy.

361 F: From Class 1 onwards?

362 Andrina: Yes.

363 Arthur: Yes.

364 F: So that means that if you had Maths every day in the morning? Maths would just
 365 be in English? Or would you use some days (.) on Mondays Maths would be in
 366 English? And then on Tuesdays Maths would be in French?

367 Andrina: Yes.

368 Arthur: Yes.

369 F: Which one?

370 Andrina: Like (.) like (.) in the morning? If it was English okay in (.) like the morning
 371 up until lunch? English. Okay (.) from lunch until the afternoon it would be French.

372 F: But if you think about the timetable?

373 Amboline: That would be impossible.

374 F: So Social Science for example. When you are in Year 10? Yes you're a bit older
 375 but still (.) Year 5 6 7 you have Social Science. Science. Maths.

376 Andrina: Yes.

377 F: Would you use both languages together in each subject? Or would (.) Social
378 Science always just be in English.

379 Arthur: We'd do Social Science just in English. For the French subjects we would
380 just speak French.

381 Andrina: Yes.

382 Arthur: For English we'd just speak English.

383 Amboline: French subjects?

384 F: But which (.) which would be the French subjects? (3) Would you just choose
385 them?

386 Arthur: M-m.

387 <Amboline laughs, everyone joins in>

388 F: Okay but=

389 Andrina: =No I [think that]

390 Amboline: [if not we] just use French.

391 Andrina: Yes (1) I think that every like for every subject we should speak English
392 and French together.

393 F: Uh?

394 Andrina: [Yes.]

395 Amboline: [Yes.]

396 F: From Class 1?

397 Andrina: Yes. Like from Class 1 up to Year 13 uh? So that they speak English? Er
398 and French at the same time.

399 F: But how would they do it? Like they would have five minutes and then switch to
400 French?

401 Amboline: There you? go.

402 Andrina: No like they speak English first? Okay (.) they like turn (.) and say the
403 same sentence again in French.

404 (2)

405 F: For every sentence?

406 Andrina: Yes.

407 Amboline: Wow. That means (xx)

408 F: And then in your exams? One sentence in English one in French?

409 Amboline: Just do it in one.

410 Aston: I think that (.) like all the English subjects? They should just teach in English

411 but (.) when it's time for French? That's when they should teach in=

412 F: =But you say all the

413 Amboline: Like we this time like when it's the hour like the French lesson? Then you

414 Aston: Yes.

415 F: You mean just for language? [Then] you teach in French?

416 Amboline: [No] Not language.

417 F: So that means that every class would happen in English only? Social Science.

418 Science. Maths. Everyone just English?

419 Aston: Yes.

420 F: But there would be just one period for French? [Okay that would be French.]

421 Amboline: [Ah you just won't learn it.]

422 F: But we talk about this question of whether we all school in the same way? Or

423 there are some Anglophones? Some Francophones. But you say that everyone (.)

424 one system.

425 Amboline: Yes.

426 F: So that means we leave out French uh?

427 <all laugh>

428 F: What would happen to those who wanted to learn French? (3) So this is like a

429 difficult question. There is no easy [answer]. It doesn't have an answer. You know

430 the government is arguing about this.

431 Andrina: [Yes]

432 F: But to start with Amboline said no. We should have Anglophone Francophone.

433 Amboline: Yes.

434 F: And then you all said no. We combine them. But the problem is this now? Like we

435 think that oh combining them yes that would be good.

436 Andrina: M-m.

437 F: We would all be the same. We would all learn both. But when we come to the

438 details? How would you be able to [do it?]

439 Amboline: [That's it] it would be hard to do it.

440 F: So. Let's try 4 A again? What would your answer be now?

441 Amboline: Like at Collège de Faranako? They learn whatever Agriculture. Maths.
 442 Then like they give the instructions in French. But do you think that if we did like (.)
 443 both here. And then we just learn language in French we just wouldn't learn French.
 444 With like how many (.) just one lesson a day? And then you learn the French
 445 language? You wouldn't understand (xx).

446 F: So what's the answer. Should we have Anglophone Francophone the two
 447 systems? Or should [we] combine them. We join them.

448 Andrina: [No.] I think that (.) if for
 449 Anglophone? They have a teacher an English teacher. And then (.) for (.) like for
 450 Francophone? We have a (.) a (.) French teacher.

451 Amboline: Aa::h.

452 Andrina: That would mean that

453 Arthur: That would mean all the subjects would mix uh. [Because]

454 Andrina: [No.] Like there would be
 455 times for the teachers to teach them.

456 (3)

457 Amboline: <very quiet> To teach what?

458 <laughter and whispering>

459 Aston: Okay because French? Like Francophone? Their subjects are just the same
 460 as [Anglophone]

461 Amboline:[Subject? Every subject] for Fra- what's that Anglophone every subject for
 462 Francophone it's just the same=

463 Aston: =Okay so then that means that

464 F: M-m. They follow the same syllabus. Only French and English are different.

465 Aston: Okay so it's good to just separate them.

466 Amboline: Hm?-m.

467 <all laugh>

468 Aston: Because (.) English has all its subjects just like (.) [French]. But like for=

469 Amboline: [French]

470 Aston=Us here we make it so that we just learn the French language we have one
 471 lesson every day there is one lesson. But we only know a little in it. But there is no

472 subject in it we just learn language in French. But French has all the subjects that
 473 are the same as us. Like they give the instructions and everything in French. The
 474 answers are just in French.

475 F: So how could we (.) like you said that you wanted everyone to speak English and
 476 French. Or do you not think this is important?

477 Amboline: Yes it's important that we (.) have both.

478 F: So how do we improve French? If we keep these two systems?

479 (2)

480 Amboline: I think we should do it like this (.) when you're small you go up with just
 481 French? Okay when you're older (.) then you just go to English like Simon has done.

482 F: Uh?

483 Arthur: [No you should]

484 Amboline: [Because that will be] easy (.) because if you start in English to go to
 485 French (.) would be hard. So that you know both.

486 F: So you mean that every child should school French first? (2) And then they go to
 487 English?

488 Arthur: If you do that then you wouldn't be able to understand some of the topics in
 489 English.

490 Andrina: M-m.

491 Amboline: But French has just the same topics the same things in all the books as
 492 English everything.

493 Arthur: No because (.) you see some books today (.) many books? If you look at
 494 English they do the working out (xx) differently? And then the French books (2) er (.)
 495 subjects=

496 Amboline: =The topics are just the same you can go and check at Faranako.

497 F: Yes the topics are the same. I've just been at Faranako. I saw the same topics.
 498 But language (.) no but (.) think about? If you are in Class 6? If you feel that you are
 499 a bit weak in Maths. It's like you find numbers confusing. You know some children
 500 aren't really good at Maths.

501 Andrina: Yes.

502 F: And then if you are struggling? And then at the same time you change to another
 503 language?

504 Amboline: Okay.

505 F: Now you will find the numbers are still confusing? But the language will also
 506 make it worse. You will just find that you are confused. It is hard to switch but

507 Arthur: M-m.

508 (2)

509 F: So you okay <addresses Amboline directly> (.) your final answer you think that all
 510 children should go to French first? And then go to English?

511 (3)

512 Amboline: No like I just say that because i::f (.) [xx]

513 F: [Or you] just mean individual
 514 children?

515 Amboline: If a child wants to be good at (.) speaking French and English? Then (.)
 516 that's it you start with French. Because if you start with English it will be hard for you
 517 (.) the=

518 F: =But basically you would keep the two systems?

519 Amboline: M-m.

520 F: English and French.

521 Amboline: M-m.

522 F: <addresses Andrina directly> You too do you agree with the two systems or do
 523 you think you should join them.

524 Andrina: <quietly> You should join them (.) you should join them. <laughs>

525 <all laugh>

526 Amboline: But you think that (.) like here? Where we just learn language.

527 Andrina: Just language.

528 Amboline: But like Fran- Francophone schools? They are the same topics (.) just
 529 the same topics. Like I said (.) we learn [on and on] but all the information is in
 530 French.

531 Aston: [Okay like]
 532 It's like (.) you say that (.) that's true. But because (.) in Vanuatu we want (.) people
 533 who know (.) English? And French? To work in (.) to be able to work in the offices.
 534 But (.) if you (.) you (.) you school F- Fra- you just school French. And then how will
 535 you know English?

536 Amboline: But when you go up then you change you::

537 Andrina: No it will take [a long time]

538 Aston: [But when you] get [up there? Get] up there? (.) To go to
 539 English?

540 Amboline: [No it will be easy]

541 Aston: That (.) I think it will be quite hard for you.

542 Amboline: But look Simon and also (xx) have done the same thing.

543 Andrina: But like some words in English they won't know like to be able to
544 understand well.

545 (1)

546 F: But you <addresses Amboline> you're just talking about individuals. But you
547 <addresses Andrina> I think you are talking about every

548 Amboline: Every (.) [whole]

549 F: [Every] student in Vanuatu uh?

550 Andrina: Yes.

551 F: Because that's different. Yes individual children we have evidence that they can
552 change. Like Simon.

553 Arthur: Yes.

554 F: But if we think about the whole country? You can't decide that every child can
555 switch (.) because there won't be this system.

556 Andrina: Yes.

557 Arthur: Just some.

558 <bell rings>

559 F: Oh the bell's rung. Okay just my last question it's a very quick one. You haven't
560 used one word at all that I have heard a lot? This word is bilingualism. Or bilingual.
561 Do you know this word? Or not.

562 Arthur: No.

563 F: Bi-ling-ual

564 Arthur: What is it?

565 F: <laughs> What is it?

566 Aston: Is it an English word or a French word?

567 <F writes "BILINGUALISM BILINGUISME" and shows the paper to the group>

568 Arthur: It's English.

569 F: Okay this is the English one?

570 Amboline: Bi:: lalala Bi

571 F: That's both together this is the English and the French. This one <points>
572 "bilingualism". That's English. Or <points> "bilinguisme"? That's French. It's the
573 same thing. Have you ever heard this word in your life?

574 Amboline: No.

575 Aston: No.

576 Arthur: No.

577 F: Okay. No it means two languages. If you are bilingual? You know ling that means
578 language.

579 Amboline: M-m.

580 F: Bi means two.

581 Amboline: Two.

582 F: So bilingual means someone who can speak two languages.

583 Andrina: Oh yes.

584 Amboline: Yes.

585 F: Or monolingual? Mono means one.

586 Amboline: One.

587 F: So if you are monolingual you only know one language. Have you heard of
588 multilingual? Multilingualism?

589 Arthur: Um (.) no.

590 F: No. That means many. Many languages. It's a question I'm interested in because
591 I hear the word a lot in Vanuatu? When they talk about languages. But that's
592 interesting you have never heard the word so (.) let's leave it. We won't talk about it.
593 (1) Okay. Any more comments to add?

594 <all laugh and shake heads>

595 F: Okay thank you very much.

Appendix XII – Interview with Collège de Faranako Student Group (Original)

Date: 02-11-11

Location: An empty classroom

Participants: Fylene, Feven, Frazer, Frinston

Notes: I hadn't been able to arrange my visit in advance, and I discovered on arrival that there was no school that day because the teachers were in a meeting. There were quite a few students around, so I asked Fylene and Feven if they would be willing to take part. They then saw Frazer up by the dormitory so called him down, and he found Frinston to make up the group. Frazer is considered to be an above average student, according both to class records and my own language assessment. Fylene and Feven are considered to be average students. Frinston is considered to be below average.

Having given students time to read the questions, I asked whether there were any that they wanted me to explain. They said no, although it became clear later on that they weren't sure about some of them. Later in the interview, they did ask me to explain a few.

I appointed Fylene as chairperson to keep the discussion moving. As a result, students tended to answer questions round in the group.

- 1 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que tu trouves que c'est facile ou difficile d'utiliser le
- 2 français pour apprendre toutes les matières." (2) Long tingting blong mi? Se (.) from
- 3 mi skul kam praemeri mo long secondary i facile blong (.) isi blong toktok long
- 4 French. (2) Long evri matière.
- 5 (5)
- 6 Feven: Mi (2) Mi tu hem i isi long mi we mi skul long praemeri? Mi lanem i go kam
- 7 kasem naolia. Long evri matière.
- 8 Frinston: Toktok strong.
- 9 (7)
- 10 Frazer: Mi tu long tingting blong mi mi luk se (1) long (.) taem mi stat long praemeri
- 11 mi kam long secondary mi luk se (.) uh (.) French i no (.) i no had long mi. Mi luk se
- 12 hem i (.) isi.
- 13 (6)
- 14 Frinston: Mi mi tingting ia nomo. (2) Taem mi skul long praemeri i kam.
- 15 Frazer: Toktok strong.
- 16 Frinston: Finis? Mekem ol matière we ol tija i stap givim (.) i isi nomo.

- 17 (6)
- 18 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que tu es fort en français? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler
19 mieux?” Long tingting blong mi mi laekem. Mi laekem French? Long skul? Mo mi
20 laekem toktok French tu.
- 21 (3)
- 22 Feven: Mi tu long tingting blong mi mi laekem toktok French from mi lanem taem we
23 mi smol. Mi stap lanem blong (.) mi laekem blong lanem tok.
- 24 (6)
- 25 Frazer: Mi tu. Long (.) lanwis French? Mi mi (.) mi harem se hem i isi blong mi
26 lanem.
- 27 (2)
- 28 Frinston: Olsem olgeta i talem finis? Ating (.) mi laekem (.) toktok French from mi
29 statem long praemeri finis i kam.
- 30 (5)
- 31 Fylene: <reads> “Les étudiants ne parlent pas souvent le français au dehors de la
32 classe. Pourquoi.” (10) Long tingting blong mi se ol styuden (.) long yad blong skul
33 bae oli toktok French. Mo oli jes go aot saed blong oli toktok lanwis blong olgeta.
- 34 (16)
- 35 <whispering between Feven and Fylene>
- 36 Frazer: Mi mi luk se (.) olsem insaed long klas? Hemia olsem yumi no (.) bae yu no
37 save toktok er narafala lanwis blong yumi. Bae yumi save toktok lanwis nomo olsem
38 we yumi stap lanem long (.) skul. Be olsem aot saed? Aot saed long skul? Hemia
39 nao olsem sapos yumi save toktok lanwis o Bislama olsem insaed blong yad blong
40 skul. Insaed long klas hemia bae yumi toktok French o Inglis nomo.
- 41 (11)
- 42 Frinston: Ating mi long tingting blong mi? Yumi stap insaed long klasrum yumi
43 lanem French yumi toktok French nomo insaed long yad blong skul. Be taem yumi
44 go aot saed yumi jes toktok ol own lanwis blong yumi.
- 45 (18)
- 46 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que tu penses qu’on doit utiliser des autres langues par
47 exemple l’anglais, le bichelamar, les langues d’Ambae plus souvent à l’école.” (3)
48 Long tingting blong mi se long skul bae yumi lanem French mo Inglis. Blong yumi
49 save toktok French mo Inglis long skul.
- 50 (2)

51 Feven: Mi tu long tingting blong mi (.) olsem bae yumi lanem French mo Inglis long
52 skul. (2) Ol tija oli givim ol wok long yumi oli eksplenem long Inglis mo French i gud
53 blong yumi lanem Inglis mo French.

54 (6)

55 Frazer: Mi long tingting blong mi? Mi luk se (1) bae yumi (.) bae yumi bae yumi
56 lanem French mo (.) er Inglis nomo.

57 (4)

58 Frinston: Long tingting blong mi (.) ating olsem ol narawan oli talem? Ating (.) i gud
59 blong yumi lanem French mo Inglis nomo.

60 (2)

61 F: Okei hemia fas pat blong hem? Bifo yu go on long nekis pat bae mi jes talem wan
62 samting we mi forget/em. Sapos yu (.) especially yu <to Frinston> yu las wan evri
63 taem? Sapos yu harem se ol narawan oli talem samting ia? Yu no nid blong talem
64 sem samting. Sapos yu harem se blong yu i defren? Yu no fraet blong talem se no.
65 Mi mi no agri wetem hemia. Mi mi ting se yumi sud yusum Bislama o (.) samting
66 olsem. Yu no fil se (.) eh hem i talem hemia mi tu bae mi mas talem sem samting.
67 From mi luk se yufala evriwan i talem se yes mi tu. Mi tu. Be hemia fas pat hem i
68 oraet from fas pat ating bae yufala evriwan i gat sem tingting long hem. Be bae yumi
69 kam daon long later kwestin ia? Bae yu luk se no samtaem yu no really agri wetem
70 ol fren blong yu. Yu no fraet blong talem sam samting we hem i defren. Okei? Mo tu
71 i no nid blong evri taem Fylene hem i fas wan blong givim tingting blong hem. Sapos
72 wan blong yufala i harem se yu gat samting blong talem yu go insaed nomo. Okei o
73 sapos Feven i no wantem toktok? Hem i stap nating yet? Ale yes <to Frazer> yu go
74 insaed nomo yu go fastaem. Yu no wet se evri taem Frinston i las wan. (2) Okei? (2)
75 Okei chairperson yu gohed bakegen.

76 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que tu es fort en anglais? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler
77 mieux.” (2) Long tingting blong mi mi laek- (.) Inglis i gud mo (.) bae yu toktok long
78 (.) Inglis.

79 (3)

80 Frazer: Long mi mi luk se (1) uh mi lanem tufala lanwis ia? Mi luk se (.) Inglis olsem
81 (.) naoia olsem (.) mi laekem blong lanem. Inglis. Olsem long tingting blong mi mi no
82 save long tingting blong olgeta.

83 (4)

84 Frinston: Long tingting blong mi? Inglis mi no (1) laekem tumas nao from (.)
85 samtaem mi rid mi no (.) andastanem? Ating (.) mi laekem blong lanem be (.) i no
86 tumas.

87 (2)

- 88 Feven: Mi long ti- <clears throat> mi long tingting blong mi from Inglis? Taem mi
89 skul French gogo mi kam long (.) secondary taem mi lanem Inglis mi harem se i had
90 long mi tu.
- 91 (5)
- 92 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que c’est bon que tu aies l’opportunité de savoir à la fois le
93 français et l’anglais?”
- 94 (2) <Fylene and Feven whispering>
- 95 F: Yu (.) yu er long tingting blong yu? Yu luk se hem i gud se yu save lanem Inglis
96 mo French wantaem? O yu luk se hem i no really helpem yu. Yu save lanem French
97 nomo. Be yu luk se i gud blong lanem tufala lanwis wantaem.
- 98 (4)
- 99 Frinston: Ating mi long tingting blong mi? I gud blong lanem tufala (.) lanwis ia
100 wantaem. French mo (.) Inglis.
- 101 (2)
- 102 F: From wanem. Traem talem ol risen blong yufala yu no olsem yes no nomo.
- 103 Frinston: From (.) blong yu go aot saed luk er (.) sam man we oli tok Inglis o
104 French? Bae oli toktok long yu bae yu save toktok long olgeta.
- 105 (2)
- 106 Feven: Mi long tingting blong mi mi laekem. French mo Inglis? Blong yu go wea? Ol
107 fren we oli no save toktok French mo Inglis bae yu save finis yu save toktok wetem
108 olgeta.
- 109 (8)
- 110 Frazer: Mi tingting blong mi i sem mak nomo wetem tufala.
- 111 (2)
- 112 Fylene: Mi tu.
- 113 <all laugh>
- 114 (3)
- 115 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que c’est bon que le Vanuatu utilise à la fois le français et
116 l’anglais.”
- 117 F: C’est la même question mais (.) fas wan yumi tingbaot yu nomo olsem blong
118 wanwan man yu luk se i gud. Be naoia yumi go long hol kaontri yu luk se i gud se
119 Vanuatu i stap yusum tufala lanwis tugeta? O yu luk se hem i impoten o (.) naoia
120 yumi luk long hol kaontri wantaem.
- 121 (6)

122 Frinston: Mi long tingting blong mi mi luk se (.) hol Vanuatu i yusum (.) Inglis bitim er
 123 (.) French.

124 (2)

125 <Fylene and Feven laugh>.

126 (1)

127 Fylene: Ating long tingting blong mi se Vanuatu i yusum tufala (.) lanwis Inglis mo
 128 French.

129 F: Yu luk se hem i gud?

130 Fylene: Yes i gud.

131 F: From.

132 Fylene: Er.

133 <Feven laughs>

134 (6)

135 F: From wanem hem i gud.

136 Feven: Long olgeta we oli kam long oversea blong oli kam long Vanuatu? Bae oli (.)
 137 sapos oli save toktok Inglis wetem olgeta o French.

138 (8)

139 Frazer: Mi mi luk se (2) i gud. I gud blong yumi lanem (.) olsem long Vanuatu i gud
 140 blong yumi lanem tufala lanwis ia. From (.) se sapos (.) olgeta aot saed sapos oli
 141 kam stap long ples ia oli toktok French o Inglis hem i bae yumi tu bae yumi save (.)
 142 toktok long olgeta.

143 (13) <whispering. Others trying to make Frinston turn his chair round to face the
 144 others as he had slowly turned himself further from me and the group throughout
 145 the interview. Then whispers to Fylene to move to number 3>

146 Fylene: Namba 3. <reads> “Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont
 147 plus d’opportunités pour aller à l’étranger pour continuer leur éducation.”

148 (14)

149 Frazer: Long mi mi luk se uh (5) ol hem ol Inglis skul nomo (.) oli go (.) oli go aot
 150 saed long kaontri blong yumi blong oli lanem ol sam samting o::

151 (24) <whispering>

152 Frinston: Ating mi long tingting blong mi mi tu (.) i gud blong ol Francophone wetem
 153 Anglophone bae oli jes go aot saed blong (.) continue leur (.) édu.

154 Feven: <laughs> <whispers> Leur édu.

155 Frinston: Aot saed long kaontri blong yumi.

156 (15)

157 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus
158 d’opportunités pour trouver un emploi?”

159 (5)

160 F: Long evri kwestin long section ia? Yu traem tingbaot ol Anglophone? Olgeta we
161 oli skul Inglis? Ol Francophone olgeta we oli skul French. Yu stap luk se okei fas
162 wan. Hu i gat mo janis blong oli go oversea blong oli stadi. Hu i gat best janis blong
163 kasem wan job. Yu luk se mainly ol Anglophone oli kasem job? O mainly ol
164 Francophone oli kasem job o tufala tugeta nomo.

165 <whispers>

166 (3)

167 F: Be sapos yu no save hem i oraet. Yu talem nomo mi mi no save o samting
168 olsem.

169 (14) <whispers about the question>

170 F: O sapos yu wantem gobak long narawan i oraet yu gobak.

171 (13)

172 Frazer: Mi luk se (7) ol Inglis ia? Ol olgeta we oli skul Inglis nao olsem oli (.) oli save
173 (1) oli save kasem wok blong olgeta. Bitim ol (.) olsem ol French skul. Olsem long
174 tingting blong mi mi luk se i olsem nao.

175 (17) <whispers>

176 Frinston: Ating

177 Fylene: Ating i sem mak olsem Frazer i talem.

178 (9)

179 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones apprennent le
180 français et l’anglais le mieux?”

181 (33)

182 <whispers>

183 Feven: <whispers to Frazer> Er kwestin?

184 (7)

185 Frazer: <to me> Yu traem eksplenem kwestin?

186 F: Okei hem i minim (.) hemia C uh?

187 Frazer: M-m.

188 F: Okei hem i min se (.) uh yu luk se ol Francophone? Oli (.) oli save lanem Inglis
 189 mo French oli save tekem hariap? O ol Anglophone oli gud long saed blong lanwis.
 190 Yu luk se i gat eni defrens long hem? O evriwan i sem mak nomo.

191 (1)

192 Frazer: Mi mi luk se (.) olsem mi mi skul (.) from mi mi skul long French. Mi luk se (.)
 193 taem mi skul French? Naoia mi stap long secondary mi luk se (.) Inglis hem i isi
 194 blong mi blong mi lanem.

195 (4)

196 F: Be yu ting se blong ol Anglophone hem i defren?

197 Frazer: Mi luk se from (.) mi harem sam styuden blong Anglophone ia sam se (.) oli
 198 harem se hem i had blong oli lanem French. Be long mi mi luk se olsem mi luk se (.)
 199 Inglis hem i isi nomo.

200 F: Yufala i traem tingbaot se from wanem? From wanem Inglis hem i isi blong yufala
 201 be French hem i had blong olgeta.

202 (7)

203 Frinston: Ating long mi? Ating mi skul French mo Inglis hem i isi long mi nomo.
 204 Taem yu skul Inglis i kam long French (.) hem i had long yu.

205 <Even and Fylene laugh>

206 (10) <whispers>

207 Frinston: From taem yu skul long French yu (1) yu tekem French? Taem yu go
 208 blong yu (1) olsem tija blong Inglis i kam tijim yu hemia yu andastanem hariap
 209 nomo. From hem i sem mak nomo wetem (3) French.

210 (4)

211 F: Be ol Anglophone? Yu talem se Inglis hem i sem mak wetem French? So hemia i
 212 min se olgeta we oli skul Inglis? Oli no sud fesem had taem wetem French uh?
 213 From tufala i sem mak nomo.

214 (1)

215 Frinston: Uh.

216 F: No mi no talem se tingting blong yu i rong be mi askem nomo se hao nao (.)
 217 olsem mi mi harem sem samting fulap taem? Ol Anglophone oli harem se i had
 218 blong oli tekem French. Be mi no save from wanem? Wanem i defren?

219 (5)

220 Frazer: Mi from (.) mi harem hem i isi nomo from

221 Feven: <whispers> Mifala i toktok.

222 (4)

223 Frazer: Yumi yusum toktok Bislama finis? Afta sam

224 (2)

225 Feven: C'était wod blong yumi long Inglis.

226 Frazer: Yes.

227 Feven: O

228 (4)

229 Frazer: Sam

230 Feven: <whispers> Sam wod blong yu.

231 Frazer: Mekem se <laughs>

232 Feven: <whispers> Sam wod?

233 Frazer: <laughs> Sam wod olsem (.) hem i klosap i kam olsem Inglis. Mekem se (.)

234 oli toktok Inglis be hemia nao. Olsem naoia (.) yu save harem save nomo.

235 (21) <whispering>

236 Fylene: <reads> "A ton avis y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou

237 l'anglais au Vanuatu."

238 (3) <whispers>

239 F: So hem i min se sapos yumi kaontem evri man we i save toktok French long

240 Vanuatu? Afta yumi kaontem evri man we oli toktok Inglis long Vanuatu? Yu luk se i

241 hamas. Which wan i gat mo.

242 (1)

243 Fylene: Long tingting blong mi mi no save.

244 (4)

245 Feven: <whispers> Mi no save.

246 Frazer: Mi? Mi luk se (.) mi tu mi no save be (2) mi luk se (1) Inglis ia nao olsem. I

247 fulap. I fulap. Fulap man i toktok er (.) Inglis.

248 (2)

249 Frinston: Ating blong mi bae mi no save talem.

250 <all laugh>

251 Feven: Mi tu (.) mi luk se ol man oli toktok Inglis.
 252 (2)
 253 Fylene: <reads> "A ton avis y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou
 254 l'anglais dans le monde."
 255 (9)
 256 F: Hem i sem mak mais dans le monde entier. C'est pas au Vanuatu nomo. (8)
 257 Long tingting blong yu nomo. Yu no fraet se i no stret ansa.
 258 Frazer: Mi long tingting blong mi mi luk se (.) mi luk se mi no save.
 259 Feven: Mi tu mi no save.
 260 (15)
 261 Frinston: Long tingting blong mi mi ting (1) fulap (1) oli toktok French? Samfala oli
 262 toktok Inglis.
 263 (15)
 264 Frazer: Yes. Mi mi luk se (2) long (1) most ia nao se (.) ol lanwis nao oli toktok
 265 plante long hem.
 266 (26)
 267 F: So yufala i ting se long Vanuatu mo man i toktok Inglis bitim French?
 268 Fylene: Yes.
 269 Feven: Uh-uh.
 270 F: From wanem nomo yufala i ting se ol man oli toktok mo Inglis bitim French.
 271 (5)
 272 Frinston: From se (2) fulap Inglis skul.
 273 (2)
 274 Feven: From fulap man oli skul Inglis.
 275 (4)
 276 Frazer: Tingting blong mi olsem ia nao.
 277 (2)
 278 F: Okei blong folemap sem poen bakegen olsem (.) long section tri ia? Yu yu bin
 279 talem se yu luk se ol man we oli skul Inglis oli save kasem job hariap. Oli save go
 280 overseas blong stadi bakegen. From i gat fulap skul we oli skul Inglis. Yu luk se hem
 281 i wan gud situation o no yu luk se i gat wan problem blong yufala we yufala i skul
 282 French. Mekem se laef blong yu bae i had o (.) hemia i wan problem long Vanuatu.

283 (24) From yumi stap tokbaot yumi long Vanuatu nao? Yumi no tokbaot wan buk we i
 284 stap tokbaot wan kaontri long narasaed blong wol. Hemia olsem yumi nao yumi stap
 285 long wan French skul. So taem yu talem se ol man we oli skul French? Yu stap
 286 tokbaot yufala ia nao. So yu luk se situation hem i oraet? O (.) olsem laef blong yu
 287 bae i olsem wanem.

288 (19)

289 Frazer: Mi luk se (1) olsem long Inglis oli (.) olsem wok kwik from (.) olsem fulap
 290 man olsem (.) fulap wok Inglis. Olsem ol Inglis (.) man (.) mekem se (.) naoia oli
 291 save (.) er save

292 (3)

293 Frinston: <whispers> Save (.) kasem.

294 Frazer: Oli save kasem wok blong olgeta hariap. Eksampol French skul from (.) sam
 295 (.) i no gat (1) fulap man we oli toktok French mekem se i no gat fulap wok. Oli no
 296 save (.) continue.

297 (8)

298 F: Okei yumi mov i go long las pat uh?

299 (3)

300 Fylene: <reads> A ton avis, devrait-il y avoir un seul type d'écoles pour tout le
 301 monde au Vanuatu ou des écoles séparées pour des francophones et anglophones.

302 (20)

303 Frazer: Yu save eksplenem kwestin bakegen?

304 F: Okei. So bae mi talem fastaem se hem i wan kwestin we i no gat wan ansa blong
 305 hem. Yu mas stap long tingting blong yu nomo. Olgeta ol tija yestedei? Oli no save
 306 ansarem kwestin ia. Yumi jes traem tingbaot se which wan hem i best wan. So
 307 kwestin hem i se (.) naoia long Vanuatu? Yumi gat tu kaen skul. Yumi long ples ia?
 308 Yumi skul French. Longwe long Angolovo College olgeta oli skul Inglis. So i gat tu
 309 kaen skul. Inglis French. So long tingting blong yufala i gud se yumi gat tu kaen skul
 310 olsem naoia? O hem i mo gud se yumi joenem tufala tugeta i gat wan skul nomo.

311 (3)

312 Frazer: Mi mi luk se (.) i gud blong yumi karem tufala tugeta. (3) From er (.) olsem
 313 tugeta lanwis ia (.) yumi stap toktok long hem. Olsem evri man i stap toktok long evri
 314 dei. Olsem yu save go aot long kaontri yu save toktok French o Inglis. Mekem se (.)
 315 mi luk se i gud blong yumi lanem tufala (.) lanwis tugeta. Tugeta lanwis.

316 (4)

317 Frinston: Mi long tingting blong mi mi no save se bae mi talem se olsem wanem. (3)
 318 Mi nomo save nomo se (.) bae mi no save talem.

319 (2)

320 Fylene: Ating tingting blong mi i sem mak se Frazer we i talem finis.

321 (4)

322 F: Okei so sapos we yumi tekem tingting blong Frazer? I talem se yumi evriwan
 323 yumi skul tufala tugeta. Hao nao bae i save wok. Yu traem talem se long Klas 1 i go
 324 antap? Bae evri pikinini i yusum Inglis French wantaem? O yumi skul French
 325 fastaem? Afta yumi jenis i go long Inglis? O yumi lanem Sciences Sociales long
 326 Inglis Maths long French? Hao nao bae yumi save mekem. Olsem hemia nao mi
 327 talem se i no gat wan stret ansa blong hem be yumi save talem se yumi wantem se
 328 yumi kasem tufala lanwis tugeta. Be traem tingbaot timetable blong skul. Blong Klas
 329 1 i go antap. Hao nao bae yumi save mekem.

330 (10) <whispering>

331 Feven: Mi harem se

332 Frinston: Mi harem se i fasfas.

333 <all laugh>

334 F: Yu luk se Klas 1 bae oli olsem wanem. Bae oli yusum wanem lanwis.

335 Frinston: Oli yusum wan nomo.

336 (2)

337 F: Okei. Long Klas 2?

338 Frinston: Ating oli kam kasem long Klas

339 (2)

340 Fylene: 7.

341 Frinston: 6. Mi harem se oli yusum wan lanwis nomo. Bae oli kam antap long Yia 7
 342 afta bae oli jes stap yusum tufala.

343 F: So yu talem se bae oli yusum wan nomo long praemeri? Which wan.

344 Feven: <whispers> French.

345 Frinston: French o Inglis?

346 F: Min se bae i gat tufala skul yet? (.) Narawan i yusum Inglis narawan i yusum
 347 French?

348 <all laugh>

349 F: Hemia nao yu luk se problem nao.

350 <all laugh loudly>

351 F: <to Fylene and Feven> Wanem tingting blong yutufala? <points to Frazer> Hem i
 352 talem se tufala wantaem uh? Be Frinston i talem se narawan fastaem ale narawan i
 353 joen long secondary?
 354 Feven: <whispers> Wan nomo.
 355 F: Afta? Sapos yu stap long Ministri blong Edyukesen naoia? Bae yu talem wanem?
 356 <all laugh>
 357 Frinston: Mi no save.
 358 Frazer: Mi no save se bae (.) hem i talem wan lanwis be bae yumi yusum which
 359 wan.
 360 (2)
 361 Feven: <whispers> Bae yumi yusum French.
 362 Frinston: (xx)
 363 F: Frinston? Yu traem toktok strong from smol samting ia nomo <points to voice
 364 recorder>. Yu traem talem tingting ia.
 365 (10)
 366 Frazer: Wanem tingting blong yu. <to Frinston>
 367 <all laugh>
 368 Fylene: Yu talem.
 369 Feven: Mi long tingting blong mi se bae yumi yusum French taem yumi skul long
 370 praemeri i kam antap. Kasem long Klas 6. Afta yumi (.) blong go long secondary
 371 long Yia 7 go long
 372 Fylene: <whispers> Tufala lanwis.
 373 Feven: French mo Inglis. Ol tija oli kam givim Inglis blong yumi bae yumi stap
 374 yusum.
 375 (2)
 376 F: Okei mi mi luk se yumi gat tri option i stap long tebol. Narawan ia? Hem i yumi
 377 evriwan yumi skul French fastaem? Kasem Yia 7 uh?
 378 Frazer: M-m.
 379 F: Afta Yia 7 bae yumi introduce/m Inglis i go insaed bae yumi yusum tufala tugeta.
 380 Uh?
 381 Frazer: M-m.

382 F: Okei hemia wan option. Bae mi askem se yufala evriwan yu decide se which wan
 383 ia nao. Be nara option? Yumi joenjoenem tufala ia mekem se long Klas 1 i go
 384 antap? I gat sam Inglis i gat sam French. O las option ia? Yumi lego? Narawan i
 385 yusum Inglis nomo? Narawan i yusum French nomo? Kasem long Yia 7. Afta yumi
 386 (.) combine/m uh?
 387 Frinston: No.
 388 F: No wanem tingting blong yu? Yu talem wan nomo be yu no save se which wan.
 389 Be i min se i stap long wanwan skul nomo blong jusum?
 390 Frinston: No.
 391 Frazer: Ating i gud blong yumi <laughs>
 392 (6)
 393 Fylene: Ating i gud blong yumi lanem tufala tugeta.
 394 F: Long Klas 1 i go antap?
 395 (3)
 396 Fylene: Yia 7 i go antap.
 397 F: Tija bae i (.) olsem wanem. Bae i talem finis long French talem bakegen long
 398 Inglis?
 399 (5)
 400 Frazer: Ating (2) olgeta long (.) olsem stat long praemeri olgeta long Inglis bae oli
 401 toktok (.) um Inglis? Afta? Olgeta uh long saed blong Francophone oli toktok
 402 French? Kasem Klas 6? Afta olgeta long Francophone oli (.) olsem stat long Yia 7 i
 403 go antap? Toktok Inglis. Afta? Nara (.) nara (.) olsem narawan olgeta long
 404 Anglophone ia bae oli (.) jenisim lanwis ia oli traem toktok French.
 405 F: Afta bae oli yusum wan lanwis nomo yet? Be narawan?
 406 <all laugh>
 407 F: Oi Anglophone oli yusum French nomo long secondary? (2) O tufala tugeta.
 408 Frazer: Tufala tugeta.
 409 <all laugh loudly>
 410 (10) <whispers>
 411 F: Eni mo samting blong ademap nomo?
 412 <very quiet whispering – French and English are mentioned>
 413 F: Yu wantem talem wan samting bakegen?

414 Feven: Talem.

415 Frinston: <very quiet> (xx)

416 Frazer: Toktok strong.

417 F: Mi tu mi no harem. Traem talem bakegen.

418 Frinston: Tingting blong mi ating bae mifala i yusum wan nomo. French.

419 F: Olwe i go kasem long Yia 13?

420 Frinston: M-m.

421 F: Min se lego Inglis nomo uh?

422 <all laugh>

423 F: I oraet yu talem. Olsem hem i wan possibility. Yumi evriwan yumi skul French

424 nomo.

425 Frinston: M-m. Yumi evriwan yumi skul French kasem Yia 13. Legu Inglis. <laughs>

426 Frazer: Mi luk se yumi lanem Bislama nomo.

427 <all laugh loudly>

428 F: Yu luk se hem i possible? Yumi yusum Bislama long skul.

429 Frinston: Non.

430 Feven: No.

431 F: From?

432 (3)

433 Frinston: From

434 (10)

435 Frazer: Sapos yumi lanem Bislama nomo? From klosap evriwan i toktok Bislama.

436 F: Yu ting se sapos ol tija oli tij oli yusum Bislama bae yu save kasem? (1) Bae hem

437 i mekem se i mo isi blong yufala?

438 (1)

439 Fylene: Yes

440 Frinston: Yes::

441 F: Okei mi harem se bae yumi finis long ples ia nomo. Mi luk se yufala i wantem slip

442 nomo.

443 <all laugh>

444 F: Okei. Yumi finis long ples ia nomo. Tangkiu tumas blong taem blong yufala.

**Appendix xii – Interview with Collège de Faranako Student Group
(Translation)**

Date: 02-11-11

Location: An empty classroom

Participants: Fylene, Feven, Frazer, Frinston

Notes: I hadn't been able to arrange my visit in advance, and I discovered on arrival that there was no school that day because the teachers were in a meeting. There were quite a few students around, so I asked Fylene and Feven if they would be willing to take part. They then saw Frazer up by the dormitory so called him down, and he found Frinston to make up the group. Frazer is considered to be an above average student, according both to class records and my own language assessment. Fylene and Feven are considered to be average students. Frinston is considered to be below average.

Having given students time to read the questions, I asked whether there were any that they wanted me to explain. They said no, although it became clear later on that they weren't sure about some of them. Later in the interview, they did ask me to explain a few.

I appointed Fylene as chairperson to keep the discussion moving. As a result, students tended to answer questions round in the group.

1 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que tu trouves que c'est facile ou difficile d'utiliser le
2 français pour apprendre toutes les matières." (2) In my opinion? (.) Because I've
3 learnt it through primary and secondary it's easy to (.) easy to speak French. (2) In
4 every subject.

5 (5)

6 Feven: Me (2) Me too it is easy for me because since I was in primary? I've learnt it
7 until now. In every subject.

8 Frinston: Speak loudly.

9 (7)

10 Frazer: Me too in my opinion I think that (1) from (.) the time I started primary and
11 came to secondary I think that (.) uh (.) French is not (.) is not hard for me. I think
12 that it is (.) easy.

13 (6)

14 Frinston: That's my opinion. (2) Because I've learnt it since primary.

15 Frazer: Speak loudly.

16 Frinston: Already? It means that the subjects which the teachers give us (.) are
 17 easy.

18 (6)

19 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que tu es fort en français? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler
 20 mieux?" In my opinion I like it. I like French? At school? And I like speaking French
 21 too.

22 (3)

23 Feven: Me too in my opinion I like speaking French because I learnt it when I was
 24 little. I am learning it to (.) I like learning to speak it.

25 (6)

26 Frazer: Me too. For (.) the language French? I (.) I think it's easy for me to learn it.

27 (2)

28 Frinston: Like the others have already said? Maybe (.) I like (.) speaking French
 29 because I started it in primary onwards.

30 (5)

31 Fylene: <reads> "Les étudiants ne parlent pas souvent le français au dehors de la
 32 classe. Pourquoi." (10) My opinion is that students (.) should speak French in the
 33 school yard. And they should just go outside to speak their own language.

34 (16)

35 <whispering between Feven and Fylene>

36 Frazer: I think that (.) like in class? It's like we (.) you cannot speak er our other
 37 languages. We can only speak the language that we learn in (.) school. But like
 38 outside? Outside school? It's like we can speak lanwis or Bislama like in the school
 39 yard. Inside class we can only speak French or English.

40 (11)

41 Frinston: Maybe me in my opinion? When we are in the classroom we learn French
 42 and we speak French only in the school yard. But when we go outside we just
 43 speak our own languages.

44 (18)

45 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que tu penses qu'on doit utiliser des autres langues par
 46 exemple l'anglais, le bichelamar, les langues d'Ambae plus souvent à l'école." (3) In
 47 my opinion at school we learn French and English. So we can speak French and
 48 English at school.

49 (2)

50 Feven: Me too in my opinion (.) like we learn French and English at school. (2)
 51 When the teachers give us work they explain in English and French so it's good that
 52 we learn English and French.

53 (6)

54 Frazer: In my opinion? I think that (1) we should (.) we should learn French and (.)
 55 er English only.

56 (4)

57 Frinston: In my opinion (.) as the others have said? Maybe (.) it's good to learn just
 58 French and English.

59 (2)

60 F: Okay that's the first part? Before you go on to the next part let me just say
 61 something that I forgot. If you (.) especially you <to Frinston> you are the last one
 62 each time? If you feel that the others have said one thing? You don't need to say
 63 the same. If you feel that for you it's different? Don't be afraid to say no. I don't
 64 agree with that. I think we should use Bislama or (.) something like that. Don't feel
 65 that (.) eh she said that so I have to say the same thing. Because it seems that all of
 66 you are saying yes me too. Me too. But for the first part that's okay because maybe
 67 you all have the same opinions about it. But when we come down to the later
 68 questions? You will find that something you don't really agree with your friends.
 69 Don't be afraid to say something different. Okay? And also Fylene doesn't always
 70 need to be the first one to give her opinion. If one of you feels that you have
 71 something to say just go in. Okay or if Feven doesn't want to speak? She's not
 72 saying anything? Okay yes <to Frazer> you just go in you go first. You don't have to
 73 wait so that Frinston is always the last one. (2) Okay? (2) Okay chairperson you go
 74 ahead again.

75 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que tu es fort en anglais? Est-ce que tu aimerais le parler
 76 mieux." (2) In my opinion I like- (.) English it's good (.) if you speak in (.) English.

77 (3)

78 Frazer: For me I think that (1) uh I learn both languages? I think that (.) English like
 79 (.) now like (.) I like learning. English. Like that's my opinion I don't know what the
 80 others think.

81 (4)

82 Frinston: In my opinion? English I don't (1) like it much because (.) sometimes when
 83 I read I don't (.) understand? Maybe (.) I like learning it but (.) not too much.

84 (2)

85 Feven: Me in- <clears throat> in my opinion English? As I've learnt French all the
 86 way up to (.) secondary now I'm learning English I find it's hard for me too.

87 (5)

88 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que c’est bon que tu aies l’opportunité de savoir à la fois le
89 français et l’anglais?”

90 (2) <Fylene and Feven whispering>

91 F: You (.) you er what do you think? Do you think it’s good that you can learn
92 English and French together? Or do you think that it doesn’t really help you. You
93 could just learn French. Do you think it’s good that you learn both languages
94 together.

95 (4)

96 Frinston: Maybe in my opinion? It’s good that we learn both (.) these languages
97 together. French and (.) English.

98 (2)

99 F: Why. Try to give reasons and not just say yes or no.

100 Frinston: Because (.) when you go out and meet er (.) people who speak English or
101 French? When they speak to you you can speak to them.

102 (2)

103 Feven: In my opinion I like them. French and English? Wherever you go? If you
104 have friends who don’t speak French and English you know them already so you
105 can talk to them.

106 (8)

107 Frazer: I think the same as those two.

108 (2)

109 Fylene: Me too.

110 <all laugh>

111 (3)

112 Fylene: <reads> “Est-ce que c’est bon que le Vanuatu utilise à la fois le français et
113 l’anglais.”

114 F : It’s the same question but (.) the first one we were thinking about you like as an
115 individual if you think it’s good. But now let’s think about the whole country do you
116 think it’s good that Vanuatu uses both languages together? Or do you think that it is
117 important or (.) now we are thinking about the whole country.

118 (6)

119 Frinston: In my opinion I think that (.) the whole of Vanuatu uses (.) English more
120 than er (.) French.

121 (2)

122 <Fylene and Feven laugh>.

123 (1)

124 Fylene: In my opinion Vanuatu uses both (.) languages English and French.

125 F: Do you think that's good?

126 Fylene: Yes it's good.

127 F: Because.

128 Fylene: Er.

129 <Feven laughs>

130 (6)

131 F: Why is it good.

132 Feven: For those who come from overseas to Vanuatu? They (.) so they can speak

133 English with them or French.

134 (8)

135 Frazer: I think that (2) it's good. It's good for us to learn (.) like for Vanuatu it's good

136 that we learn these two languages. Because (.) if (.) people from outside come here

137 and they speak French or English then we can also (.) talk to them.

138 (13) <whispering. Others trying to make Frinston turn his chair round to face the

139 others as he had slowly turned himself further from me and the group throughout

140 the interview. Then whispers to Fylene to move to number 3>

141 Fylene: Number 3. <reads> "Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont

142 plus d'opportunités pour aller à l'étranger pour continuer leur éducation."

143 (14)

144 Frazer: To me it seems that uh (5) it's only English schools (.) who go (.) who go

145 outside our country to learn things o::r

146 (24) <whispering>

147 Frinston: In my opinion maybe (.) it's good for Francophones and Anglophones to

148 go out to (.) continue their (.) education.

149 Feven: <laughs> <whispers> Their education.

150 Frinston: Outside our country.

151 (15)

152 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones ont plus

153 d'opportunités pour trouver un emploi?"

154 (5)

155 F: For every question in this section? Think about Anglophones? People who school
 156 English? Francophones who school French. So for the first one. Who has more
 157 chances to go overseas to study. Who has the best chance to get a job. Do you
 158 think that it's mainly Anglophones who get jobs? Or mainly Francophones who get
 159 jobs or both together.

160 <whispers>

161 (3)

162 F: But if you don't know that's okay. Just say that you don't know.

163 (14) <whispers about the question>

164 F: Or if you want to go back to the other one that's okay go back.

165 (13)

166 Frazer: I think that (7) the English? Those who school English now like they (.) they
 167 can (.) they can find work for themselves. More easily than (.) those from French
 168 schools. Like in my opinion I think it's like that.

169 (17) <whispers>

170 Frinston: Maybe

171 Fylene: It's maybe like Frazer says.

172 (9)

173 Fylene: <reads> "Est-ce que les Francophones ou les Anglophones apprennent le
 174 français et l'anglais le mieux?"

175 (33)

176 <whispers>

177 Feven: <whispers to Frazer> Er the question?

178 (7)

179 Frazer: <to me> Can you explain the question?

180 F: Okay it means (.) C uh?

181 Frazer: M-m.

182 F: Okay it means that (.) uh do you think that Francophones? They (.) when they
 183 learn English and French do they learn them easily? Or are Anglophones good at
 184 languages. Do you think there is any different between them? Or is everyone just
 185 the same.

186 (1)

187 Frazer: I think that (.) like I learnt (.) because I school French. I think that (.) when I
 188 school French? Now I'm at secondary I think that (.) English is easy for me to learn.

189 (4)

190 F: Do you think it's different for Anglophones?

191 Frazer: I think that (.) I've heard some Anglophone students say (.) they find it hard
 192 to learn French. But for me I think it's like I think that (.) English is easy.

193 F: Can you try and think about why? Why is English easy for you but French is hard
 194 for them.

195 (7)

196 Frinston: For me? I school French and English is easy for me. When you school
 197 English to come to French (.) is hard for you.

198 <Feven and Fylene laugh>

199 (10) <whispers>

200 Frinston: Because when you school French you (1) you take French? When you go
 201 (1) like the English teachers come and teach you that you can understand easily.
 202 Because it's just the same as (3) French.

203 (4)

204 F: But Anglophones? You say that English is the same as French? So that means
 205 that those who school English? They shouldn't face a hard time with French uh?
 206 Because they're both the same.

207 (1)

208 Frinston: Uh.

209 F: I'm not saying that your idea is wrong but I'm just asking how (.) like I've heard
 210 the same thing many times? Anglophones find it hard to learn French. But I don't
 211 know why? What is different?

212 (5)

213 Frazer: For me (.) I just find it easy because

214 Feven: <whispers> We speak.

215 (4)

216 Frazer: We use we already speak Bislama? And some

217 (2)

218 Feven: They are the words from English.

219 Frazer: Yes.

220 Feven: Or

221 (4)

222 Frazer: Some

223 Feven: <whispers> Some of your words.

224 Frazer: Means that <laughs>

225 Feven: <whispers> Some words?

226 Frazer: <laughs> Some words like (.) they are similar to English. So (.) they speak

227 English but that's it. Like now (.) you can understand.

228 (21) <whispering>

229 Fylene: <reads> "A ton avis y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou

230 l'anglais au Vanuatu."

231 (3) <whispers>

232 F: So this means that if we count all the people who speak French in Vanuatu? And

233 then we count all the people who speak English in Vanuatu? How many do you

234 think. Which one has more.

235 (1)

236 Fylene: In my opinion I don't know.

237 (4)

238 Feven: <whispers> I don't know.

239 Frazer: Me? I think that (.) me too I don't know but (2) I think that (1) It's English now

240 like. There are many. Many. Many people speak er (.) English.

241 (2)

242 Frinston: For me I don't think I can say.

243 <all laugh>

244 Feven: Me too (.) I think that people speak English.

245 (2)

246 Fylene: <reads> "A ton avis y a-t-il plus de personnes qui parlent le français ou

247 l'anglais dans le monde."

248 (9)

249 F: That's the same but in the whole world. It's not just in Vanuatu. (8) Just in your
 250 opinion. Don't worry if it's not the right answer.

251 Frazer: In my opinion I think that (.) I don't think I know.

252 Feven: Me too I don't know.

253 (15)

254 Frinston: In my opinion I think (1) many (1) speak French? Some speak English.

255 (15)

256 Frazer: Yes. I think that (2) in (.) most now (.) they speak a lot in these languages.

257 (26)

258 F: So you think that in Vanuatu more people speak English than French?

259 Fylene: Yes.

260 Feven: Uh-uh.

261 F: Why do you think that people speak more English than French.

262 (5)

263 Frinston: Because there are (2) many English school.

264 (2)

265 Feven: Because many people school English.

266 (4)

267 Frazer: That's what I think.

268 (2)

269 F: Okay to follow up the same point again like (.) in section three? You said that you
 270 thought that people who school English can get a job quickly. They can go overseas
 271 to study again. Because there are lots of English schools. Do you think that this is a
 272 situation or do you think there is a problem for those of you who school French.
 273 Does it mean that your life will be hard or (.) is this a problem in Vanuatu. (24)
 274 Because we are talking about us in Vanuatu? We are not talking about a book that
 275 is talking about a country on the other side of the world. It's like us here in a French
 276 school. So when you talk about people who school French? You are talking about
 277 yourselves now. So do you think this situation is okay? Or (.) like what will your lives
 278 be like.

279 (19)

280 Frazer: I think that (1) like English speakers (.) find jobs quickly (.) like many people
 281 like (.) many work in English. Like English (.) speakers (.) so (.) now they can (.) er
 282 can

283 (3)

284 Frinston: <whispers> can (.) get.

285 Frazer: They can find work easily. For example French schools (.) some (.) there
 286 aren't (1) many people who speak French so there isn't much work. They can't (.)
 287 continue.

288 (8)

289 F: Okay shall we move to the last part uh?

290 (3)

291 Fylene: <reads> A ton avis, devrait-il y avoir un seul type d'écoles pour tout le
 292 monde au Vanuatu ou des écoles séparées pour des francophones et anglophones.

293 (20)

294 Frazer: Can you explain the question again?

295 F: Okay. So let me say first that this is a question that doesn't have an answer. Just
 296 think about your own ideas. The teachers yesterday? They couldn't answer this
 297 question. We just trying to think which one is best. So the question is (.) at the
 298 moment in Vanuatu? We have two kinds of school. Here? We school French. Down
 299 there at Angolovo College they school English. So there are two kinds of school.
 300 English French. So in your opinion is it good that we have two kinds of school like
 301 this? Or would it be good if we joined the two together into one school.

302 (3)

303 Frazer: I think that (.) it would be good if we brought the two together. (3) Because
 304 er (.) like both these languages (.) we speak them. Like everybody speaks them
 305 every day. Like you can go out of the country and speak French or English. So (.) I
 306 think that it's good to learn both (.) language together. Both languages.

307 (4)

308 Frinston: In my opinion I don't know what I would say. (3) I don't know (.) I can' say.

309 (2)

310 Fylene: I think my opinion is the same as what Frazer said.

311 (4)

312 F: Okay so if we take Frazer's idea? He said that all of us should school together.
 313 How would it work. Try and say from Class 1 upwards? Would all children use
 314 English and French at the same time? Or would we learn French first? And then

315 change to English? Or would we learn Social Science in English Maths in French?
316 How would you do it. Like this is what I said there is no straight answer but we can
317 say that we want us to learn both languages together. But try and think about the
318 school timetable. From Class 1 upwards. How would we do it.

319 (10) <whispering>

320 Feven: I think

321 Frinston: I think it would be a mess.

322 <all laugh>

323 F: What would they do in Class 1. Which languages would they use.

324 Frinston: They would use just one.

325 (2)

326 F: Okay. In Class 2?

327 Frinston: They should come to maybe Class

328 (2)

329 Fylene: 7.

330 Frinston: 6. I think they should just use one language. They would come up to Year
331 7 and then just use two.

332 F: So you say that they should use just one in primary? Which one.

333 Feven: <whispers> French.

334 Frinston: French or English?

335 F: Do you mean there would still be two schools? (.) Some using English and others
336 using French?

337 <all laugh>

338 F: That's it you see the problem.

339 <all laugh loudly>

340 F: <to Fylene and Feven> What do you two think? <points to Frazer> He says both
341 at the same time uh? But Frinston says one first and then join the other one at
342 secondary?

343 Feven: <whispers> Just one.

344 F: So? If you were at the Ministry of Education now? What would you say?

345 <all laugh>

346 Frinston: I don't know.

347 Frazer: I don't know (.) he says one language but which one would we use.

348 (2)

349 Feven: <whispers> We would use French.

350 Frinston: (xx)

351 F: Frinston? Try and speak clearly because of this thing <points to voice recorder>.

352 Do you want to say your idea.

353 (10)

354 Frazer: What's your idea. <to Frinston>

355 <all laugh>

356 Fylene: Say it.

357 Feven: In my opinion we should use French when we're in primary school upwards.

358 Until Class 6. Then when we (.) go to secondary in Year 7 we should go to

359 Fylene: <whispers> Both languages.

360 Feven: French and English. The teachers will come and give English to us and then

361 we'll use it.

362 (2)

363 F: Okay it seems we have three options on the table. One? We all school French

364 first? Up to Year 7 uh?

365 Frazer: M-m.

366 F: And then in Year 7 we introduce English and we use both together. Uh?

367 Frazer: M-m.

368 F: Okay that's one option. I will ask each of you to decide which one. Another

369 option? We join the two so that from Class 1 onwards? There is some English and

370 some French. Or the last option? We leave it? Some just use English? Some just

371 use French? Up to Year 7. And then (.) we combine them uh?

372 Frinston: No.

373 F: No what's your idea? You said just one but you don't know which one. But do you

374 mean it's just up to each school to choose?

375 Frinston: No.

376 Frazer: I think we should <laughs>

377 (6)

378 Fylene: I think we should learn both together.

379 F: From Class 1 upwards?

380 (3)

381 Fylene: Year 7 upwards.

382 F: How will the teachers (.) do it. Will they use French first and then repeat it in
383 English?

384 (5)

385 Frazer: Maybe (2) those in (.) like starting in primary those in English will speak (.)
386 um English? Then? Those uh on the Francophone side will speak French? Up to
387 Class 6? And then Francophones (.) like starting from Year 7 upwards? Speak
388 English. And then? The others (.) others (.) like the others in Anglophone will (.)
389 change the language and try and speak French.

390 F: So they will still use one language only? But the other one?

391 <all laugh>

392 F: Anglophones will use French only in secondary? (2) Or both together.

393 Frazer: Both together.

394 <all laugh loudly>

395 (10) <whispers>

396 F: Any other ideas to add?

397 <very quiet whispering – French and English are mentioned>

398 F: You want to say something else?

399 Feven: Say it.

400 Frinston: <very quiet> (xx)

401 Frazer: Speak loudly.

402 F: I didn't hear either. Try and say it again.

403 Frinston: In my opinion I think we should just one. French.

404 F: All the way up to Year 13?

405 Frinston: M-m.

406 F: So just leave out English uh?

407 <all laugh>

408 F: It's alright you can say that. Like it's a possibility. We could all just school French.
409 Frinston: M-m. We should all just school French up to Year 13. Leave out English.
410 <laughs>
411 Frazer: I think we should just use Bislama.
412 <all laugh loudly>
413 F: Do you think that's possible? To use Bislama in school.
414 Frinston: No.
415 Feven: No.
416 F: Because?
417 (3)
418 Frinston: Because
419 (10)
420 Frazer: What if we just learnt Bislama? Because almost everyone speaks Bislama.
421 F: Do you think that if the teachers taught using Bislama would you understand? (1)
422 Would it make it easier for you?
423 (1)
424 Fylene: Yes
425 Frinston: Yes::
426 F: Okay I think maybe we should just finish here. You're all looking really tired.
427 <all laugh>
428 F: Okay. Let's finish here. Thank you all for your time.

Appendix XIII – Interview with Angolovo College Teacher Group 1 (Original)

Date: 01-11-11

Location: On the grass outside a teacher's house

Participants: Miss Adina, Miss Agnes, Mr Aru

Notes: This was originally intended to be a pilot interview, but it went smoothly and all participants agreed that I could use the data. At the end, they suggested electing a chairperson to keep the discussion moving, and I followed this suggestion in subsequent interviews.

Miss Adina and Miss Agnes had agreed in advance to take part. Two others didn't show up so I grabbed Mr Aru at the last minute. I realised as we sat down that Mr Aru was quite senior to the other two, and had been at the school for a long time, while Miss Agnes and Miss Adina were relatively new. I didn't want the Mr Aru to dominate, and did raise this issue. Mr Aru also pointed out that all three participants were English teachers, which was not ideal.

By this time, it was getting late, so we just sat under the tree outside Mr Aru's house, rather than looking for a suitable location. This presented certain noise problems, particularly when the chapel service started nearby. A few parts are also obscured by rooster noises.

I explained the format and gave participants time to read the questions before starting the recording.

1 Mr Aru: Namba wan kwestin hem i askem sapos <translates from question> yumi
2 faenem i isi o i had blong yumi tijim (1) yusum Inglis blong tijim ol sabjek. Long saed
3 blong mi mi ting se (.) ating hem i (.) yeah olsem bae yumi save talem se hem i
4 had? But then mi faenemaot myself that taem we mi yusum Inglis blong eksplenem
5 wan samting hem i much more easier than we mi traem blong putum long Bislama.
6 So long mi:: long saed blong hao yu yusum Inglis blong (.) tijim ol sabjek mi fil
7 flexible wetem? Mi fil oraet wetem? Er (.) most of the time taem we mi stap yusum
8 Bislama mi harem olsem se samfala wod hem i ha- (.) hem i had blong mi
9 identify/em olgeta wod/s ia. So mi (.) mi fil se (.) yusum Inglis er (.) blong tijim wan
10 sabjek insaed long skul? Mi mi fil comfortable wetem.

11 (7)

12 Miss Adina: Olsem Mr Aru i talem? Yes tijim yusum Inglis? Tijim ol styuden hem i
13 mo isi be I think it's from se hem i matter of (.) yumi pasem knowledge. So it's a
14 matter of understanding wanem (.) so I think taem mi yusum Inglis mi faenem i isi
15 be (.) styuden taem i tekem? Bae hem i faenem i had lelebet blong hem i tekem. So
16 sometimes? Sometimes mi no (.) mi no yusum Inglis approach evri taem sometimes

17 mi mas kamdaon long level blong olgeta (.) eksplenem slowly or putum long simple
18 terms. Sometimes? I can go as far as explaining it in Bislama. (1) From se mi ting
19 se olsem (.) long eria we mi tijim ia hem i Ing- (.) hem i lanwis? So it doesn't matter
20 if I use any language in passing on the knowledge. Be olsem (.) since skul rul/s hem
21 i stap hem i talem se (.) uh yes English is er medium of passing instruction so (1)
22 mas yusum Inglis evri taem? Be sometimes se out of school taem oli kam askem mi
23 for help? Long haos? Mi tend to use Bislama sometimes to (.) explain things easier
24 blong oli easier blong oli grasp/em aedia. (1) Yeah and I think styuden/s oli tekem
25 oli no (.) oli faenem Inglis i difficult. Afta? Oli no save tekem tumas samting long
26 Inglis be oli (.) oli tend to andastanem samting taem yu eksplen long Bislama. (2)
27 And then yes. Afta mi luk se both (.) both (.) both English and Bislama mi save
28 yusum blong mi save pasem knowledge since language is any language (1) yusum
29 blong communicate/em information.

30 (4)

31 Miss Agnes: Okei mi ating long lukluk blong mi? Olsem mi:: (.) er fastaem we olsem
32 blong mi tijim Inglis? Hem i mi faenem i had lelebet blong mi tijim from (.) er (.)
33 olsem (.) mi mi bin er (.) olsem go long French fastaem. French skul so taem mi
34 kam blong tijim Inglis olsem fulap taem bae mi mas prepare/em mi wan fastaem?
35 Olsem especially taem fas yia blong mi blong mi tij. Afta taem se i kam go olsem
36 naoia seken yia? Mi mi filim se naoia olsem se (.) mi save yusum (.) i stret nomo
37 long klas wetem ol styuden. Be samtaem bae ol styuden bae oli nid blong mi riptim
38 bakegen mi wan? Samtaem i no klia tumas long olgeta so bae mi mas riptim (.) er
39 (.) instruction blong mi bakegen blong mekem i mo klia long olgeta. So (.) i no isi
40 tumas blong mi blong mi (.) er yusum long klasrum. Hemia lukluk blong mi.

41 Mr Aru: Long seken pat blong kwestin se (.) <translates from question> ol styuden
42 oli faenem i isi o i had? Olsem Miss Adina hem i talem hem i (.) hem i (.) i gat few
43 styuden/s nomo we bae oli traem blong (.) yu givim ol explanation long Inglis we
44 olgeta i grab/em (.) er straightaway. Fulap blong olgeta bae yu introduce-m bae yu
45 riptim sem information o sapos no? Olsem long level blong pikinini olsem Bislama
46 yumi yusum hem i much more klia long olgeta? Olgeta i prefer blong yu givim wan
47 explanation long Bislama. And wan o tu taem i gat sam (.) olsem ol stret styuden/s
48 we oli kam long (.) we mifala i yusum sem lanwis? Bae mi mi traem bes blong mi
49 blong eksplenem long lanwis. And mi luk i gat sam oli andastanem Bislama? Sam
50 oli andastanem long lanwis much quicker than Bislama.

51 (2)

52 Miss Adina: Yes olsem bak tu long (.) bak long kwestin ia bakegen? From se (.)
53 olsem yumi stap traem blong yusum from olsem purpose blong yumi hem i blong
54 helpem ol styuden uh? Afta olsem taem yumi yusum tumas Bislama? Yusum tumas
55 lanwis. Olsem mi samtaem mi stap mekem? Afta bae mi faenem se in the end bae
56 olgeta nomo oli suffer/em consequences because they are writing their exams in
57 English. (1) Afta (.) olsem bae mi mas traem bes blong mi (.) se taem mi yusum
58 Bislama long klas o aot saed of klas be mi mas sometimes yusum Inglis afta olsem
59 (.) blong pasem on knowledge from se bae oli stil raetem eksam/s long Inglis. Hem i
60 difficult blong styuden/s i grasp/em samting long Inglis olsem (.) olsem sam

61 styuden/s nomo oli (.) oli save hariap blong tekem long Bislama (1) I mean English
62 but Bislama? Olsem oli save tekem i isi nomo. Wetem lanwis. (1) And also long (.)
63 olsem (3) long seken kwestin ia? Afta (.) afta we olsem (.) sapos (.) mi luk se oli no
64 save grasp/em samting long Inglis? Afta dis taem olsem (.) taem yu mekem (.) i
65 mekem yu yu eksplenem samting long Bislama? <laughs> Afta nao yumi stap
66 competent long nara lanwis nao. So mi samtaem bae mi go be bae mi mas gat wan
67 limit we you stop here. Yu no eksplenem <laughs> tumas samting long Bislama.
68 With lanwis. (1) Own mother tongue.

69 (5)

70 Mr Aru: Long long seken (.) long seken kwestin ia? Ating long seken pat blong (.)
71 blong kwestin. (1) Ating ansa blong hem yes. Olsem yumi actually do/im nao. Yumi
72 yusum that language. But er (.) all the time because Inglis? Hem i wan seken lanwis
73 blong yumi. So yumi ol seken lanwis speakers blong Inglis? Yumi no speak that
74 fluent. Olsem uh yufala ol fas speakers blong Inglis. So er hem i really (.) wan nid.
75 Though mi toktok mi fil comfortable wetem ol (.) lanwis blong mi be mi stil wantem
76 sapos mi save improve/um (.) mo. Mi save improve/um mo. Long sense se (.) taem
77 we yu speak/im fluently? Then hem i not only fluent. But hem i mekem i isi. I isi long
78 olgeta listeners we oli stap lisin. Sapos yu (.) yu speak/im olsem wan (.) wan starter
79 blong lanwis then hem i really had blong olgeta oli andastanem yu. So mi lukum
80 hemia we hem i stap long ples ia? Olsem (.) at this point of time mi confident? But
81 mi really wantem save hao nao mi save improve/um ia. (12) And blong add up long
82 hemia bakegen? Bae yumi faenemaot (.) ol (.) ol contexts o ol environment we yumi
83 stap yusum lanwis long hem? Hem i (.) hem i mekem a lot of difference. Hem i
84 contribute to difference blong hao yu yusum. Er samtaem olsem sapos we yumi
85 stap in front of students hemia you speak very fluent.

86 Miss Adina: M-m.

87 Mr Aru: Be sapos yumi stap wetem defren (.) mature people naoia bae lanwis ia i go
88 defren nao. Bae hem i nomo <Miss Adina and Miss Agnes laugh> sem mak olsem
89 blong toktok wetem olgeta

90 Miss Adina: Tru.

91 Mr Aru: Ol styuden/s.

92 (6)

93 Miss Adina: Yes tru ia. I tru tumas long context. Different context you tend to use
94 different (.) languages. Long (.) afta antap long hem tu olsem (.) ol defren concepts.
95 Ol defren concepts we yu yusum? Samtaem hem i ol (.) yumi nid we oli foreign? O
96 samtaem i gat nem (.) i gat nem blong hem nomo long Inglis? So taem yu talem
97 nem blong hem long Inglis? Naoia you tend to use English. Afta sapos concept ia
98 hem i olsem (.) hem i wan local concept nomo? Bae you tend to use Bislama o uh
99 own mother tongue taem yu stap traem blong olsem. Olsem defren concepts ia? Oli
100 karem ol defren lanwis we yumi stap yusum. (5) Um yes. Long namba (.) kwestin C
101 ia? <reads> "Students and staff do not speak English very often outside the
102 classroom. Why is this." <laughs> (3) Mi mi ting se (.) ating yes. Environment tu

103 <laughs> hem i (.) taem yumi long klasrum yumi luk se (.) taem yumi klasrum afta
 104 yumi se klasrum yumi tok Inglis nomo. Be taem mi stap long haos blong mi o long
 105 wan defren aot saed environment? Mi save toktok eni lanwis olsem mi wantem.
 106 <laughs> Afta olsem expressing myself hem i more easier tu.

107 Mr Aru: Long kwestin C ia? Hao we mi lukum and most of the time mi traem blong
 108 faenemaot ansa blong hem. From wanem yumi olsem. And then mi come up to
 109 maen blong mi hem i olsem. Taem we mi lukum wan Ni-Vanuatu? Olsem
 110 straightaway bae mi laek blong speak long hem long Bislama nomo. (1) Er i no
 111 minim se mi no save toktok that language be taem we mi lukum wan man we olsem
 112 wan man Vanuatu? Olsem straightaway hemia wan (.) mentality i kam finis se bae
 113 mi mas tok Bislama long hem. Be bae yu faenem defrens long skul uh? Olsem
 114 yufala? Yufala i kam wetem ol expatriate tija/s oli stap wetem mifala? Aot saed bae
 115 mi mi tok long yu long Inglis nomo. Be wetem wan man Vanuatu no. Mi tok Bislama
 116 long hem nomo. So hem i come to wan (.) olsem wan attitude uh? Wan attitude.
 117 Taem we yumi lukum whoever hem i kam? Then straightaway yumi decide wanem
 118 lanwis nao bae mifala i yusum.

119 (7)

120 Miss Agnes: Ating long ples ia tu mi luk se sapos we (.) olsem ol pikinini oli gro i
 121 kam antap? Olsem oli (.) sapos oli stat yusum Inglis i kam gogo oli go long skul?
 122 Ating bae hem i (.) hem i isi blong oli yusum inside and outside. From taem oli grow
 123 up i kam oli yusum Bislama o lanwis olsem. Afta taem oli kam long skul bae oli sem
 124 blong yusum (.) uh hemia nao. Bislama o lanwis instead of uh (.) Inglis outside the
 125 classroom. Mi ting se wan (.) risen hemia nao. Olsem ol pikinini oli (.) lan blong
 126 yusum tumas Bislama o lanwis finis i kam.

127 (6)

128 F: Mi save askem yufala i toktok strong lelebet. Mi wari se smol samting ia bae i no
 129 save kasem. Mi fraet nomo se (.) bae mi save check afta? Be lukaot mi lusum evri
 130 data blong yufala.

131 (4)

132 Mr Aru: Okei long (.) olsem hemia namba tri kwestin ia hem i (.) hem i sem mak
 133 olsem bae yumi tokbaot context long we yumi stap long hem. Mi givim eksampol. Er
 134 yumi stap wetem olgeta (.) ol Fijian. Hemia straightaway bae yumi tok Inglis nomo.
 135 No matter what the (.) olsem wan understanding behind that is these people don't
 136 know how to speak er Bislama so straightaway bambae yu (.) be olsem mi mi
 137 harem blong mi? Se why yumi tok English we olgeta i save andastanem Bislama
 138 nomo. So bambae yumi stap communicate wetem Bislama ia nao. (1) Ating i no gat
 139 eni spesel risen we biaen long that one? Then mi ting se hem i matter of wan
 140 attitude we you get used to that attitude we yu wantem speak/im in Bislama. (19)
 141 Nekis kwestin D ia? Hem i (.) ating yumi discuss/em lelebet pat blong hem antap ia?
 142 Wetem hemia bae yumi kambak bakegen nao hem i (.) ol lanwis/es yumi save
 143 yusum be yumi yusum long ol specific taem ol risen/s blong hem. Then bambae
 144 yumi save yusum olgeta. Like for example sapos yu (.) yu save yusum Bislama nao
 145 sapos we wan explanation i go to wan extent we olgeta ol styuden oli nomo

146 andastanem? Nao bae yu kamdaon ia nao. Be (.) olsem kwestin about whether
 147 yumi save yusum olgeta insaed long klasrum mi ting se bae yumi save mekem. But
 148 only that (.) hao we yumi provide/em syllabus long olgeta lanwis/es ia bambae hem i
 149 must be long wan depth (.) quality so bambae yumi save yusum. Olsem mi mi
 150 tekem eksampol naoia? Long Bislama ia? Yumi no really save yusum because yu
 151 faenemaot se most long olgeta vocabularies ia? Yumi no save (.) yumi no save.
 152 Yumi tend to yusum wan wod for two three four five different things. So taem we
 153 yumi yusum olsem ia? Yumi practise/im wan (.) pikinini se (.) taem we oli kam bae
 154 (.) taem we oli gobak long Inglis? Then olgeta bae oli adoptem Bislama system ia
 155 bae i go long Inglis. Then hem i really had blong olgeta i (.) express/em olgeta long
 156 Inglis.

157 (6)

158 Miss Adina: I tru. Ol styuden/s oli faenem i had taem yu eksplen long Bislama? Oli
 159 putum daon long pepa i had we. So eni single wod we yu author/em in Inglis?
 160 <laughs> They tend to copy down everything you say. Olsem word by word. So
 161 blong oli save yusum insaed long essay blong olgeta. O samtaem bae oli askem yu
 162 blong yu ripitim bakegen wanem yu talem long Inglis? From se (.) olgeta i had blong
 163 i translate/em i kam long (.) olsem (1) raetem daon insaed long olsem (.) long own
 164 wod/s blong olgeta. Afta mi luk se i no fair. Considering polisi blong yumi which is (.)
 165 er what's it? (2) er that all children can go to school. Have equal chances in
 166 education. So sapos oli save grasp/em samting better in Bislama? Why don't we
 167 use Bislama all throughout o (1) so mi ting se olsem (.) polisi blong yumi olsem hem
 168 i talem. Equal chances evri pikinini bae oli mas (.) olsem gat edyukesen be (.) sapos
 169 oli no save grasp/em samting long Inglis? Afta? Hemia ia i no suit/um polisi i no
 170 satisfy/em polisi blong yumi nao. Be sapos sapos oli save andastanem samting
 171 better in Bislama? There is no harm in expl- (.) be problem ia nomo from sam long
 172 ol samting long Bislama? Oli minim olsem Mr Aru i talem? Tu tri samting at once. So
 173 mi ting se sapos olsem (.) sapos oli save andastanem samting long Bislama? (1)
 174 Why not tijim olgeta long Bislama. From se purpose hem i them grasping the
 175 knowledge. From olsem for example? In Fijian they use standard Fijian blong oli (.)
 176 oli toktok. And in Samoa? Oli skul long lanwis blong ol. In Tonga they (.) oli skul
 177 long lanwis blong ol. Why don't we use Bislama olsem standard lanwis olsem.
 178 Nasonal lanwis blong yumi. (2) Yes. <laughs>

179 (2)

180 Mr Aru: Yes bae yumi gobak long (.) long lanwis ia. Yu putum wan eksampol long
 181 ples ia olsem Ambae lanwis. Um mi really agri wetem hemia olsem bae yumi
 182 save yusum lanwis blong tijim long skul/s. But only provided that er yumi gat yumi
 183 prepare/em wan syllabus. So that yumi folem syllabus. From sapos we yumi go (.)
 184 olsem long own tingting blong yumi? Then bambae yumi tijim so many different
 185 things. Er but mi mi agri wetem lanwis? Because er (.) sapos yumi compare/em
 186 olgeta lanwis (.) lanwis I mean mother tongue Ambae lanwis wetem Bislama? Er
 187 Ambae lanwis hem i mo rich. Bitim er Bislama. Hem i mo rich long in terms of
 188 vocabulary. And then olgeta (.) ol uh oda blong olgeta sentens we yumi raetem
 189 olgeta (.) i gud. And then mi bilivim plante from bae mi givim eksampol se sapos we
 190 (.) er wan pikinini we i grow up hem i yusum lanwis nomo. Bambae yu faenemaot se

191 pikinini ia taem hem i lanem seken lanwis bae hem i master/em much more quicker
 192 than blong i yusum Bislama. Because er long that language we hem i yusum ia? I
 193 gat ol vocabularies we bae oli similar long Inglis nomo. Er i gat wod blong hemia
 194 long lanwis ia? We i gat long Inglis blong yu (.) you just conv- olsem translate/em
 195 mining blong hem hem i go. Mi mi lukum at the moment? Olsem long (.) long (.)
 196 edyukesen polisi blong yumi hem i stap tokbaot (.) ol priskul/s oli stap long er
 197 vernacular. But then hao mi bin visitim hamas we mi lukum. Hem i no really wok aot
 198 long sense se oli traem aot. Olsem (.) long (.) long beginning blong hem? Oli traem
 199 aot blong yusum evri lanwis/es i go without mentioning any word in English? And
 200 then taem oli go kasem longwe? Taem blong translate nao i had. I had nao. So hao
 201 we mi lukum? Yumi save yusum effectively nomo sapos we (.) yumi (.) yumi (.) yumi
 202 draft/em wan syllabus we bae hem i (.) wan core syllabus? Er English and then i gat
 203 lanwis. Then? Taem oli go kasem the end? Automatically bae olgeta i save
 204 master/em Inglis. Be sapos yumi ting se oh yumi go long (.) lanwis nomo? And then
 205 bae yumi afta wan yia tu yia/s time? Bae ol pikinini olsem bae oli stat ova long (1)
 206 Inglis bae i no wok. (2) That's hao mi lukum. (19) Yes long sem kwestin yet about
 207 French? Olsem hem i wan sort (.) olsem (.) wan (.) polisi blong kaontri blong yumi
 208 se yumi traem evri bes blong yusum tufala lanwis/es ia. Insaed long olgeta skul/s
 209 blong yumi. So yumi traem bes blong yumi olsem (.) er as much as possible so as
 210 we yu (.) yu save (.) lanem (.) French lanwis samwea? O yu save toktok lelebet?
 211 And then bambae hem i helpem lelebet. Olsem bae yumi talem ating bae yumi
 212 discuss/em samwea raon the line ia be bae (.) hem i easier long sam pipol. Olsem
 213 French oli kam blong lanem Inglis hem i no problem be blong yumi blong lanem
 214 French? Hem i wan difficulty we hem i stap. Olsem. Unless oli starting (.) olsem
 215 Miss Agnes hem i tokbaot? Yu start off wetem French then yu go long Inglis then
 216 hem i oraet. (17) Sapos long D yu no gat eni ting mo blong yumi tokbaot then yumi
 217 mov on long nekis wan?

218 Miss Adina: Okei.

219 (2)

220 Mr Aru: <reads from question> "Do you speak French? Do you wish to speak it
 221 better?" (1) Yes ating er bae (.) sam blong yumi bae oli talem yes? Sam bae oli
 222 talem se hardly. Sam bae oli talem no nothing at all. (1) Er mi personally mi
 223 andastanem French. Mi andastanem French be hao bae mi speak/im hemia olsem
 224 se bae mi speak wetem olgeta very ol ol (.) ol start off blong speaking French. But
 225 mi mi do andastan. Um only that sapos we eniwan we hem i speak French long (.)
 226 wan conversation between two people long French se tufala i toktok slo? Nao bae
 227 mi save andastanem be sapos oli go faster? Nao intres blong mi i lus nao. Bae mi
 228 no save catch up wetem tufala nao. But er (.) mi intres. Mi intres since er kaontri (.)
 229 kaontri Vanuatu hem i olsem wan bilingual kaontri and then most long olgeta
 230 samting bae (.) raet nao hem i (.) oli mekem i kam wan (.) wan demand we each
 231 wan (.) o wan sitisen blong Vanuatu hem i mas traem blong gat janis blong
 232 acquire/em tufala lanwis/es. Because sapos we for example yu tekem wan job long
 233 ples ia bae mebi wan requirement long ples ia? You have to understand English
 234 and French at the same time. So hem i mekem hemia encourage/im (.)
 235 encourage/im yumi se (.) yumi traem bes se sapos yu wan English speaker? You
 236 learn French as well. And sapos yu wan French speaker? You learn English as well.

237 (10)

238 Miss Adina: <laughs> French.

239 <all laugh>

240 (4)

241 Miss Adina: French. (8) <laughs> Er French. Long mi? French. (2) Mebi ol basics
 242 yes. I mean je ne sais pas? Ca va? Ol kaen olsem ia oli isi blong mi andastanem isi
 243 blong mi speak. Smolsmol basics olsem smolsmol lanwis olsem. But olsem Mr Aru i
 244 talem blong mi kasem two French speaking people as they talk too fast? I cannot
 245 understand at all. Mi wis se mi save French <laughs> from se (.) not only for the
 246 purpose of communicating with French people? Be taem yu go aot olsem (.) yu go
 247 aot blong (.) aot saed long kaontri? Afta bae ol man oli luk yu? Sapos oli save se yu
 248 blong Vanuatu? Oli save se Vanuatu is a bilingual country? Afta yu sud save both
 249 languages. And it's (.) such a shame sapos yu save wan nomo. <laughs> <others
 250 laugh> Taem yu go sidaon long klas oli talem se hands up you who are from
 251 Vanuatu? Afta yu putum han blong yu i go antap afta oli askem yu yu save French
 252 <laughs> wetem English mi se no mi save Inglis nomo <laughs>. So hemia hem i
 253 wan sem sapos mi no save French. Mi really wantem lanem French. Wetem yes. (2)
 254 Olsem apart blong Inglis. (3) Yes hem i wan interesting (1) i no (.) olsem (.) mi
 255 laekem harem ol man i stap toktok. Mi laekem saon blong hem. Mi laekem harem
 256 saon blong man i toktok French be mi blong mi toktok <laughs> i had lelebet ol
 257 smolsmol toktok nomo mi save talem be (.) deep conversation? Then bae mi no
 258 save andastanem mo mi no save talem nomo <laughs>. Be hem i gud blong ol
 259 Vanuatu (.) olsem ni-Vans? Should speak both English and French.

260 (4)

261 Miss Agnes: Okei ating long mi? French? Olsem mi save toktok French? Olsem mi
 262 talem mi bin go long French skul ating (.) mi mekem praemeri long (.) long French
 263 skul so i mekem se (.) mi save toktok gud French. Afta be wan samting taem mi
 264 switch i go long Inglis? Olsem taem mi stap long environment we yumi yusum Inglis
 265 plante so mi no (.) olsem tend blong yusum French mekem se mi faenem i had
 266 bakegen blong mi stap toktok be mi andastanem fulwan? Olsem mi save uh wanem
 267 olsem long conversation mi save harem save evri samting. Taem mi stap tumas
 268 long environment we yumi no yusum French naoia olsem bae mi no save (.) toktok
 269 French tumas. Be (.) mi stap intres nomo blong mi toktok French ol taem.

270 (2)

271 F: Yu switch long wanem yia. Yia 7?

272 Miss Agnes: Yes Yia 7 mi go long Inglis. So mekem se (1) mi andastanem (.)
 273 French be i had blong toktok. Mi no stap toktok tumas long hem.

274 (2)

275 Miss Adina: Hao nao yu faenem Inglis? Taem yu switch i go. Isi.

276 Miss Agnes: I isi nomo. From taem yu skul French blong go long Inglis hem i isi
 277 nomo. I gat tu long wan experience blong mi mi luk se long taem se yu skul French?
 278 Olsem long French skul? Oli no sem blong toktok. Olsem yumi yusum French aot
 279 saed insaed the classroom? Nomata oli talem olsem broken i go? Oli no sem blong
 280 toktok. Oli yusum nomo. Be Inglis olsem se sapos yu toktok Inglis naoia bae oli laf
 281 long yu nao. So i mekem se (.) ol pikinini oli no laekem toktok Inglis tumas be
 282 French nogat. Ol pikinini oli go aot saed yu harem oli toktok French nomo mekem
 283 se (.) bae yu stap long wan skul we (.) French skul? Bae yu toktok French nomo i
 284 go.

285 (1)

286 Miss Adina: Why nao ol pikinini oli faenem (.) olsem oli harem se i had blong toktok
 287 Inglis. Whereas French oli totally flexible.

288 (1)

289 Mr Aru: Mi (.) mi stap traem blong wokemaot uh risen (.) hemia olsem yu talem ia?
 290 Mi stap luk olsem se (.) mebi i gat plante risen/s be wan long olgeta because taem
 291 we yumi tijim Inglis long olgeta? Yumi (.) yumi traem blong encourage/im olgeta
 292 blong oli speak/im wan gud Inglis uh?

293 Miss Adina: Ah okei.

294 Miss Agnes: Yes hem i tru.

295 Mr Aru: So oli fraet ia. Oli fraet taem we oli no save mekem wan (.) oli yusum ol
 296 tenses (.) ol raet tenses wetem (.) pronunciation (.) dis taem oli tend (.) hem i givim
 297 wan threat long olgeta. Nogud bae mi mestem bae oli laf long mi. Be olsem hem i
 298 talem long French? Mi stap andastanem olgeta (.) nomata what tense? I raet o i
 299 rong yu go nomo. Be olgeta i practise/im. Oli practise/im long en blong hem oli
 300 faenem hem i no really had blong yumi lanem French. Er wan (.) wanfala styuden
 301 we hem i stap long ples ia. And then after all hem i mekem (.) taem hem i folem wan
 302 man? Hem i folem olgeta (.) olgeta ol Wallis we oli yusum. I mean French nomo. Dis
 303 taem? Afta tu tri yia/s hem i speak French very fluently. Hem i speak very fluent.
 304 And then mi faenemaot tu i gat ol relatives blong yumi we oli stap oli Inglis speaker
 305 long Vanuatu? Taem oli go stap long New Caledonia for wan o tu yia? Oli kambak
 306 ia yu jes sek long olgeta nomo. So i minim se conversation every now and then yu
 307 realise se i possible kwiktaem nomo.

308 (6)

309 Miss Adina: So hem i (1) hem i a matter of olsem (.) environment context tu we yumi
 310 yusum. Sapos (.) olsem yumi toktok olsem defren (.) speakers? Oli gat defren (.)
 311 wei/s? O (1) what do you call it? Blong oli toktok uh (6) what do you call it? Defren
 312 variety? Defren man i gat defren variety blong hem i toktok

313 Mr Aru: Yes.

314 Miss Adina: Inglis. Olsem ol defren variety blong speaking English. Variety or stael.
 315 (2) Olsem hemia tu bae i save influence/em ol (.) olsem i gat impact insaed long ol

316 styuden/s speaking English as well. Especially English. Mi no save. Inglis? O defren
 317 wod/s. Defren stael blong toktok?

318 F: M-m.

319 Miss Adina: Whereas French i gat wan stael nomo uh?

320 (1)

321 F: No i sem mak nomo.

322 Miss Adina: <laughs> Be ating olsem ol def- (.) that's why ol styuden oli faenem i
 323 had blong oli toktok Inglis? Afta <laughs> mi luk se i had blong oli (.) oli (.) oli toktok
 324 from oli wantem se bae oli toktok olsem yu bae yufala i mas toktok stret. Mekem se
 325 (.) taem oli toktok? Bae i had blong oli toktok Inglis. Bae oli fraet blong yusum Inglis.
 326 Hemia nao. (1) So mebi sapos yumi really wantem se styuden i toktok Inglis? Yumi
 327 sud gat wan (.) wan stael nomo <laughs> blong toktok Inglis. Wan stael ia. Wan (.)
 328 blong evriwan i stap toktok sem mak. Wan tingting nomo. (1) Mi no save hao nao
 329 bae yumi achieve/im hemia be olsem wan tingting nomo.

330 (2)

331 Mr Aru: Wan (.) wan nara risen we yumi talem se yumi reluctant blong yumi stap
 332 yusum Inglis olsem (.) lanwis blong communication blong yumi? Hem i wan (.) wan
 333 (.) er wan kalja? Wan kalja blong yumi ol man Vanuatu. Bae yu faenem defrens
 334 blong hem. Uh Solomon wetem Vanuatu wetem Fiji ia? Bae hem i to- (.) Fiji? Olgeta
 335 hemia yumi jes tokbaot naoia? Whether wan gud Inglis o whatever nogat?

336 Miss Adina: Yes.

337 Mr Aru: Olgeta i go nomo. Oli go nomo. Oli speak Inglis. So wan attitude we olgeta i
 338 gat ia? Hem i (.) oli no wantem save oli jes go nomo. Be yumi olsem se (.) wan habit
 339 we yumi folem ia? Yumi fraet. Nogud mi mekem mistake. So hemia nao bae yumi
 340 lukum across the board nomo. Uh evri ting taem yu do/im? Yu tingting se sapos mi
 341 mekem rong bae oli laf long mi so wan (.) bifo yu mekem wan samting fraet i stap
 342 finis.

343 (3)

344 Miss Adina: Tru.

345 (8)

346 Mr Aru: Yeah blong kwestin we hem i stap (.) <translates from question> wan
 347 individual hem i (.) er save both Inglis wetem French? Mi ting se (.) olsem yumi stap
 348 long ples ia hem i (.) hem i wan sort of an identity as well. Taem you get to know
 349 both languages? Then yu go aot yu fil se yes yu blong Vanuatu nao.

350 Miss Adina: Tru.

351 Mr Aru: Be sapos yu go yu lanem wan nomo then yu fil se no (.) yu bin (.) pat blong
 352 narafala kaontri be i no Vanuatu. From yu no save tufala lanwis.

353 Miss Adina: Tru.

354 (10)

355 Mr Aru: Long nekis kwestin we hem i stap ia C ia? <reads question> “Is it good that
356 Vanuatu uses both English and French? Mi ting se yes ating (.) olsem in terms of
357 naoia hem i hemia. Se yumi traem as much as possible blong yumi yusum tufala
358 lanwis/es and then (.) oli kam antap wetem education master plan we hem i stap
359 naoia? Oli stap unify/em wan curriculum we both English and French olgeta i
360 yusum. So i minim se (.) wan requirement we hem i stap long Vanuatu hemia.
361 Olsem i dipen long wanwan blong yumi nao. Hao yumi (.) yumi (.) I mean. Firstly?
362 Olgeta antap long Ministry blong Edyukesen or Curriculum er oli kamdaon wetem ol
363 syllabus we olgeta i unify/em olgeta? Then bambae yumi save yusum. Be mi ting se
364 hem i wan gud aedia. From right now olsem se wanwan man hem i traem blong
365 toktok. Sapos hem i wan English speaker? Yu traem toktok French ia? Hem i long
366 own way blong yu nomo. Hao nao bae yu save mekem wei blong yu blong go tru.
367 But sapos yumi save gat wan unified curriculum we hem i stap in ples? Ating bae
368 hem i easier long yumi. Yumi yusum (.) because yumi folem curriculum ia yumi tijim
369 insaed the classroom at the same time you learn. As a teacher you learn too. (18).
370 And yet long ples ia? Olsem yumi tokbaot tufala lanwis/es blong Vanuatu? Long
371 level blong Vanuatu? Hem i naoia bae yu faenem. Bae yu faenem se (.) especially
372 long olgeta (.) olgeta airlines o (.) hemia bae oli nidim somebody we hem i bilingual
373 nao. Yu tok French and er after a (.) couple of minutes yu (.) uh switch i go long
374 French hemia nao bae olgeta i really wantem. Sapos we yu wan English speaker
375 nomo yu wan French speaker nomo mebi priority hem i no blong yu. So i minim se
376 ol pipol from (.) olsem yumi harem finis? Taem oli tokbaot Vanuatu oli expect/em se
377 yu must be wan bilingual nao. So taem we yumi go olsem ia sapos (.) fas ting oli
378 toktok long Inglis long yu. Sapos yumi go aot from Vanuatu yu toktok Inglis. Sapos
379 yu no save andastanem nekis ting bae oli traem French nao? So oli expect/em se
380 yumi save either long tufala lanwis/es ia. (13) Ating yumi mov i go long nekisfala
381 wan? Sapos i no gat mo discussion long hem.

382 Miss Adina: <laughs> Yumi mov i go long namba 3.

383 (3)

384 Mr Aru: Okei 3 A ia? Ating hem i wan gudfala kwestin we olsem yumi nid blong
385 discuss/em. Hem i wan interesting kwestin tu blong yumi tok raon long hem. (1)
386 Anglophones and Francophones have better chance (.) which of (.) I mean. <reads
387 question> “Do Anglophone or Francophone have better chances of going overseas
388 to study.” (1) Okei ating er olsem long lukluk we hem i stap naoia hao we mi lukum
389 ating most long olgeta nao ol Anglophone. Oli go aot for stadi oversea. Olgeta we oli
390 go aot especially long skolasip ofis/es ia? Bae most long olgeta ol Anglophone. Er
391 Francophone bae sam (.) I mean sam long olgeta Francophone oli go as far as (.)
392 oli (.) oli (.) oli stap long ol skul/s long Vanuatu oli go long French skul. Then oli go
393 blong entrance blong yunivesiti? Olgeta oli switch nao. From Francophone i go long
394 Inglis. And most of the time? Olgeta oli go oli kambak oli successful nomo. Oli neva
395 (.) oli neva fail aot long ples ia. Oli kambak oli complete/im stadi blong olgeta.

396 (13)

397 Miss Adina: Kwestin 3 A. Olsem Mr Aru i talem? Mi ting se ol Anglophones oli gat
398 mo janis/es blong go overseas. Olsem at the moment. Mi no save from wanem be
399 olsem lately mi ridim long Daily Post mebi? Ol styuden/s we oli go long Noumea?
400 Oli perform very badly. I don't know why be (.) be mi no save olsem hemia Noumea.
401 Be olgeta we oli kam long USP? Oli perform i gud. Olsem ol Francophone we oli
402 kam long USP we i yusum Angl- er Inglis nomo? Oli perform gud we (.) long Inglis.
403 Afta mi no sua se wanem i rong long ples ia be mebi hem i because of different
404 environment we i go stadi long hem? Olsem (1) olsem for example olsem Fiji or
405 Noumea? Comparison? Fiji hem i olsem (.) bae i olsem Vanuatu. So mebi (1) be
406 Noumea hem i more advanced. So mebi hemia hem i contribute tu long olsem (.)
407 performance blong olgeta? Performance blong olgeta long klasrum as well. (1) So
408 that is why ating mi no save (.) mi no sua? Be ating gavman i stap katemdaon (.) i
409 bin katemdaon budget blong styuden/s go for Francophone studies ia? Afta oli
410 increase/im Francophone sponsorship we i kam olsem long Inglis. (1) Long nara
411 stream. (1) Be olsem at the moment mi save long ol Anglophone styuden/s we oli
412 kam oli perform very good in (.) olsem. Ol Francophone styuden/s perform very
413 good in English. (1) Afta olsem ol (.) olgeta oli mo advan- i gat more advantage than
414 ol Anglophone styuden from oli save both lanwis/es. (1) Mi jalus. <laughs>

415 (2)

416 Miss Agnes: Yes ating long kwestin ia? Hemia i tru ol Anglophone nao oli gat mo
417 janis blong stadi oversea. And (.) mi mi luk se from ating ol Anglophone oli gat ol
418 olsem (.) fulap ples/es blong go.

419 Mr Aru: M-m.

420 Miss Agnes: While er Francophone olgeta oli gat wan nomo be (.) mi stap gat
421 kwestin tu long ples ia se sapos we gavman i (.) olsem yumi olsem wan (.) bilingual
422 kaontri bae i sud mekem i fair. Olsem blong karem ol skolasip (.) ol styuden i
423 mekem i fair blong mekem se yumi maintain/em both er lanwis ia long (.) kaontri
424 blong yumi. Although olsem sapos oli no perform gud? Be (.) from yumi wantem se
425 bae (.) tugeta lanwis i stap long kaontri bae (.) at least yumi (.) olsem oli offer/em
426 sem (.) janis/es long both Francophone and Anglophone blong go oversea. (1)
427 Hemia lukluk blong mi long saed ia.

428 (3)

429 Mr Aru: Ating bae (.) bae hem i (.) mebi long fiuja (.) long near fiuja bambae ol
430 janis/es ia bae oli jiam olsem because insaed long wan niufala curriculum blong
431 edyukesen long Vanuatu naoia? Er sapos we yu lukum uh (.) uh structure blong
432 hem? Then bae yumi (.) yumi start off olgeta wetem Francophone nomo. Bae yu
433 statem uh Yia 1 up to wanem (.) Yia 7 nao bae yu jes go insaed long Inglis ia nao.

434 Miss Adina: Okei.

435 Mr Aru: Hemia wan niufala curriculum we (.) er wan blong olgeta i kam givimaot
436 long yumi. Be sapos yu luk structure blong hem? Hem i olsem ia nao. Taem yumi

437 start off bae yumi start off long Francophone. So (.) uh wetem ol experience we sam
438 blong olgeta styuden/s we oli stap go olsem ia? Hem i show/em yumi se hem i wo-
439 hem i gud. Hem i gud. Olsem hem i talem? Taem hem i go as far as um (.) uh Yia 7
440 Yia 6 Yia 7? Then hem i switch i kam long Inglis ia? Then hem i no gat difficulty
441 nating. And for information blong yu Fiona? I gat wanfala styuden we hem i stap
442 long ples ia. Hem i skul long French gogo kasem Yia 11.

443 F: M-m. Simon ia?

444 Mr Aru: Simon. So hem i decide. Hem i decide se mi wantem switch from uh
445 Francophone i go long Anglophone. Be hao evri dei mi stap lukluk klosap hem long
446 wok and then mi intres long ripot blong hem? Yu lukum hao nao hem i stap compete
447 wetem olgeta (.) pure uh Anglophone styuden. Be hem i (.) hem i far better than
448 fulap blong olgeta long klas blong hem. Iven long (.) olsem hem i tekem uh (.) hem i
449 stap insaed long Science stream ia? And most long olgeta wok blong hem long
450 Science ia oli so outstanding nomo. And iven Inglis ia? Inglis ia olsem (.) wan klas
451 blong Science (.) naoia hem i out of twante fo olsem. Taem we hem i go tru long
452 Inglis test bae hem i no save kam beyond ten. Bae hem i anda ten. Position blong
453 hem bae hem i anda ten. Which is really good. So mi bilivim se (.) yumi save
454 mekem. Olsem sapos we i gat wan compulsory structure we hem i stap blong yumi
455 folem? Then bambae yumi achieve/im nomo. Olsem we mi stap talem wan niufala
456 wan we hem i stap ia? Er Yia 1 up to Yia 7 o samting. Hemia French nomo. Then
457 taem yu kasem hemia? Nekis level nao bae yu jes go long Inglis.

458 (3)

459 Miss Adina: Long mi? Sapos yumi tokbaot olsem mi personally? Sapos yumi
460 tokbaot (.) quality edyukesen? Sapos yu gat quality edyukesen yu sud gat both (.)
461 knowledge o er fluent in both English and French. Hemia nao olsem (.) long mi mi
462 ting se sapos yu gat wan quality edyukesen yu sud gat both. Olsem yu sud lanem
463 both. Olsem sapos yu lan Inglis nomo (.) yu gat haf <laughs> haf nomo. Se hao yu
464 tekem haf nomo be mi tu mi sapos quality edyukesen hem i really gud sapos yu
465 lanem both languages. Sapos naoia both languages yu yusum (.) yu yusum blong
466 yu faenem job. Yu yusum blong yu communicate wetem nara (.) nara man. So mi
467 really sapos (.) olsem sapos yumi wantem gat wan quality edyukesen long kaontri
468 blong yumi yu sud save both English and French.

469 (2)

470 Miss Agnes: Okei ating blong add on long hemia mi mi ting se hem i gud tu from uh
471 sapos we yu save both lanwis ia? Olsem yu wan tija? Hem i (.) yu gat uh mo
472 janis/es blong tij. Olsem yu save go long French skul blong tij o Inglis. Sapos yu
473 save both. Olsem fluently. Mo content blong tufala. So yu gat mo janis blong yu tij in
474 uh Anglophone o Francophone skul.

475 (3)

476 Mr Aru: Janis/es blong kasem job (.) olsem yumi discuss/em finis. Olsem bae raet
477 nao? Olsem se (.) ol opportunities blong olgeta job/s insaed long Vanuatu ol most
478 long olgeta hem i long Anglophone saed. So bae yumi save talem se (.) ol

479 Anglophone uh (.) uh speakers? Bae olgeta i gat mo janis blong hem. But then
 480 sapos we yumi lukluk long narafala saed blong hem? Sapos yumi talem se wan
 481 bilingual uh (.) person? Bae hem nao bae hem i karem mo janis blong karem wan
 482 job? Compared to wan we hem i either Anglophone nomo o Francophone nomo.
 483 And hemia we yumi tokbaot long kaontri ia. Yes sapos we yumi traem blong putum
 484 issue hem i go aot saed long kaontri? Bae olgeta (.) olgeta Francophone nao bae
 485 olgeta i gat mo janis bitim yumi. Because for example (.) uh hem i bilingual. Hem i
 486 wok (.) hem i go long New Caledonia hem i save faenem wan job. Hem i go long Fiji
 487 hem i save faenem wan job. Whereas yumi speaking Inglis nomo? Bae yumi no
 488 save kasem wan job long New Caledonia. Yu only save kasem wan job long Fiji. So
 489 hem i gat mo janis. Hem i gat mo janis. Er mebi long kaontri according (.) I mean
 490 folem wanem situation we hem i gat tudei ia? Okei yumi talem Anglophone. Er
 491 Anglophone olsem long sense se i gat sam wokples/es we oli (.) oli (.) oli English
 492 oriented there long wokples? Then hemia nomo olgeta i gat janis. Be sapos hem i
 493 Inglis Anglophone Francophone oriented ples? Then hemia bambae yu givim janis
 494 long man we hem i speak/im both languages nao.

495 (19)

496 Miss Adina: <reads question> “Do more people speak English or French throughout
 497 the world?” (1) Kwestin E. (7) Mi no save se bae mi ansarem hemia olsem wanem.

498 (4)

499 F: So long ples ia yu luk se i hamas Inglis speaker evriwan long wol? O long
 500 Vanuatu fas wan afta hamas French speaker?

501 Miss Agnes: Ah.

502 F: Be sem samting long hol wol.

503 Miss Adina: Okei.

504 (4)

505 Miss Adina: Vanuatu first.

506 (6)

507 Mr Aru: Kwestin ia olsem bae sapos yumi ansa long level blong Vanuatu ating bae
 508 hem i lelebet easier long yumi. Uh o sapos we yumi start/em off? Yumi start/em off
 509 long (.) for example long aelan. (1) Ambae. Between population long ples ia directly
 510 bae yumi talem nomo se i gat more English speakers than ol French speakers. Be
 511 sapos yumi extend mo long provins? Ating bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia (.) more
 512 English speakers than French speakers. And sapos yumi go as far as Vanuatu?
 513 Ating bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia. Bae yumi stil maintain/em hemia. From raet
 514 nao olsem se sapos yumi lukum ol hao edyukesen system blong yumi i go? Yumi
 515 sort of gat wan percentage like er (.) siksti foti? Or seventi teti. Siksti hem i blong ol
 516 Anglophone? And then foti hem i blong ol Francophone. Be throughout long wol ia?
 517 Mi no really sua but sapos we yumi tekem category blong Vanuatu ia? Um sem
 518 taem we yumi stap tokbaot ol Inglis speakers long wol ia? Mi ting se (.) ating bae (.)

519 mebi sapos we tufala i equal o smol percentage defrens nomo. Olsem mi stil fil se
520 (.) ol English speakers long wol oli more than ol Francophone.

521 Miss Adina: I think so too. Because considering olsem yumi? Olsem yumi yumi save
522 Inglis tru long ol (.) olsem (.) <turns to me> no offence (.) British colonising Vanuatu.
523 So long histri? Inglis? Er (.) British? Hem i colonise/em most parts of the world. So i
524 minim se (.) i mas gat more English speakers than French.

525 (4)

526 Miss Agnes: [Yes i tru]

527 Miss Adina: So [yes. Taem] oli kam colonise/em Vanuatu? Oli kam wetem olsem (.)
528 wetem (.) ol samting ia nao. So wan ia nao Inglis oli kam wetem. So yumi yumi
529 lanem Inglis. Oli go oli colonise/em wan nara kaontri oli go wetem Inglis tu. So i
530 minim se olgeta oli mas (.) of course oli speaking English. Be minim se (.) mi mi ting
531 se yes. (1) Taem we Mr Aru i stap stori? Mi jes (.) come to mebi (.) realise/em se
532 maybe there is more English speakers than French. Speakers. (4) So hemia tingting
533 blong mi nomo.

534 (2)

535 Miss Agnes: Mi (.) olsem mi lukluk long hemia? Mi luk se hemia i tru. Olsem (1) i gat
536 more Anglophone (.) speakers than um French. Be (.) olsem long olsem se blong
537 lanem? Hem i more English. Hem i lanem olsem more ni-Van oli lanem Inglis than
538 French. Be (.) blong kam long wan olsem taem we blong toktok long Inglis? Mi mi
539 luk se olsem although more uh pipol oli lanem? Be ating fiu nomo we oli yusum (.)
540 often. Be bae sapos yu lukluk long saed blong French? Taem yu go long wan olsem
541 (.) institution we i French? Olsem although oli smol namba olsem oli lanem French
542 be oli (.) oli toktok mo long hem. Mi givim wan eksampol long Alliance long Vila. Yu
543 go insaed hemia olsem ol staf insaed oli speak French nomo. Be taem se for
544 example long ples ia sapos yumi wan Inglis skul? Bae yumi (.) yumi no speak
545 English tumas olsem (.) although yumi (.) yumi lanem Inglis be bae yumi no harem
546 tumas. Blong yumi toktok aot saed compared long French. Hao oli yusum. Be (.)
547 Anglophone? Ol ni-Van oli lanem mo Inglis be the way oli yusum hem i smol. Olsem
548 hao mi luk olsem.

549 (4)

550 F: Mi luk se bae yumi muv i go long 4 A nomo. Mekem se las kwestin. From ating 4
551 B C yumi tokbaot finis. Be from lukaot service hem i gohed bae i blokem saon blong
552 yumi. So yumi tokbaot las pat nomo. 4 A.

553 (9)

554 Mr Aru: Okei bae mi mi stat long ples ia. Olsem. Mi bin traem blong express/em finis
555 i kam. Mi biliv tumas. Oli traem bes blong olgeta blong unify/em ol curriculum blong
556 olgeta. Long mi mi ting se hem i very very proper nao (.) i proper nao blong yumi
557 talem se er ol ni-Vanuatu oli mas lanem Inglis wetem French. Oli mas yusum Inglis
558 wetem French. And then bambae hem i help aot plante. Not by (.) yumi lukum wan
559 o tu risen/s blong olgeta nomo. Olsem advantage blong Inglis. O advantage blong

560 French. Be sapos yumi lukluk klosap mo? Then wan we bae hem i go tru blong
 561 save French wetem Inglis then bambae hem i gat more advantage bitim wan we
 562 hem i mekem (.) wan (.) either blong tufala lanwis. (1) So long kwestin we hem i
 563 stap ia? Mi agri? O mi sapotem strong se sapos we (.) er wan (.) this unified
 564 curriculum material we hem i kamaot blong yumi yusum? We from hao oli
 565 design/em hem we i stap naoia? Bae i start off long priskul? I kam antap across
 566 long praemeri skul. I go long secondary i go kasem (.) yeah i go as far as Yia 13.
 567 From uh priskul to Yia 13. So sapos yumi gat wan unified uh curriculum ia? Syllabus
 568 we bae yumi yusum? Then bae mi biliv very much se bae hem i wok aot. Then bae
 569 hem i gud tumas. I gud tumas.

570 (3)

571 F: Be unified curriculum? Yu min se (.) bae i gohed long Anglophone stream
 572 narasaed? Ale Francophone stream. O bae yu joenem tufala tugeta so i nomo gat
 573 Anglophone Francophone. Olsem naoia yumi gat smo- olsem i unified smol finis.
 574 Long basic edyukesen. Be yumi long ples ia yusum Inglis (.) olgeta daon oli yusum
 575 French. So kwestin ia hem i askem se bae yumi gohed we yumi gat Angolovo
 576 College Collège de Faranako oli defren? O bae yumi joenem system mekem se (.) i
 577 gat wan kaen skul nomo we yumi evriwan yumi no gat label blong Anglophone
 578 Francophone. Yumi evriwan i jes (.) sem samting nomo.

579 (1)

580 Mr Aru: Okei long ples ia olsem understanding blong mi long this er unified
 581 curriculum ia? Olsem (.) bae content (.) content blong olgeta syllabus ia bae oli
 582 exactly the same. Lanwis nomo bae hem i defren. Olsem Yia 7 i go antap ia blong
 583 Social Science ia? Bae content insaed ia bae i sem mak long French nomo. Be
 584 lanwis nomo bae tufala i defren. So sapos yu gogo kasem Yia 10 antap ia yu
 585 wantem swap i kam insaed? I no gat eni ting niu. Er lanwis nomo bambae hem i
 586 jenis. Olsem hao mi andastanem this curriculum hem i olsem ia. Be mi bin
 587 kwestinim. Yu minim se (.) uh yumi givim janis blong tijim Inglis (.) Inglis long French
 588 skul o i sem mak nomo? O olsem hamas lesen we bae i gat long Inglis i sem mak
 589 long French? Oli se no. Wanem we i stap yumi traem blong (.) uh mekem olgeta
 590 content blong olgeta courses ia oli (.) olsem I mean (.) definitely the same. Olsem
 591 lanwis blong hem nomo bae yumi yusum long defren lanwis be content long
 592 courses ia i gogo i kasem antap i sem mak nomo. Whatever yumi lanem long Inglis i
 593 sem mak long French.

594 (22)

595 Miss Adina: Okei. Opinion blong mi se (.) olsem mi talem finis mi serem opinion finis
 596 (.) fastaem yumi statem discussion kasem naoia? Olsem (.) the (1) olsem main
 597 purpose blong mi (.) mi ting se hem i (.) hem i blong styuden i andastanem samting?
 598 Olsem naoia yumi kambak long skul bakegen. Afta olsem yu yu pasem knowledge?
 599 Styuden i karem knowledge. So qua- blong quality edyukesen mi ting se hem i (.)
 600 hem i gud mo sapos yumi yusum both languages? O sapos i gat ol nara lanwis
 601 bakegen blong yumi yusum. Mi mi ting se sapos (1) olsem (.) the whole purpose
 602 hem i blong styuden hem i kasem wan samting. (1) Be sapos hem i save kasem mo

603 in (.) French? Mo o mo in Inglis? Mebi mi ting se hem i no wan problem blong yumi
 604 yusum both languages. Olsem (.) purpose blong mi olsem mi mi jes tingting nomo
 605 olsem blong styuden i andastanem samting blong yumi gat quality edyukesen. Mi
 606 no wantem save se hem i kasem long which <laughs> which uh (.) which lanwis? Mi
 607 wantem save nomo se styuden karem save we blong i gat wan fiuja. <laughs> (11)
 608 Olsem hemia tu se bae yumi save argue/m both sides. Olsem. Olsem sapos hem i
 609 kasem wan knowledge tru long wan lanwis nomo? Olsem hemia bae yumi no
 610 fulfil/im identity blong yumi. Olsem sapos hem i kasem tru long Inglis nomo bae hem
 611 i no fulfil/im identity. From identity is (.) um mebi lanwis blong yumi o identity hem i
 612 (.) lanwis/es blong ol colonisers blong yumi. Sapos (2) mi nomo save nao se bae
 613 yumi olsem wanem bakegen be (.) purpose blong mi? Olsem <laughs> bae mi
 614 blong styuden i andastanem samting? Mo yusum knowledge ia blong fiuja blong
 615 hem.

616 F: So hem i olsem se wan (.) bigfala samting ia we oli stap tokbaot plante long
 617 Ministri naoia. I no wan isi kwestin. Hemia olsem se i no gat ansa long hem. Be
 618 olsem i gat sam long Ministri we oli wantem se (.) yumi joenem tufala saed tugeta.
 619 Mekem se yumi no differentiate/em se (.) olsem brata blong yu i stap skul French?
 620 Be yu yu skul Inglis o samting olsem. Yu evriwan yu skul long sem system nomo.
 621 Olsem yu no separate/em. Be long (.) i gat sam bakegen we oli se no. Yumi
 622 maintain/em nomo be yu yu skul Inglis longwe? Ale yu yu skul French longwe? Bae
 623 hem i gud mo. (1) Olgeta we oli talem se bae yumi joenem? Naoia hem i kambak
 624 long nambatu kwestin se hao nao bae yumi save joenem.

625 Miss Agnes: Yes.

626 F: From sapos yumi joenem? Yumi yusum wanem lanwis insaed. From naoia yumi
 627 save se yumi long ples ia yumi yusum Inglis mo yumi lanem French. Be daon
 628 longwe? Oli yusum French. Afta oli lanem Inglis olsem wan subjek nomo. So sapos
 629 yu joenem? Then hao nao bae yumi save mekem. Yumi yusum tufala lanwis tugeta
 630 long Klas 1 i go antap? O olsem we yu talem finis se i gat French finis? Naoia
 631 evriwan oli mov i go long Inglis? (1) O:: bae i gat sam wei bakegen? O (.) so hem i
 632 wan main discussion nao we gavman i stap tokbaot. So hem i wanem olsem tingting
 633 blong yufala nomo long saed blong hemia.

634 (7)

635 Mr Aru: Olsem mi (.) sapos yu lukum education master plan we i stap ia? Oli really
 636 wantem (.) olsem at the back of their mind oli (.) hao we mi lukum oli wantem se (.)
 637 wan dei (.) wan dei long taem hem i come up. Everybody has to be fluent French
 638 and English speakers. Insaed long kaontri blong Vanuatu. Hem i hao mi lukum. I gat
 639 sam observation? Sam er (.) sam er (.) oli go tru long hem? And then oli tekem
 640 olsem se ol eksampol/s and then bambae yumi save base long ol eksampol/s oli go.
 641 Hemia olsem gud eksampol Miss Agnes hem i talem. Hem i go as far as (.) from
 642 French hem i had uh. So taem hem i had yu lanem fastaem. Uh which wan hem i isi
 643 i come in later on. So wetem pro- uh (.) disfala curriculum we hem i stap ia? Sapos
 644 we yu lukum hemia we olgeta oli kam givim long yumi lastaem ia? Bae yu lukum
 645 system blong edyukesen blong yumi bae hem i stap olsem ia? Priskul. Uh priskul I
 646 mean uh yes. Uh vernacular bae hem i (.) stat long Yia 1 Yia 2? Vernacular. Then

647 stat long Yia 2 kasem Yia 7 hemia French nomo. And then aot long French (.) long
 648 Yia 7 ia nao? Hemia nao bae oli jes mekem choice blong yu go insaed long Inglis ia
 649 nao. (1) Which is why bae hem i isi from. Long taem ia nao? Olsem taem yu kasem
 650 Yia 7? Uh yu continue long wan French uh decision blong go long (.) French? Hem i
 651 isi long yu. Hem i isi sapos we yu decide blong (.) hemia nao yu lanem French yu
 652 decide blong kam long Inglis? Bae hem i isi long yu tu. Bae hem i isi so (.) wan wei
 653 we mi lukum long ples ia? Oli lukum se that's how we learn bae yumi save (.)
 654 transition period ia? Bae hem i save tekem ples long as far as Yia 7 o Yia 8. Be
 655 olsem long Klas 1 o Klas 2 hemia i late ia. I mean i too early. Bae yumi no save
 656 mekem bae yu go yu forget/em evri ting nomo.

657 (6)

658 Miss Agnes: Long lukluk blong mi sapos we hemia olsem blong yu go long (.)
 659 French olsem long (.) start off long praemeri go kasem 7 8? Afta switch i go? Mi ting
 660 se hemia bae i gud tumas from hem i isi blong yu go long Inglis. Afta? French bae
 661 yu stil (.) wanem we yu kasem? Bae yu stil save i stap mo yu andastanem i stap. So
 662 hemia bae (.) olsem taem se yu go long Inglis? Be yu save French finis i stap.
 663 Olsem ia bae (.) at the end yu save both French and English.

664 F: I min se evri wan bae oli skul French fastaem?

665 Miss Agnes: Yes.

666 F: Be sapos yumi go long practicality blong hem? Olsem bae yumi tingbaot
 667 <addresses Mr Aru> waef blong yu? We i stap longwe? Wanem bae i hapen long
 668 hem? Sapos (.) yumi talem se evri praemeri tija i mas French nao. Bae hem i lanem
 669 French? O bae hem i aot long teaching profession nomo. O hao nao bae yumi
 670 faenem ol French tija blong go insaed long praemeri.

671 Mr Aru: Yes.

672 F: From naoia? Olsem yu talem finis se siksti percent oli Inglis. So naoia olsem se
 673 yumi no gat (.) olsem yumi wantem se yumi implement/em long hol praemeri long
 674 French? Be wem ol tija? Hao nao bae=

675 Miss Agnes: =Yu min se evri tija bae i mas French tija?

676 F: Uh-uh.

677 Miss Adina: French fastaem.

678 F: Be sapos yu talem system ia? We yutufala i stap tokbaot? Se evriwan bae oli (.)
 679 Klas 2 i go antap long Klas 7 o samting olsem? French. Be wem ol tija? Hao nao
 680 bae yumi save faenem ol man we oli save toktok French insaed long klasrum long
 681 praemeri.

682 Mr Aru: Long discussion ia? Olsem oli [tekem into account.]

683 Miss Agnes: [Trenem French praemeri] tija French nomo.

684 F: Be wem olgeta? I nogat.

685 Mr Aru: Oli tekem into account olsem se (.) oli (.) oli (.) oli (.) stap tokbaot wan
686 period of time olsem we bambae yumi save apply/em (.) uh system ia? Until dis
687 taem ia?

688 Miss Agnes: Yes.

689 Mr Aru: Long sense se okei. While (.) long taem naoia i go? Bae yumi nid blong
690 re/trenem. Olgeta pipol.

691 Miss Agnes: M-m.

692 Mr Aru: From sapos yumi talem se (.) yumi tokbaot gogo (.) yu finis i stap? Then
693 yumi traem blong (.) switch straightaway bae i no save wok aot nomo because ol
694 human resources ia oli nogat. I no gat insaed long system we i stap. So yumi nid
695 blong se tekem at least (.) faef ten yia/s (.) then yumi prepare/em olgeta tija? From
696 bae yumi nid blong trenem olgeta praemeri skul tija ol French tija nomo. And then ol
697 secondary school tija? Bae hemia nao Inglis wetem French antap. So that olgeta i
698 do/im wok ia daon ia long behalf blong yumi evriwan antap. So yumi no forget tu
699 olsem discussion we hem i go long hemia yumi no forget too se yes sapos for that
700 case then what do we do with all these existing teacher. Ol praemeri skul tija. Do
701 they have to finish? O yumi nid blong givim in-service training long olgeta so oli
702 have some knowledge blong French blong tij long French? Hemia olgeta oli
703 consider/em as well.

704 F: M-m. Yumi stap toktok plante se (.) i had blong ol Anglophone blong oli lanem
705 French. So sapos i had? Bae yu talemaot long ol praemeri tija we oli Inglis fastaem?
706 Ale bae yumi trenem olgeta blong toktok French? Be (.) hemia bae i realistic? O::
707 <laughs> (2) Olsem mi mi stap (.) mi mi no argue agensem hemia? Olsem mi mi
708 save ol argument finis from mi mi harem plante toktok i kamaot long Ministri. So eni
709 samting we yu putum? Mi bae mi talem defren ansa long hem? <laughs> Hemia
710 olsem real situation nao yumi gat problem blong implementation nomo. (2) Be mi no
711 save se i gat ansa long hem o nogat.

712 (4)

713 Mr Aru: Yes directly long ples ia? Sapos yumi (.) blong ansarem kwestin se (.) hao
714 bes nao bae yumi save (.) switch/im olgeta Inglis tija oli go long French? Hemia
715 olsem ansa blong hem yumi save finis. Bae hem i (.) hem i no isi. Because olgeta oli
716 mature pipol and mature pipol blong oli lan (.) i really had ia. Ol yang pipol ol
717 styuden? Yes hem i isi long olgeta from oli adapt quickly. Ol uh mature pipol bae
718 hem i really tekem taem. Hem i really tekem taem. So (.) i minim se (.) ating
719 bambae yumi luk olsem se (.) uh long fiuja sapos we you wanted to become a

720 Miss Adina: Teacher.

721 Mr Aru: A primary school teacher? Then you have to go for French teaching.
722 Because that is the foundation of our education system in Vanuatu? Uh all the way
723 from pre-school up to Year 7? Bae yumi talem basic education? So Year 6 7? Basic
724 education. Up to Year 8? Hemia bae olgeta i mas French tija nao. And then sapos

725 further beyond that nao olgeta Inglis tija bae oli kam insaed. (1) Hem i no wan isi
726 samting.

727 Miss Adina: So yu minim se long period of time ia? We yumi stap consider/em ia?
728 Mebi faef yia/s ten yia/s taem? Yu minim se taem ol tija olsem we (.) yumi long
729 Vanuatu ol (.) ol tija olsem we (.) ples we tija i save kasem edyukesen is Teachers
730 College? And mebi sam other institutions. So min se taem olgeta i apply long
731 Teachers College bae olgeta oli screen/im olgeta (.) mas save se olgeta ol
732 Francophone speakers bifo (.) olsem oli tekem training blong olgeta? Afta taem bae
733 oli kamaot long field? Bae oli save tijim French. So hemia olsem se hem i no (.) hem
734 i no (.) problem blong olsem (.) i no olsem bae wan man nomo i mekem? I minim se
735 bae evriwan i mas contribute olsem evri ples we oli (.) olsem oli concern? Olsem
736 Teachers College. Wetem (.) olsem (.) Ministri wetem (.) ol nara ples ia? We oli
737 involve long edyukesen system blong Vanuatu? Bae oli mas consider/em ia se bae
738 oli mas statem gud foundation blong hem bifo (2) for example mi talem sapos from
739 (.) yu apply blong go stadi long Teachers College blong praemeri skul tija? Bae oli
740 mas save se sapos yu Francophone? Bae oli accept/em yu <laughs>. (1) Mi harem
741 olsem (.) tingting.

742 (1)

743 F: Ating sapos long las poen ia yumi kambak long poen blong Miss Adina ia. We
744 hem i talem se (.) long en blong evri samting yumi mas tingbaot quality blong
745 edyukesen.

746 Miss Agnes: Yes.

747 F: So hemia wan kwestin nomo? Se (.) yumi really wantem ol (.) Inglis French?
748 Yumi wantem se evri man hem i save Inglis French? (1) Yu luk se i gat wan conflict
749 naoia? We olsem (.) aedia blong lanwis ia? Hem i overtake/em aedia blong quality.
750 Olsem yumi stap tingting tumas blong save gat bilingualism. Olsem bilingualism
751 hem i minim wanem long Vanuatu. Olsem Inglis French nomo? Yumi busy tumas
752 blong go from hemia i min se yumi forget/em quality? O hem i possible blong yumi
753 save go from tufala long sem taem. O (.) from hemia olsem main purpose blong
754 jenisim system. Blong mekem se evriwan i skul French fastaem ale go long Inglis.
755 Hem i no blong quality edyukesen. (1) Hem bae i mekem edyukesen hem i mo had.
756 From taem yu kasem Maths finis long French? Bae yu go long Inglis? Bae i olsem
757 se i mekem se i more complicated. So hem i olsem se main purpose blong hem
758 hem i no blong quality. Hem i blong bilingualism nomo.

759 Mr Aru: M-m.

760 F: So hemia yu luk se wan conflict we

761 Miss Adina: Yes.

762 F: Bae i mekem i had? O no yu luk se i no really wan problem long hemia. (1)
763 Hemia olsem wan tingting blong mi nomo. Olsem yumi stap argue from bilingualism
764 be (.) naoia men objective hem i lus bakegen.

765 (2)

766 Mr Aru: Yes hemia sapos yumi go for (2) long evri pikinini Vanuatu i mas karem
767 tufala lanwis/es ia? Then naoia yumi no tokbaot quality nao. Yumi spend/em a lot of
768 time blong yumi into this a lot of speaking both languages. But the quality yumi no
769 tokbaot nao. While oli tokbaot uh (.) uh (1) dual system? O wanem ia we hem i stap
770 ia? Yumi mas take/em into account okei. Hemia nao? Yumi go from hemia be then
771 (.) let's not forget that sapos yumi really wantem quality ia. Then bambae yumi mas
772 lukluk sam criteria we yumi mas folem tu. Sapos yumi jes go for (1) er yumi (.) yumi
773 receive/im ol (.) yumi able blong save toktok tufala lanwis nomo? Then quality i
774 nogat finis. Yumi do away wetem quality nomo. (2) Further long explanation hemia?
775 Mi mi ting olsem wan personal tingting blong mi mi ting se (.) ating sapos bae yumi
776 lukum hemia? Bae matter blong hem nomo o olsem wanem we yumi wari long hem
777 hem i how to speak the language only. Yumi no nidim blong yumi mekem evri ting.
778 As long as yu save andastanem lanwis ia yu speak/im. Sapos we yu Anglophone yu
779 andastanem narawan i speak/im narawan be naf ia nao. Naf nao. From we sapos
780 we yumi tokbaot ol system insaed long content insaed long syllabus ia? Bae oli sem
781 mak nomo. But the only thing is the language. Lanwis ia nao bae yumi nid blong
782 save. Then bambae mebi somehow somewhere? Then bambae yumi save
783 maintain/em stret quality edyukesen ia. Be sapos we yumi focus plante long hemia?
784 Yumi givim mo taem long hemia? Then bambae quality hem i jes finis nao.

785 (6)

786 F: Any final comments? Long ol kwestin ia. (2) O bae yumi finis nomo long ples ia.

787 (7)

788 Miss Adina: No hem i tru ia yumi stap toktok gogo? Yumi tend to forget quality
789 edyukesen. And er (.) ol man we ol main pipol we oli involve. Ol recipients blong
790 edyukesen wetem ol man we oli pasem edyukesen. Along. Pasem knowledge. So
791 (3) bakegen? Bae mi restate/em bakegen se hem i matter of (.) yumi pasem
792 knowledge and styuden i grasp/em aedia. From se in the end? Bae olgeta ia nao
793 bae oli (.) olgeta wetem yumi? Olsem olgeta nao oli (.) edyukesen oli kasem hem i
794 helpem olgeta long fiuja laef blong olgeta. So (6) styuden i karem sam uh (.)
795 understanding nomo. I don't care how we pass the knowledge along (.) as long as
796 styuden i kasem knowledge hem i yusum knowledge long wan raet wei mo hem i
797 kasem edyukesen blong hem. From (.) sapos yumi pasem long (.) pasem long wan?
798 Wan olsem long wan lanwis? Afta hem i no andastanem? Afta what is the purpose
799 of education. Bae i nomo relevant nao. So (.) yumi stick to mebi wan lanwis blong
800 <laughs> pasem knowledge? Then i andastanem? Then mi satisfy wetem. Be
801 sapos yu pasem knowledge long wan lanwis we olgeta oli no andastanem? Bae oli
802 no save yusum knowledge ia we oli kasem ia. From se oli no andastanem purpose
803 blong knowledge ia. From se knowledge ia oli no andastan hao nao bae oli yusum
804 knowledge ia so (2) mi go for as long as students grasp the knowledge whatever
805 lanwis yumi yusum blong pasem uh pass the knowledge?

806 (2)

807 F: Be naoia yu gobak yu stap argue agensem fas poen blong yu. From yu yu olsem
808 yu (.) yu regret plante se yu no save toktok French.

809 Miss Adina: Yes.

810 F: So naoia se (.) o yumi go from wan lanwis nomo yumi lego narawan? So i min se
811 wanem? Bae yu jusum wan nomo? Lego (1) o yumi gobak se no yumi mas (.) Inglis
812 French? Yumi=

813 Miss Adina: =Whatever way. English French? Or French alone. Or English alone.
814 As long as styuden oli andastan.

815 F: So sapos yumi faenemaot se bes wei se Bislama nomo? Lego Inglis French bae
816 Vanuatu i nomo toktok Inglis French uh?

817 Miss Adina: Then we go for Bislama. (2) But then again olsem (.) i min se yumi mas
818 reform/em evri samting bakegen. The writing purpose in Eng- I mean Bislama.
819 Curriculum i jenis i kam long Bislama bakegen. Olsem hemia wan hadwok bakegen.
820 Be hemia nao? As long as styuden oli andastanem wan samting.

821 (3)

822 Mr Aru: Olsem. Hao mi lukum naoia? Olsem. Long lanwis blong Bislama ia? Bae
823 olsem mi mi stap long Vanuatu for the rest of my life. Be mi mas speak/im wan gud
824 Bislama nao. From sapos we yumi lisin long yumi? Bae most long olgeta toktok we
825 yumi tokbao- yumi toktok long Bislama hem i repetition and fulap long ol samting we
826 (.) we hem i no mekem eni ting nomo. So sapos we olsem (.) yumi save mekem se
827 okei. Yumi do away wetem French? Do away wetem Inglis and then yumi go for
828 Bislama? Then bae yu tekem wan huge taem bakegen. A huge amount of time
829 blong <Miss Agnes and Miss Adina laugh> kambak long raetem gud Bislama (.) evri
830 smolsmol grammar evri ting long Bislama? Then bambae yumi have to kambak
831 bakegen olsem mi talem? Naoia yumi stap speak/im uh Bislama? Naoia ol broken
832 wan nomo. I no wan gudwan nating? Yestedei i gat wan expression blong one
833 particular thing tudei bae hem i defren. Tumora yumi tok defren lanwis nao. Even
834 though hem i stil Bislama but then yumi yusum ol defren wod/s altogether than yumi
835 yusum ol same wod/s. So sapos yumi tekem wantaem finis i go? Ale yumi decide se
836 bae yumi go for Bislama? Then bae hem i kambak yumi raetem syllabus daon ia.
837 Everybody we hem i speak Bislama yestedei bifo yestedei finis? Then yumi kam
838 stat long ples ia. Hem i jes wan samting we mi no save bilivim nomo <laughs>.
839 <sighs dramatically> A::h too complicated. <Miss Adina laughs>.

840 F: Okei ating bae yumi finis long ples ia nao. Tangkiu.

**Appendix xiii – Interview with Angolovo College Teacher Group 1
(Translation)**

Date: 01-11-11

Location: On the grass outside a teacher's house

Participants: Miss Adina, Miss Agnes, Mr Aru

Notes: This was originally intended to be a pilot interview, but it went smoothly and all participants agreed that I could use the data. At the end, they suggested electing a chairperson to keep the discussion moving, and I followed this suggestion in subsequent interviews.

Miss Adina and Miss Agnes had agreed in advance to take part. Two others didn't show up so I grabbed Mr Aru at the last minute. I realised as we sat down that Mr Aru was quite senior to the other two, and had been at the school for a long time, while Miss Agnes and Miss Adina were relatively new. I didn't want the Mr Aru to dominate, and did raise this issue. Mr Aru also pointed out that all three participants were English teachers, which was not ideal.

By this time, it was getting late, so we just sat under the tree outside Mr Aru's house, rather than looking for a suitable location. This presented certain noise problems, particularly when the chapel service started nearby. A few parts are also obscured by rooster noises.

I explained the format and gave participants time to read the questions before starting the recording.

1 Mr Aru: The first questions asks whether <translates from question> we find it easy
2 or hard to teach (1) using English to teach our subjects. For me I think that (.)
3 maybe it's (.) yeah like we can say that it's hard? But then I have discovered myself
4 that when I use English to explain something it is much easier than when I try to put
5 it in Bislama. So for me:: in terms of how you use English to (.) teach the subjects I
6 feel flexible with it? I feel alright with it? Er (.) most of the time when I use Bislama I
7 feel that some words it's ha- (.) it is hard for me to identify these words. So I (.) I feel
8 that (.) using English er (.) to teach a subject in school? I feel comfortable with it.

9 (7)

10 Miss Adina: As Mr Aru has said? Yes teaching using English? Teaching students it
11 is easier but I think it's because it is a matter of (.) us transferring the knowledge. So
12 it's a matter of understanding what (.) so I think when I use English I find it easy but
13 (.) for the students to get it? They find it a bit hard to get it. So sometimes?
14 Sometimes I don't (.) I don't use the English approach all the time sometimes I have
15 to come down to their level (.) explain it slowly or put it in simple terms. Sometimes?

16 I can go as far as explaining it in Bislama. (1) Because I think that like (.) in the area
17 that I teach which is Eng- (.) it's language? So it doesn't matter if I use any language
18 in passing on the knowledge. But like (.) since the school rules are there they say (.)
19 uh yes English is er medium of passing instruction so (1) we must use English all
20 the time? But sometimes out of school when they come and ask me for help? At the
21 house? I tend to use Bislama sometimes to (.) explain things easier to make it
22 easier for them to grasp the idea. (1) Yeah and I think the students to get it they
23 don't (.) they find English difficult. And then? They don't get it much in English but
24 they (.) they tend to understand things when you explain in Bislama. (2) And then
25 yes. I see that both (.) both (.) I can use both English and Bislama to transfer
26 knowledge since language is any language (1) used to communicate information.

27 (4)

28 Miss Agnes: Okay I think for me? Like me:: (.) er when I was first teaching English?
29 I found it a bit difficult to teach. Because (.) er (.) like (.) I er (.) like went to French
30 first. French school so when I came to teach English like much of the time I had to
31 prepare myself first? Like especially in my first year of teaching. Then now time
32 goes on now to the second year? I feel that now like (.) I can use it (.) it's fine in the
33 class with the students. But sometimes the students will need me to repeat myself
34 again? Sometimes it's not very clear to them so I'll have to repeat (.) er (.) my
35 instructions again to make it clearer for them. So (.) it's not very easy for me for me
36 (.) er to use it in the classroom. That's my opinion.

37 Mr Aru: In the second part of the question (.) <translates from question> do students
38 find it easy or hard? Like Miss Adina said it's (.) it's (.) there are only a few students
39 who will try to (.) you give the explanations in English and they grab it (.) er
40 straightaway. Many of them you'll introduce it and you'll have to repeat the same
41 information or if not? Like at their level it's much clearer for them when we use
42 Bislama? They prefer you to give an explanation in Bislama. And once or twice
43 there are some (.) like the students who come straight (.) where we use the same
44 language? I will try my best to explain in lanwis. And I think there are some who
45 understand in Bislama? Some understand in lanwis much quicker than Bislama.

46 (2)

47 Miss Adina: Yes like back to (.) back to this question again? Because (.) like we are
48 trying to use it because our purpose is to help the students uh? And then like when
49 we use too much Bislama? Use too much lanwis. Like I sometimes do? Then I'll find
50 in the end that they will just suffer the consequences because they are writing their
51 exams in English. (1) Then (.) like I must try my best (.) that when I use Bislama in
52 class or outside of class but I must sometimes use English like (.) to pass on
53 knowledge because they will still write their exams in English. It is difficult for
54 students to grasp something in English like (.) like just some of the students (.) can
55 understand quickly in Bislama (1) I mean English but Bislama? Like they can get it
56 easily. And lanwis. (1) And also for (.) like (3) for the second question? Then (.)
57 Then like (.) if (.) I see that they haven't grasped something in English? And in this
58 situation you (.) when you do it (.) you explain something in Bislama? <laughs>
59 Then now we become competent in another language now. So sometimes I'll go but

60 I must have a limit where you stop here. You don't explain <laughs> too many
61 things in Bislama. And lanwis. (1) Own mother tongue.

62 (5)

63 Mr Aru: For the second (.) for the second question? I think the second part of (.) of
64 the question. (1) The answer is maybe yes. Like we are actually doing it. We are
65 using that language. But er (.) all the time because English? It is a second language
66 for us. So we are second language speakers of English? We don't speak it that
67 fluently. Like uh you first speakers of English. So er it is really (.) a need. Though I
68 speak it and I feel comfortable with (.) my languages I still would like to be able to
69 improve them (.) more. Able to improve them more. In the sense that (.) when you
70 are speaking fluently? Then it is not only fluent. But it makes it easy. Easy for the
71 listeners who are listening. If you (.) you speak like a (.) a beginner in language then
72 it is really hard for them to understand you. So I think about this? Like (.) at this
73 point of time I am confident? But I really want to know how I can improve it. (12) And
74 to add to this again? We find out that (.) the (.) the contexts or the environments in
75 which we use language? It (.) it makes a lot of difference. It contributes to the
76 difference in how you use them. Er sometimes like if we are in front of the students
77 then you speak very fluently.

78 Miss Adina: M-m.

79 Mr Aru: But if we are with different (.) mature people now you will see the language
80 go different. It will no longer be <Miss Adina and Miss Agnes laugh> the same as
81 when talking with the

82 Miss Adina: True.

83 Mr Aru: Students.

84 (6)

85 Miss Adina: Yes it's true. It's really true about the context. In different contexts you
86 tend to use different (.) languages. To (.) and then on top of that too (.) the different
87 concepts. The different concepts that you use? Sometimes it's (.) we need concepts
88 that are foreign? Or sometimes there are names (.) things have names that only
89 have names in English? So when you say its name in English? Now you tend to use
90 English. But if the concept is like (.) it's just a local concept? You will tend to use
91 Bislama or uh own mother tongue when you try to like. Like these different
92 concepts? They come from the different languages that we use. (5) Um yes. For
93 number (.) question C? <reads> "Students and staff do not speak English very often
94 outside the classroom. Why is this." <laughs> (3) I think that (.) maybe yes. The
95 environment too <laughs> it is (.) when we are in the classroom we feel that (.)
96 when we are in the classroom we know that it's the classroom and we just speak
97 English. But when I'm at my house or in a different environment outside? I can
98 speak any language I want. <laughs> And then like expressing myself is easier too.

99 Mr Aru: For question C? The way I see it and most of the time I have tried to find the
100 answer to it. Why we are like this. And then I come up to my feeling is this. When I

101 see a ni-Vanuatu? Like straightaway I want to speak to him in Bislama. (1) Er it
102 doesn't mean that I can't speak that language but when I see someone who is like a
103 man from Vanuatu? Like straightaway it is a (.) the mentality is there already that I
104 should speak Bislama to him. But you will find a difference at school uh? Like you?
105 You come here and the expatriate teachers who are here with us? Outside I will just
106 speak English to you. But with a ni-Vanuatu no. I will just speak Bislama to him. So
107 it comes to an (.) like an attitude uh? An attitude. When we see whoever is there?
108 Then straightaway we decide which language we will use.

109 (7)

110 Miss Agnes: Maybe on this I also think that if (.) like children grow up? Like they (.) if
111 they start using English and then they go to school? Maybe it will be (.) easy for
112 them to use it inside and outside. But when they grow up using Bislama or lanwis
113 like this. Then when they come to school they will be ashamed to use it (.) uh that's
114 it. Bislama or lanwis instead of uh (.) English outside the classroom. I think that one
115 (.) reason is that. Like children (.) learn to use too much Bislama or lanwis already
116 when they come.

117 (6)

118 F: Can I ask you all to speak a bit louder. I'm worried that this small thing won't
119 catch it. I'm just not sure (.) I can check afterwards? But I don't want to lose all your
120 data.

121 (4)

122 Mr Aru: Okay for (.) like the third question it's (.) it is the same like we can talk about
123 the context we are in. I'll give an example. Er if we are with (.) Fijians. Straightaway
124 we will just speak English. No matter what the (.) like the understanding behind that
125 is these people don't know how to speak er Bislama so straightaway you will (.) be
126 like I feel that for me? Why do we speak English if people can just understand
127 Bislama. So we will just communicate in Bislama. (1) I don't think there is any
128 special reason behind that one? Then I think it's a matter of an attitude that you get
129 used to that attitude when you want to speak in Bislama. (19) Next question is D? It
130 is (.) we have maybe discussed part of this already? With this we come back again
131 to (.) the languages we can use but we use them in specific times and reasons for
132 them. Then we can use them. Like for example if you (.) you can use Bislama if an
133 explanation goes to an extent that the students no longer understand? Now you
134 come down to this. But (.) like the question about whether we can use them in the
135 classroom I think that we can do it. But only that (.) the way we provide a syllabus
136 for these languages must be of an in-depth (.) quality so that we can use them. Like
137 I will take an example? In Bislama? We can't really use it because you find out that
138 most of its vocabulary? We can't (.) we can't. We tend to use one word for two three
139 four five different things. So when we use it? We practise a (.) children (.) when they
140 come (.) when they go back to English? Then they will adopt this Bislama system
141 into English. Then it's really hard for them to express themselves in English.

142 (6)

143 Miss Adina: It's true. The students find it hard when you explain in Bislama? Putting
 144 it down on paper is really hard. So any single word that you author in English?
 145 <laughs> They tend to copy down everything you say. Like word by word. So for
 146 them to use it in their essays. Or sometimes they will ask you to repeat what you
 147 have said in English? Because (.) it's hard for them to translate it into (.) like (1) to
 148 write it down in like (.) in their own words. And then I think it's unfair. Considering
 149 our policy which is (.) er what's it? (2) er that all children can go to school. Have
 150 equal chances in education. So if they can grasp something better in Bislama? Why
 151 don't we use Bislama all throughout or (1) so I think that like (.) our policy says.
 152 Every child must have equal chances (.) like to have education but (.) if they can't
 153 grasp something in English? Then? That doesn't suit the policy it doesn't satisfy our
 154 policy. But if they can understand better in Bislama? There is no harm in expl- (.) but
 155 the problem then is that some things in Bislama? They mean like Mr Aru said? Two
 156 or three things at once. So I think that if like (.) if they can understand in Bislama?
 157 (1) Why not teach them in Bislama. Because the purpose is them grasping the
 158 knowledge. Because like for example? In Fijian they use standard Fijian to (.)
 159 speak. And in Samoa? They learn in their language. In Tonga they (.) they learn in
 160 their language. Why don't we use Bislama like the standard language like this. Our
 161 national language. (2) Yes. <laughs>

162 (2)

163 Mr Aru: Yes let's go back to (.) to the language. You put one example here of
 164 Ambae language. Um I really agree with this like we can use this language to
 165 teach in schools. But only provided that er we have we prepare a syllabus. So that
 166 we follow a syllabus. Because if we go (.) like with own thinking? Then we will teach
 167 so many different things. Er but I agree with lanwis? Because er (.) if we compare
 168 the languages (.) language I mean mother tongue Ambae language with
 169 Bislama? Er the Ambae language is richer. Than Bislama. It's richer in terms of
 170 vocabulary. And then the (.) the uh order of sentences that we write (.) is good. And
 171 then I really believe this because I'll give an example that if (.) er a child who grows
 172 up only using lanwis. You will find that when this child learns a second language he
 173 will master it much more quickly than if he had used Bislama. Because er in that
 174 language that he uses? There is vocabulary that is just similar in English. Er if there
 175 is a word for it in lanwis? That there is in English (.) you just conv- like translate its
 176 meaning across. I see at the moment? Like in (.) in (.) the education policy they are
 177 talking about (.) pre schools are in the er vernacular. But then I've visited several
 178 that I've seen. It's not really working in the sense that they are trying. Like (.) at (.) at
 179 the beginning? They tried using just lanwis without mentioning any word in English?
 180 And then when they moved over there? And it was time to translate it was hard. It
 181 was hard. So the way I see it? We can use it effectively if (.) we (.) we (.) we draft a
 182 syllabus which is (.) a core syllabus? Er English and then lanwis. Then? When they
 183 reach the end? Automatically they will be able to master English. But if we think that
 184 oh we just go with (.) lanwis? And then after one or two years' time? The children
 185 will like start over with (1) English it won't work. (2) That's how I see it. (19) Yes on
 186 the same question still about French? Like it is a sort (.) like (.) a (.) policy of our
 187 country that we try every best to use these two languages. In our schools. So we try
 188 our best (.) er as much as possible so that you (.) you can (.) learn (.) French

189 somewhere? Or you can speak a little? And then it will help a little. Like we will talk
190 about maybe we'll discuss it somewhere round this line but (.) it is easier for some
191 people. Like when the French come to learn English it's no problem but for us to
192 learn French? That is a difficulty we have. Like. Unless they start (.) like Miss Agnes
193 mentioned? You start off with French then you go to English then it is okay. (17) If
194 you don't have anything else to talk about for D then let's move onto the next one?

195 Miss Adina: Okay.

196 (2)

197 Mr Aru: <reads from question> "Do you speak French? Do you wish to speak it
198 better?" (1) Yes maybe er (.) some of us will say yes? Some will say hardly. Some
199 will say no nothing at all. (1) Er me personally I understand French. I understand
200 French but how to speak it is like I will speak with the very (.) basics of speaking
201 French. But I do understand. Um only that if anyone is speaking French in (.) a
202 conversation between two people in French if they speak slowly? I will be able to
203 understand but if they go faster? I will lose interest now. I won't be able to keep up
204 with them. But er (.) I'm interested. I am interested since er the country (.) the
205 country Vanuatu is like a bilingual country and then most things (.) at the moment (.)
206 they have made it a (.) a demand that each one (.) or every citizen of Vanuatu must
207 try to have the chance to acquire both languages. Because if for example you take a
208 job here it might be a requirement? You have to understand English and French at
209 the same time. So they've done this to encourage (.) encourage us to (.) try our best
210 so that if you are an English speaker? You learn French as well. And if you are a
211 French speaker? You learn English as well.

212 (10)

213 Miss Adina: <laughs> French.

214 <all laugh>

215 (4)

216 Miss Adina: French. (8) <laughs> Er French. For me? French. (2) Maybe the basics
217 yes. I mean je ne sais pas? Ca va? Things like that are easy for me to understand
218 easy for me to speak. Tiny basics like tiny language like that. But like Mr Aru says
219 for me to follow two French speaking people as they talk too fast? I cannot
220 understand at all. I wish that I knew French <laughs> because (.) not only for the
221 purpose of communicating with French people? But when you go out like (.) you go
222 out (.) outside the country? Then people see you? If they know that you are from
223 Vanuatu? They know that Vanuatu is a bilingual country? Then you should know
224 both languages. And it's (.) such a shame if you only know one. <laughs><others
225 laugh> When you go and sit down in the class and they say hands up you are from
226 Vanuatu? Then you put your hand up and then they ask if you know French
227 <laughs> and English I say no I only know English <laughs>. So that's an
228 embarrassment that I don't know French. I really want to learn French. And yes. (2)
229 Like apart from English. (3) Yes it is an interesting (1) it's not (.) like (.) I like listening
230 to people speak. I like the sound of it. I like hearing the sound of people speaking

231 French but for me to speak <laughs> it's quite hard I can only say a few little things
232 but (.) deep conversation? Then I won't understand and I won't be able to say
233 anything <laughs>. But it's good for Vanuatu people (.) like ni-Vans? Should speak
234 both English and French.

235 (4)

236 Miss Agnes: Okay maybe for me? French? Like I can speak French? As I said I
237 went to French school (.) I did my primary (.) at a French school so it means that (.) I
238 can speak French well. But one thing when I switched to English? Like now I am in
239 an environment where we use English a lot so I don't (.) like tend to use French so I
240 find it hard again to speak but I understand everything? Like I know uh what like in a
241 conversation I can understand everything. When I spend too much time in an
242 environment where we don't use French now like I can't (.) speak much French. But
243 (.) I am interested to speak French all the time.

244 (2)

245 F: Which year did you switch. Year 7?

246 Miss Agnes: Yes in Year 7 I went to English. So it means that (1) I understand (.)
247 French but it's hard to speak. I don't speak much in it.

248 (2)

249 Miss Adina: How did you find English? When you switched. Easy.

250 Miss Agnes: It was easy. Because when you school French to go to English is easy.
251 In my experience I also found that when you school French? Like at French
252 schools? They're not ashamed to speak. Like we used French outside inside the
253 classroom? It didn't matter if it was like broken French? They weren't ashamed to
254 speak it. They just used it. But English like if you speak English they'll laugh at you.
255 So it means that (.) the children don't like speaking English much but French it's not
256 like that. When the children go outside you hear them just speaking French so (.) if
257 you are at a school that's a (.) French school? You will just speak French.

258 (1)

259 Miss Adina: Why do children find it (.) like they find it hard to speak English.
260 Whereas French speakers are totally flexible.

261 (1)

262 Mr Aru: I (.) I have been trying to work out the reasons (.) for what you've said? I
263 think that like (.) there are maybe several reasons but one of them is because when
264 we teach them English? We (.) we try to encourage them to speak a good English
265 uh?

266 Miss Adina: Ah okay.

267 Miss Agnes: Yes that's true.

268 Mr Aru: So they are afraid. They are afraid when they don't know how to form a (.)
269 to use the tenses (.) the right tenses and (.) pronunciation (.) they tend (.) it
270 threatens them. What happens if I get it wrong and they laugh at me. But like she
271 says with French? I understand that they (.) no matter what tense? Whether it's right
272 or wrong you just go. But they practise. They practise and in the end they find that
273 it's not that hard for us to learn French. Er one (.) one student who was here. And
274 then after all he did (.) he went around this this man? He spent time with (.) these
275 people from Wallis where they use it. I mean French. And then? After two or three
276 years he spoke French very fluently. He spoke very fluently. And then I found out
277 too that some of our relatives who are English speakers in Vanuatu? When they go
278 to New Caledonia for one or two years? When they come back you are shocked by
279 them. So it means that conversation every now and then you realise that it's
280 possible really quickly.

281 (6)

282 Miss Adina: So it is (1) it is a matter of like (.) the environment context that we use it.
283 If (.) like we speak different (.) speakers? They have different (.) ways? Or (1) what
284 do you call it? To speak uh (6) what do you call it? Different varieties? Different
285 people have different varieties of speech.

286 Mr Aru: Yes.

287 Miss Adina: English. Like different varieties of speaking English. Varieties or styles.
288 (2) Like that can also influence (.) like it has an impact on the students speaking
289 English as well. Especially English. I don't know. English? Or different words.
290 Different styles of speech?

291 F: M-m.

292 Miss Adina: Whereas French has just one style uh?

293 (1)

294 F: No it's the same.

295 Miss Adina: <laughs> But maybe like the dif- (.) that's why the students find it hard
296 to speak English? And then <laughs> I think it's hard for them (.) them (.) them to
297 speak because they want to speak like this but you say you must speak the right
298 way. So (.) when they speak? It's hard for them to speak English. They are afraid to
299 use English. That's it. (1) So maybe if we really want the students to speak English?
300 We should have one (.) just one style <laughs> of speaking English. One style. One
301 (.) so that everyone speaks the same. Just one idea. (1) I don't know how we would
302 achieve it but it's just an idea.

303 (2)

304 Mr Aru: One (.) one other reason that we say we are reluctant to use English as (.)
305 our language of communication? It is a (.) a (.) er a culture? A culture of people from
306 Vanuatu. You can see the difference between. Uh Solomons and Vanuatu and Fiji?

307 They will- (.) Fiji? They will what we were just talking about now? Whether it's good
 308 English or not whatever?

309 Miss Adina: Yes.

310 Mr Aru: They just go ahead. They just go. They speak English. So one attitude they
 311 have? It's (.) they don't care they just go ahead. But we it's like (.) a habit we follow?
 312 We are afraid. What if I make a mistake. So we see this across the board. Uh
 313 everything you do? You think about what if I do it wrong they will laugh at me so (.)
 314 before you do anything you already have this fear.

315 (3)

316 Miss Adina: True.

317 (8)

318 Mr Aru: Yeah for the question here (.) <translates from question> an individual (.) er
 319 knowing both English and French? I think that (.) like because we are here (.) it's
 320 sort of an identity as well. When you get to know both languages? Then you go out
 321 you feel that yes you are from Vanuatu now.

322 Miss Adina: True.

323 Mr Aru: But if you go and you only learn one then you feel that no (.) you've been (.)
 324 part of another country but not Vanuatu. Because you don't know both languages.

325 Miss Adina: True.

326 (10)

327 Mr Aru: For the next question here which is C? <reads question> "Is it good that
 328 Vanuatu uses both English and French? I think maybe yes (.) like in terms of it's like
 329 this now. That we try as much as possible to use both languages and then (.) they
 330 have come up with the education master plan in place at the moment? They are
 331 unifying a curriculum for both English and French to use. So it means that (.) it's a
 332 requirement in Vanuatu. Like it depends on each of us now. The way we (.) we (.) I
 333 mean. Firstly? Those up at the Ministry of Education or Curriculum er have come
 334 down with these syllabus which are unified? Then we can use them. I think it's a
 335 good idea. Because right now like if an individual wants to speak. Suppose he is an
 336 English speaker? Trying to speak French? It's just up to you. How you can make
 337 your way to go through. But if we have a unified curriculum in place? It might be
 338 easier for us. To use them (.) because we will follow this curriculum that we teach in
 339 the classroom and at the same time you learn. As a teacher you learn too. (18). And
 340 yet here? Like we talk about the two languages of Vanuatu? At the level of
 341 Vanuatu? That's where you will find them. You will find that (.) especially those (.)
 342 the airlines or (.) they need somebody who is bilingual. You speak French and er
 343 after a (.) couple of minutes you (.) uh switch to French that's what they really want.
 344 If you are just an English speaker or you are just a French speaker maybe you won't
 345 be a priority. So it means that people (.) like we've heard already? When they talk
 346 about Vanuatu they expect you to be a bilingual. So when we go like suppose (.) at

347 first they speak English to you. If we go out of from Vanuatu you speak English. If
348 you don't understand the next thing they will try French? So they expect us to know
349 either of these two languages. (13) Maybe we should move to the next one? If there
350 is no more discussion on this.

351 Miss Adina: <laughs> Let's move to number 3.

352 (3)

353 Mr Aru: Okay 3 A? I think this is a good question which we need to discuss. It's also
354 an interesting question for us to talk around. (1) Anglophones and Francophones
355 have better chance (.) which of (.) I mean. <reads question> "Do Anglophone or
356 Francophone have better chances of going overseas to study." (1) Okay maybe er
357 what we can see now I think that most of them are Anglophone. Who go out for
358 studies overseas. Those who go out especially through the scholarship office? Most
359 of them are Anglophone. Er some Francophones will (.) I mean some Francophones
360 go as far as (.) they (.) they (.) when they are at school in Vanuatu they go to French
361 school. They they go to university entrance? They switch now. From Francophone
362 to English. And most of the time? Those who go come back successfully. They
363 never (.) the never fail here. They come back having completed their studies.

364 (13)

365 Miss Adina: Question 3 A. As Mr Aru says? I think that Anglophones have more
366 chances to go overseas. Like at the moment. I don't know why but I've read in the
367 Daily Post maybe? Students who go to Noumea? They perform very badly. I don't
368 know why but (.) I don't know if it's Noumea. But those who come to USP? They
369 perform well. Like Francophones who come to USP where only Engl- er English is
370 used? They perform really well (.) in English. And then I'm not sure what's wrong
371 here but maybe it's because of the different environment that they are studying in?
372 Like (1) like for example like Fiji or Noumea? In comparison? Fiji is like (.) it's like
373 Vanuatu. So maybe (1) but Noumea is more advanced. So maybe this also
374 contributes to like (.) their performance? Their performance in the classroom as
375 well. (1) So that is why I don't really know (.) I'm not sure? But the government may
376 be cutting down (.) it has cut the budget for students going for Francophone
377 studies? And they've increased Francophone sponsorship for those who come like
378 to English. (1) To the other stream. (1) But like at the moment I know that among
379 the Anglophone students who perform very well in (.) like. The Francophone
380 students perform very well in English. (1) And then like (.) they have more advan-
381 they have more advantages than the Anglophone students because they know both
382 languages. (1) I'm jealous. <laughs>

383 (2)

384 Miss Agnes: Yes I think for this question? It's true that Anglophones they have more
385 chances to study overseas. And (.) I think it's because the Anglophones have like (.)
386 many places to go.

387 Mr Aru: M-m.

388 Miss Agnes: While er Francophones they have just one. but (.) I also have a
389 question about this that suppose the government (.) like if we are (.) a bilingual
390 country then it must make it fair. Like to get scholarships (.) fair for the students so
391 that we maintain both er languages in (.) our country. Although like if they don't
392 perform well? But (.) because we want (.) both languages in the country then (.) at
393 least we (.) like they must offer the same (.) chances to both Francophones and
394 Anglophones to go overseas. (1) That's my view on this.

395 (3)

396 Mr Aru: Maybe (.) it will (.) maybe in the future (.) in the near future these chances
397 will jump like this because in the new curriculum for education in Vanuatu at the
398 moment? Er if you look at (.) uh its structure? Then we (.) we start off just with
399 Francophone. You will start from Year 1 up to what (.) Year 7 and then you just go
400 to English now.

401 Miss Adina: Okay.

402 Mr Aru: That's a new curriculum that (.) er one of them gave us. But if you look at its
403 structure? It's like that. When we start off we will start off as Francophone. So (.) uh
404 with the experiences of some students who have done that? It shows us that it wo-
405 it's good. It's good. Like she has said? When she went as far as um (.) uh Year 7
406 Year 6 Year 7? Then she switched to English? Then she had no difficulty at all. And
407 for your information Fiona? There is a student here. He schooled French all the way
408 up to Year 11.

409 F: M-m. That's Simon?

410 Mr Aru: Simon. So he decided. He decided I want to switch from uh Francophone to
411 Anglophone. But every day I look closely at his work and then I'm interested in his
412 report? You see how he he competes with the (.) pure uh Anglophone students. But
413 he is (.) he is far better than many of those in his class. Even in (.) like he is taking
414 uh (.) he is in the Science stream? And most of his work in Science is so
415 outstanding. And even English? English it's like (.) in the Science stream (.) he is
416 one of twenty four. When he goes through the English test he won't come beyond
417 ten. He will be under ten. His position will be under ten. Which is really good. So I
418 believe that (.) we can do it. Like if there was a compulsory structure for us to
419 follow? Then we could achieve it. Like I've said there's this new one? Er Year 1 up
420 to Year 7 or something. It's just French. Then when you get there? At the next level
421 you just go to English.

422 (3)

423 Miss Adina: For me? If we talk about like me personally? If we talk about (.) quality
424 education? If you have quality education you should have both (.) knowledge or er
425 fluency in both English and French. That's it like (.) for me I think if you have a
426 quality education you should have both. Like you should learn both. Like if you only
427 learn English (.) you have half <laughs> just half. It's like the way you take just half
428 but still I think if it's quality education it's really good if you learn both languages. If
429 you can now use both languages (.) use them to find a job. Use them to

430 communicate with other (.) other people. So I really think if (.) like if we want to have
431 quality education in our country you should know both English and French.

432 (2)

433 Miss Agnes: Okay maybe to add to that I think that it's also good if you know both
434 languages? Like if you are a teacher? It means (.) you have more chances to teach.
435 Like you can go to a French school to teach or an English one. If you know both.
436 Like fluently. And the content of both. So you have more chances to teach in uh an
437 Anglophone or Francophone school.

438 (3)

439 Mr Aru: Chances to get jobs (.) as we've already talked about. Like right now? Like
440 (.) the opportunities for jobs in Vanuatu most of them are for Anglophones. So we
441 can say that (.) Anglophone uh (.) uh speakers? They have more chances. But then
442 if we look at the other side of it? If we talk about a bilingual uh (.) person? He now
443 has more chances to get a job? Compared to someone who is either just an
444 Anglophone or just a Francophone. And when we talk about the country. Yes if we
445 try and extend this issue outside the country? Then the (.) Francophones will have
446 more chances than us. Because for example (.) uh a bilingual. He can work (.) he
447 can go to New Caledonia and find a job. He can go to Fiji and find a job. Whereas
448 those of us speaking only English? We can't get a job in New Caledonia. You can
449 only get a job in Fiji. So he has more chances. He has more chances. Er maybe in
450 the country according (.) I mean following the situation we have today? Okay we
451 can say Anglophones. Er Anglophones in the sense that there are some workplaces
452 that (.) are (.) are English oriented workplaces? Then only those have the chance.
453 But if it is an English Anglophone Francophone oriented place? Then you will give
454 the chance to someone who speaks both languages.

455 (19)

456 Miss Adina: <reads question> "Do more people speak English or French throughout
457 the world?" (1) Question E. (7) I don't know how I would answer that.

458 (4)

459 F: So how many English speakers do you think there are in the world? Or in
460 Vanuatu first and then how many French speakers?

461 Miss Agnes: Ah.

462 F: But the same thing in the whole world.

463 Miss Adina: Okay.

464 (4)

465 Miss Adina: Vanuatu first.

466 (6)

467 Mr Aru: For this question if we answer at the level of Vanuatu I think it will be a bit
468 easier for us. Uh or if we start off? If we start off with (.) for example on the island.
469 (1) Ambae. Among the population here directly we can say there are more English
470 speakers than French speakers. But if we extend further to the province? I think
471 we'll still maintain that (.) more English speakers than French speakers. And if we
472 go as far as Vanuatu? I think we'll still maintain that. We'll still maintain that.
473 Because right now like if we look at how the education system is? We have a sort of
474 percentage like er (.) Sixty forty? Or seventy thirty. Sixty is for Anglophones? And
475 then forty is for Francophones. But throughout the world? I'm not really sure but if
476 we take these categories from Vanuatu? Um at the same time we talk about English
477 speakers in the world? I think that (.) maybe (.) maybe the two will be equal or just a
478 small percentage difference. Like I still feel that (.) there are more English speakers
479 in the world than Francophones.

480 Miss Adina: I think so too. Because considering us? Like we know English through
481 (.) like (.) <turns to me> no offence (.) the British colonising Vanuatu. So in history?
482 The English? Er (.) British? They colonised most parts of the world. So it means that
483 (.) there must be more English speakers than French.

484 (4)

485 Miss Agnes: [Yes it's true]

486 Miss Adina: So [yes. When] they came and colonised Vanuatu? They came with like
487 (.) with (.) these things. So one of them was English that they came with. So we
488 learn English. When they colonised another country they took English there too. So
489 it means that all those must (.) of course they speak English. But it means that (.) I
490 think yes. (1) When Mr Aru was talking? I just (.) came to maybe (.) realise that
491 maybe there are more English speakers than French. Speakers. (4) So that's just
492 my opinion.

493 (2)

494 Miss Agnes: For me (.) like my opinion on this? I think it's true. Like (1) there are
495 more Anglophone (.) speakers than um French. Bute (.) like also for learning? It is
496 more English. More ni-Vans learn English than French. But (.) coming to a time of
497 speaking English? I think that although more uh people learn it? There are only a
498 few who use it (.) often. But if you look at French? When you go to an (.) institution
499 that is French? Like although there's a small number learning French they (.) speak
500 it more. I can give you the example of Alliance in Vila. If you go in the staff there
501 only speak French. But when for example here if we are an English school? We (.)
502 we don't speak much English (.) although we (.) we learn English but we don't hear
503 much of it. Speaking it outside compared to French. The way they use it. But (.)
504 Anglophones? ni-Vans learn more English but the way they use it is small. That's
505 how I see it.

506 (4)

507 F: I think we should just move to 4 A. And make this the last question. Because I
508 think we've talked about 4 B C already. If the service starts it will block out the
509 sound. So let's talk about the last part. 4 A.

510 (9)

511 Mr Aru: Okay I will start. Like. I have tried to express this already. I really believe.
512 They are trying their best to unify the curriculum. For me I think this is very proper (.)
513 it is proper of us to say that er ni-Vanuatu must learn English and French. They
514 must use English and French. And then it will help a lot. Not by (.) just looking at
515 one or two reasons. Like the advantage of English. Or the advantage of French. But
516 if we look more closely? Then someone who goes through knowing French and
517 English will have more advantage over someone who knows (.) one (.) either of the
518 two languages. (1) So for this question? I agree? Or I strongly support this (.) er a (.)
519 this unified curriculum material that is coming out for us to use? Which the way they
520 are designing it? It will start off in preschool? It comes up across primary school. It
521 goes to secondary up to (.) yeah it goes as far as Year 13. From uh preschool to
522 Year 13. So if we have such a unified uh curriculum? A syllabus to use? Then I
523 believe very much that it will work. Then that will be really good. Really good.

524 (3)

525 F: But a unified curriculum? Do you mean (.) going ahead in the Anglophone stream
526 on one side? And the Francophone stream. Or joining the two together so we no
527 longer have Anglophone Francophone. Like at the moment we have part- like it's
528 already partly unified. For basic education. But we use English here (.) and they use
529 French down there. So this question is asking whether we should continue having
530 Angolovo College Collège de Faranako being different? Or should we join the
531 systems so that (.) there is only one kind of school where we all we don't have this
532 label of Anglophone or Francophone. We are all just (.) the same.

533 (1)

534 Mr Aru: Okay like my understanding about this er unified curriculum? Like (.) the
535 content will (.) the content of the syllabus will be exactly the same. Only the
536 language will be different. Like from Year 7 upwards in Social Science? The content
537 will be the same as for French. Only the language will be different. So if you all the
538 way up to Year 10 and then you want to swap and come here? There won't be
539 anything new. Er only the language will change. This is how I understand this
540 curriculum. I have questioned it. Does it mean that (.) uh we give them the chance
541 to teach English (.) English in French schools or is it just the same? Or will there be
542 the same number of lessons in English as there are in French? They said no. What
543 we are trying to (.) uh do all the content of all the courses will be (.) like I mean (.)
544 definitely the same. It's just the language we will use a different language but the
545 content of the courses all the way up will be the same. Whatever we learn in English
546 will be the same in French.

547 (22)

548 Miss Adina: Okay. My opinion is (.) like I've said I've already shared this opinion (.)
549 since we started this discussion up to now? Like (.) the (1) like main purpose for me
550 (.) I think it's (.) it's for students to understand something? Like if we come back to
551 school again. And like for you to pass on knowledge? Students to gain knowledge.
552 So qua- for quality education I think that it's (.) it is good if we use both languages?
553 Or if there are other languages again that we can use. I think that if (1) like (.) the
554 whole purpose if for students to achieve something. (1) But if he can achieve more
555 in (.) French? Or more in English? The I think it's no problem for us to use both
556 languages. Like (.) the purpose for me is like it's just what I think like for students to
557 understand something for us to have quality education. I don't care which <laughs>
558 which uh (.) language they learn in? All I care about is that the students get the
559 knowledge for them to have a future. <laughs> (11) Like we can argue both sides.
560 Like. Like suppose he can gain knowledge through just one language? Like that
561 won't fulfil our identity. Like if he gains knowledge only through English then he
562 won't fulfil this identity. Because this identity is (.) um maybe our languages or
563 identity are (.) the languages of our colonisers. If (2) I have no idea what we should
564 do (.) the purpose for me? Like <laughs> is for students to understand something?
565 And to use this knowledge for their futures.

566 F: So this is like a (.) big thing that they are talking about a lot at the Ministry at the
567 moment. It's not an easy question. It's like there's no answer. But there are some at
568 the Ministry who want (.) us to join the two sides together. So that we don't
569 differentiate between (.) like your brother schools French? But you school English or
570 something like that. All of you will be educated in the same system. Like you don't
571 separate them. But for (.) there are some others who say no. We should just
572 maintain this so that you school English over there? And you French over there?
573 That's better. (1) Those who say that we should join them? Then it comes back to
574 the second question of how we can join them.

575 Miss Agnes: Yes.

576 F: Because if we join them? Which language do we use. Because at the moment we
577 know that we use English here and we learn French. But down there? They use
578 French. And then they learn English as a subject. So if you join them? Then how will
579 you do it. Would we use two languages together from Class 1 all the way up? Or
580 like you've said would there be French first? And then everyone moves to English?
581 (1) O::r are there some other ways? Or (.) so this is a main discussion that the
582 government is talking about. So what are your thoughts on this.

583 (7)

584 Mr Aru: Like for me (.) if you look at the education master plan we have? They really
585 want (.) like at the back of their mind they (.) the way I see it they want (.) one day (.)
586 one day to come. Everybody has to be fluent French and English speakers. In the
587 country of Vanuatu. That's how I see it. There are some observations? Some er (.)
588 some er (.) go through this? And then they take these examples and then we can
589 base it on these examples. Like this is a good example that Miss Agnes said. She
590 went as far as (.) because French is hard uh. So when it's hard you learn it first. Uh
591 the one that is easy comes in later on. So with the pro- uh (.) this curriculum we

592 have? if you look at the one they gave us last time? You will see our education
593 system is like this? Preschool. Uh preschool I mean uh yes. Uh vernacular will (.)
594 start in Year 1 Year 2? Vernacular. Then starting in Year 2 up to Year 7 then it's
595 French only. And then after French (.) in Year 7? That's when they will make a
596 choice to go to English. (1) Which is why it will be easy because. At the moment?
597 Like when you reach Year 7? Uh you continue with French uh if you decide to go to
598 (.) French? It's easy for you. It's easy if you decide to (.) that's it you've learnt
599 French so if you decide to come to English? That will be easy for you too. It will be
600 easy so (.) one way that I see? They see that that's how we learn we can have a (.)
601 transition period? That can take place as far as Year 7 or Year 8. But like in Class 1
602 or Class 2 that's late. I mean it's too early. We can't do this because when you go
603 you will just forget everything.

604 (6)

605 Miss Agnes: In my opinion if it's like that you go to (.) French like to (.) start off in
606 primary up to 7 8? And then switch? I think that would be really good because it's
607 easy to go to English. And then? For French you would still (.) what you have
608 learnt? You would still know it and you would still be able to understand. So that
609 would (.) like when you went to English? You would already know English. So like (.)
610 at the end you would know both French and English.

611 F: You mean that everyone would school French first?

612 Miss Agnes: Yes.

613 F: But if we go to the practicality of this? Like if you think about <addresses Mr Aru>
614 your wife? Who teaches there? What would happen to her? If (.) we say that every
615 primary teacher must be French. Would she learn French? Or would she be out of
616 the teaching profession. Or how would we find the French teachers to go into
617 primary.

618 Mr Aru: Yes.

619 F: Because now? As you said sixty percent are English. So at the moment like we
620 don't have (.) like we want to implement the whole primary in French? But where are
621 the teachers? How would=

622 Miss Agnes: =You mean that every teacher has to be a French teacher?

623 F: Uh-uh.

624 Miss Adina: French first.

625 F: If you say this system? That the two of you are talking about? That everyone will
626 (.) from Class 2 up to Class 7 or something like that? French. But where are the
627 teachers? How will we find people who can speak French in the primary
628 classrooms.

629 Mr Aru: In the discussions? Like they have [taken this into account.]

630 Miss Agnes: [Just train the French primary]
631 teachers

632 F: But where are they? There aren't any.

633 Mr Aru: They have taken this into account like (.) they (.) they (.) they (.) are talking
634 about a period of time like when we can apply this (.) uh system? Until this time?

635 Miss Agnes: Yes.

636 Mr Aru: In the sense that okay. While (.) from now onwards? We will need to retrain.
637 Everybody.

638 Miss Agnes: M-m.

639 Mr Aru: Because if we say that (.) we talk all about it (.) you finish with that? Then
640 we try to (.) switch straightaway then it just won't work out because we don't have
641 the human resources. They're not there in the system we have. So we need to take
642 at least (.) five or ten years (.) to prepare the teachers? Because we will need to
643 train all the primary school teachers as French teachers. And then the secondary
644 school teachers? Those will be English and French up here. So that they do the
645 work down there on behalf of all of us up here. So we mustn't forget too the
646 discussion about that we mustn't forget too that yes in that case then what do we do
647 with all these existing teachers. The primary school teachers. Do they have to
648 finish? Or do we need to give them in-service training so they have some
649 knowledge of French to teach in French? They are also considering this as well.

650 F: M-m. We've talked a lot about (.) it being hard for Anglophones to learn French.
651 So if it's hard? If you say to the primary teachers who were English to begin with?
652 Okay we will train them to speak French? But (.) is this realistic? O::r <laughs> (2)
653 Like I'm (.) I'm not arguing against it? Like I've heard these arguments already
654 because I've heard a lot of the discussion coming out of the Ministry. So anything
655 you suggest? Like I'm giving you a different answer? <laughs> But this is the real
656 situation that we will have the problem of implementation. (2) But I don't know if
657 there is an answer to this or not.

658 (4)

659 Mr Aru: Yes directly on this? If we (.) to answer the question of (.) how best we can
660 (.) switch all these English teachers to French? Like we know the answer to this
661 already. It won't (.) It's not easy. Because they are mature people and for mature
662 people to learn (.) it's really hard. Young people students? Yes it's easy for them
663 because they adapt quickly. For uh mature people it will really take time. It will really
664 take time. So (.) it means that (.) we should look at like if (.) uh in the future you
665 want to become a

666 Miss Adina: Teacher.

667 Mr Aru: A primary school teacher? Then you have to go for French teaching.
668 Because that is the foundation of our education system in Vanuatu? Uh all the way
669 from pre-school up to Year 7? If we say basic education? So Year 6 7? Basic

670 education. Up to Year 8? They must all be French teachers. And then further
 671 beyond that then the English teachers will just come in. (1) It's not easy.

672 Miss Adina: So you mean that in this period of time? That we are considering it?
 673 Maybe five years ten years? You mean that when teachers like (.) us at the Vanuatu
 674 (.) Teachers where (.) the place where teachers train is the Teachers College? And
 675 maybe some other institutions. So it means that when they apply to Teachers
 676 College they will screen them (.) to know that they are Francophone speakers
 677 before (.) like they take them for training? And then when they come out into the
 678 field? They will be able to teach in French. So that it won't be (.) it won't be (.) a
 679 problem like (.) it's not just for one person to do? It means that everyone must
 680 contribute like all the places (.) concerned? Like Teachers College. And (.) like (.)
 681 the Ministry and (.) the other places? That are involved in the education system of
 682 Vanuatu? They must consider this they must start a good foundation before (2) for
 683 example I say that if (.) you apply to train at Teachers College to be a primary
 684 school teacher? They must know that if you are Francophone? They will accept you
 685 <laughs>. (1) I think this (.) idea.

686 (1)

687 F: Maybe for the last point we should come back to the point that Miss Adina made.
 688 When she said that (.) at the end of everything we must think about the quality of
 689 education.

690 Miss Agnes: Yes.

691 F: So this is a question? that (.) if we really want (.) English and French? We want
 692 everyone to know English and French? (1) Do you think there is a conflict now?
 693 When like (.) this idea about language? Is overtaking the idea about quality. Like we
 694 are thinking a lot about having bilingualism. Like what bilingualism means in
 695 Vanuatu. Like just English and French? We are so busy going for this that we forget
 696 about quality? Or is it possible for us to go for both at the same time. Or (.) because
 697 this is the main purpose for changing the system. To make it so that everyone
 698 learns French first and then goes to English. It's not because of quality education.
 699 (1) This will make education harder. Because when you've already learnt Maths in
 700 French? And then you go to English? It will make it more complicated. So it's like its
 701 main purpose is not for quality. It's just for bilingualism.

702 Mr Aru: M-m.

703 F: So do you see a conflict that

704 Miss Adina: Yes.

705 F: Makes it harder? Or do you not really see a problem with this. (1) Like this is just
 706 my feeling. Like we are arguing for bilingualism but (.) then we lose the main
 707 objective again.

708 (2)

709 Mr Aru: Yes if we go for (2) for every child in Vanuatu knowing both languages?
710 Then we're not talking about quality. We are spending a lot of our time on this a lot
711 of speaking both languages. But we are not talking about the quality now. While
712 they are talking about uh (.) uh (1) a dual system? Or whatever we have here? We
713 must take this into account okay. For this? We go for this but then (.) let's not forget
714 that if we really want quality. Then we must look at some criteria that we must follow
715 too. If we just go for (1) or we (.) we receive (.) we are only able to speak the two
716 languages? Then we already don't have quality. We just do away with quality. (2)
717 Further to this explanation? I think like my own personal opinion is that (.) I think if
718 we just look at that? At this matter only or whatever we are worried about is how to
719 speak the language only. We don't need to do everything. As long as you can
720 understand the language and speak it. If you are an Anglophone and you
721 understand someone else speaking the other one then that's enough. That's
722 enough. Because if we talk about the systems and the content in the syllabus? They
723 will be the same. But the only thing is the language. It's only the language that we
724 need to know. Then maybe somehow somewhere? Then we will be able to maintain
725 good quality education. But if we focus too much on this? And we give more time to
726 this? Then the quality will end.

727 (6)

728 F: Any final comments? On this question (2) or should we just finish here.

729 (7)

730 Miss Adina: No it's true like we go on about this? We tend to forget quality
731 education. And or (.) the main people involved. The recipients of education and the
732 people who are passing the education. Along. Passing the knowledge. So (3)
733 again? Let me restate again that it is a matter of (.) us passing the knowledge and
734 students grasping the ideas. Because in the end? They will (.) with us? Like (.) the
735 education they get will help them in their future lives. So (6) just for students to get
736 some uh (.) understanding. I don't care how we pass the knowledge along (.) as
737 long as students gain the knowledge can use the knowledge in a good way and they
738 get some education. Because (.) if we pass it (.) pass it in one? One like one
739 language? And they don't understand? Then what is the purpose of education. It
740 won't be relevant. So (.) maybe we should stick to one language to <laughs> pass
741 on knowledge? Then they will understand? Then I will be satisfied. But if we pass on
742 knowledge in a language that they don't understand? They won't be able to use this
743 knowledge they have gained. Because they won't understand the purpose of this
744 knowledge. Because if they don't understand this knowledge how will they use it so
745 (2) I go for as long as students grasp the knowledge we should use whatever
746 language to pass uh pass the knowledge?

747 (2)

748 F: But now you've gone back you're arguing against your first point. Because you
749 said that like you (.) you really regret not speaking French.

750 Miss Adina: Yes.

751 F: So now you (.) or if we go for just one language and we leave the other one?
 752 What does that mean? Do we just choose one? Forget (1) or do we go back and
 753 say no we must have (.) English and French? We=

754 Miss Adina: =Whatever way. English French? Or French alone. Or English alone.
 755 As long as the students understand.

756 F: So if we find out that the best way is just Bislama? Forget English and French
 757 and Vanuatu will no longer speak English and French uh?

758 Miss Adina: Then we go for Bislama. (2) But then again like (.) it means that we
 759 must reform everything again. The writing purpose in Eng- I mean Bislama. The
 760 curriculum would change to be Bislama. Like that would be hard again. Be for this?
 761 As long as students understand something.

762 (3)

763 Mr Aru: Like. The way I see it? Like. In terms of this language Bislama? Like I will be
 764 in Vanuatu for the rest of my life. But I must speak a good Bislama. Because if we
 765 listen to ourselves? Most of what we say when we discu- we say in Bislama it's
 766 repetition and a lot of it (.) just doesn't mean anything. So if like (.) we can do it
 767 okay. We do away with French? Do away with English and then we go for Bislama?
 768 Then this will take a huge time again. A huge amount of time to <Miss Agnes and
 769 Miss Adina laugh> come back and write good Bislama (.) every little grammar and
 770 everything in Bislama? Then we will have to come back like I said? We're speaking
 771 Bislama now? It's just a broken version. It's not a good one at all? Yesterday there
 772 was an expression for a particular thing today it'll be different. Tomorrow we'll speak
 773 a different language. Even though it's still Bislama but then we use different words
 774 altogether rather than using the same words. So if we take this and do it? Okay we
 775 decide to go for Bislama? Then it will come back to writing the syllabus down.
 776 Everybody who has spoken Bislama yesterday before that? Then we will come and
 777 start here. This is just something that I can't imagine <laughs> <sighs dramatically>
 778 A::h too complicated. <Miss Adina laughs>.

779 F: Okay let's finish here. Thank you.

Appendix XIV – Interview with Angolovo College Teacher Group 2 (Original)

Date: 07-11-11

Location: Staff room

Participants: Mr Andrew, Mr Ala, Mrs Anne, Mrs Angela, Mme Adrienne

Notes: I asked each of the five participants if they would be willing to take part, as these were all people I had had informal discussions with during the first period of fieldwork. I gave them time to read through the questions first, and then Mr Ala was nominated as a chairperson to lead the discussion and move between questions as necessary.

1 Mr Ala: Bae yumi statem discussion long fas pat blong (.) er kwestin hem i <reads>
2 “the school language? (.) Part A? (.) Do you find it easy or difficult to use English to
3 teach your subjects? Do you think that students find it easy or difficult to use English
4 in your classes.” Okei mi putum i go long floa nao?

5 (16)

6 Mr Andrew: Okei long saed blong mi mi ting se mi (1) er faenem i isi blong yusum
7 Inglis long (.) klasrum? Um but the problem nomo? Because the students blong
8 yumi oli kam long defren backgrounds? Therefore long sam instances bae oli
9 faenem lelebet difficulty wetem (.) lanwis and hemia tu hem i go wetem sabjek (.) er
10 lanwis we yumi yus long hem. For example mifala long Science? A lot of er words
11 we mifala i yusum blong tijim long Science oli very difficult for (.) wan yang learner
12 olsem we hem i kamaot long wan praemeri and hem i hit up i go long secondary
13 level ia. So lanwis blong sabjek tu hem i another contributing factor long difficulty we
14 blong styuden hem i acquire/em. But for the teacher? Mi for the (.) time we mi gat
15 experience as a teacher mi ting se so far (.) mi (.) find it easy to actually go with the
16 (.) yus blong Inglis long klasrum.

17 (3)

18 Mrs Anne: Okei long mi? (1) Ating um (.) bae mi olsem Mr Andrew i talem mi
19 faenem i isi blong mi (.) mebi eksplen more long Inglis than long Bislama o (.) yes
20 Bislama? Uh mi bin traem wan taem finis mifala ating las yia? Mifala i bin yusum
21 klas blong mi so (.) mi no save ating bae hem i save possible but mi (.) bin traem
22 long Bislama. Mi traem tijim (.) sam samting long Bislama but mi faenem se hem i a
23 bit difficult <laughs> long mi blong (.) but mi ting se hem i (.) blong mi yusum Inglis
24 hem i much better. But i go long sam eria/s long sa- mebi long sabjek ia? We mi ting
25 hem i better bae mi save tijim long Bislama. From hem i ol styuden bae oli no save
26 andastanem nomo sapos mi (.) mi er tijim be otherwise maybe generally? Mi yusum
27 Inglis. (1) Be:: long saed long ol styuden/s? Hemia olsem (1) mi faenem so far mi
28 faenem se taem (.) nomata yu eksplenem wan samting we yu ting se yu eksplenem
29 hem i very klia long ol styuden long Inglis? But stil bae oli no save er andastanem

30 nomo. So:: fulap taem mi stap tempted se mi (.) turnaround mi jes traem blong
31 eksplenem long (.) Bislama long olgeta ating bae oli save andastanem mo.

32 (6)

33 Mr Ala: Mi long (.) mi tu olsem mi faenem i isi blong tijim sabjek blong mi long Inglis.
34 Olsem from i gat ol terms olsem Mr Andrew i talem. Olsem blong yu mas yusum
35 blong ol correct terms nao blong olgeta. Be:: er wan samting olsem (.) sapos yumi
36 statem olgeta long (.) long level we long Yia 7 oli kam antap? From naoia yumi gat
37 er Yia (.) 9 wetem 10. So system tu hem i wan problem insaed long skul blong yumi.
38 Sapos yu stap wetem olgeta long Yia 7 i kam antap? Bae taem yu talem ol terms ol
39 samting ol (.) olsem basic ia nao long Yia 7 i kam antap. Be taem we yu tekem
40 olgeta long Yia 9? Olsem (.) taem yu talem ol terms? Olgeta oli wan- oli no save se
41 wanem ia. Hem i wan problem olsem (.) er (.) olsem styuden/s we oli (.) oli (.) ating
42 bae oli faenem i difficult nao uh background blong olgeta. Olsem olgeta we oli kam
43 long ol top-ups? Olgeta nao bae oli faenem i had. Sapos we yumi statem olgeta
44 long (.) long (.) Yia 7 i kam antap bae i isi. Be i gat wan samting tu olsem mi faenem
45 insaed long klasrum sam styuden/s oli (.) oli (.) olsem oli (.) oli faenem (.) i had
46 blong yusum Inglis insaed long klasrum. Sometimes. Hem i (.) mi no save se
47 wanem factor i contribute kam long ples ia. Oli sem? Oli sem blong Inglis blong
48 olgeta? O (2) oli save oli save (.) o ating grammar o samting olsem mi no save.

49 (1)

50 Mrs Angela: Ating bae mi (.) bae mi kam in long ples ia ating Mr Ala i talem hem i
51 tru. Olsem ating mifala we i tijim Inglis? Olsem (.) i tru. Bae yumi tijim gud but then
52 yumi kambak long pikinini? Samtaem hem i had. Olsem pikinini hem i faenem i had.
53 Ating wan risen olsem yumi talem finis se (.) yumi no bring/im olgeta i stap long 7 i
54 kam. Oli kam samwea? Bae yu faenem long wan klas be ol gud styuden/s and then
55 yu faenem ol sam we i very weak. Olsem se yu mekem wan bigfala range tu long
56 olsem (.) mifala long lanwis olsem wan big grup wan big gap long yumi mas wok
57 wetem wok wetem. Yu wantem wok wetem hemia we i fast wan? O afta yu tingting
58 long hemia we ol weak wan/s be (.) ating wan (.) wan nara samting ating (.) oli no
59 yusum naf. Oli no yusum naf long klasrum blong givim olgeta confidence olsem
60 blong toktok olsem. Samfala bae oli fraet se ating bae mi (.) mi pronounce/em wod
61 ia hem i rong? O mekem se pikinini tu olsem se (.) i faenem i had. Mi lukum olsem
62 confidence nomo oli no gat confidence blong yusum lanwis itself. Mekem se oli
63 faenem se hem i had lelebet. Be:: ating bakegen ating (.) olsem i kambak long yumi
64 ol tija bakegen. Se hao nao yumi helpem ol pikinini. Tru yumi karem olgeta sot taem
65 nomo be (.) hao nao yumi save mekem blong helpem olgeta.

66 (7)

67 Mme Adrienne: Okei long mi. Uh (.) yusum Inglis long klasrum ating (.) mi faenem
68 hem i isi. Even though mi tijim French sometimes taem mi kam long ol poen olsem
69 (.) grammar sapos we mifala i mekem ol lesen long grammar hem i isi much more
70 easier blong mi eksplenem long (.) mi traem eksplenem long Inglis blong oli harem
71 save. Hem i no min se mi no save long French? But mi lukluk long saed blong
72 pikinini. Ol pikinini sapos we samtaem taem mi eksplenem i go long French mi luk

73 olsem we hem i jes (.) konfius mo so mi traem bes blong yusum Inglis blong mi
74 eksplenem especially ol poen of grammar or expression we ol pikinini ol terms we
75 oli niu long hem. So (.) for me? Yusum Inglis hem i no wan problem long mi. Ol
76 styuden? Even though hem i French class? Oli hardly yusum (.) French. Mi ting se
77 hem i sem (.) sem risen nomo we yumi talem olsem oli no feel confident nomo blong
78 yusum even though yumi askem olgeta blong yusum very simple sentences oli stil
79 faenem i had.

80 (2)

81 Mrs Angela: Olsem bae mi mi add/em bakegen olsem se mi long klasrum bae (.) ol
82 pikinini olsem (.) oli no confident nomo ating oli fear se (.) mi nogud mi yusum
83 lanwis mi toktok? Be:: nara fren i laf long mi? Olsem mekem olsem se oli gat fear mi
84 no save ating bae yumi kam bak ating kalja blong yumi? Mi no save be (.) olsem i
85 tru. Bae long klasrum olsem i had blong yu karem olgeta blong oli yusum (.) blong
86 toktok? Olsem bae oli giggle over long ansa/s blong olgeta olsem se oli no confident
87 blong yusum nomo. Those smart ones oli gud? Be then bae yumi faenem sam mo=

88 Mr Ala: =Hem i wan samting olsem. Sapos yu luk aot saed? Oli perform defren than
89 insaed long klasrum. Oli stap aot saed oli open blong hemia hemia but insaed long
90 klasrum? Olsem mi no save. Ating wan barrier between (.) between long olgeta we
91 oli stap klosap long olgeta? I kosem blong oli no save speak out loud. Olsem (.)
92 openem (.) open up uh? Mi (.) mi olsem hemia tingting blong mi nomo be mi no
93 save.

94 (12)

95 Mr Ala: Okei yumi mov go long (.) ah B? <reads> “Are you a confident user of
96 English? Do you wish to speak” (.) sorry “do you wish”

97 Mrs Angela: “You spoke”

98 (1)

99 Mr Ala: “You spoke it better?”

100 (3)

101 Mrs Angela: Ating bae mi mi stat. From mi mi Inglis tija. <Laughs> Olsem. Olsem
102 bae yumi evriwan mi ting se bae yumi tingting se (.) no mi no confident. Olsem ating
103 mi wis se (.) yumi could have spoken it better be. Ating bae yumi kambak long yumi
104 bakegen ating <laughs> yumi no (.) ating yumi talem ol styuden be ating bae i
105 kambak long yumi bae (.) yumi sem mak olsem se yu harem se oh no bae ol
106 colleagues blong mi bae mi toktok bae (.) er (.) bae mi talem i nogud o (.)
107 sometimes mi stap lukum olsem (.) yumi stap yusum long staf miting uh? Ating
108 somebody hem i gat wan (.) wan point of view i wantem toktok be lanwis itself nao
109 ating from wetem colleagues olsem ia mekem se (.) mi no fil se (.) no tingting ia lego
110 nomo bae mi no toktok but ating at the back long maen blong yumi i stap tingting se
111 no nogud mi talem i nogud. Olsem hemia tingting blong mi nomo <laughs>. Krangke
112 wan. Mi no save blong yufala be:: (.) ating olsem blong mi olsem mi no confident

113 blong speak/im olsem se yumi stap traem. Though yumi no confident be yumi
114 always traem.

115 (3)

116 Mr Ala: Ating mi tu sem mak olsem Mrs Angela i talem. Olsem mi:: samtaem mi no
117 confident be (.) mi fil se sapos mi toktok gud Inglis mo. Blong mi (.) olsem taem yu
118 go long sam pat olsem blong uh askem ol kwestin olsem olsem olsem olsem ia? Yu
119 save? Bae yu mas yusum sam Inglis we. Samtaem mi harem olsem se mi mas go
120 olsem <makes lots of hand gestures, up and down and round in a circle> (.) mas
121 yusum ol terms ia blong go daon blong (.) go daon nomo be from (.) sometimes
122 olsem mi harem olsem sapos mi toktok gud Inglis mo blong mi save. Yu save Inglis
123 styu- er tija/s oli olsem ia nao long mi:: sem samting nomo be oli tantanem tantanem
124 tantanem <hands rapidly moving round> <All laugh> Mekem se pikinini i krangke
125 uh? <All laugh> So hemia nao olsem se mi harem se hemia nao bae i helpem mi
126 plante blong mi save (.) er mekem olgeta oli picture/em wan picture long (.) long (.)
127 olsem ia mi question/em olgeta mi tanem upside down? Olgeta oli save tanem
128 picture i kam long (.) olsem olsem.

129 (2)

130 Mrs Angela: Olsem mi no save but mi stap fil se naoia? Taem mi stap go mi stap
131 tingting se mi wis se mi styuden nao olsem long ej naoia long taem olsem se yu (.)
132 yu kam blong lukum save olsem mi stap wis se (.) sapos mi go skul bakegen ating
133 bae mi lan mo olsem yu kam olsem se (.) at the time that yu styuden mebi olsem (.)
134 naoia i no klia be naoia we yumi kam wok afta mi stap tingting se (.) mi wis se mi
135 gat janis blong go skul bakegen ating bae mi save toktok Inglis i better o:: <laughs>
136 hemia olsem krangke tingting bakegen se (.) from ating yumi kam long ej we yumi
137 luk save. Afta yu stap regret bak se (.) eh mi stap tingbaot taem blong skul sapos mi
138 stap go long klas o sapos mi stap askem tija blong mi long taem ia o. Sapos mi stap
139 smat olsem ol smat pikinini we oli toktok Inglis uh. (2) Yufala we yu skul long
140 Ostrelia? <Looking at Mr Andrew>

141 (1)

142 Mrs Anne: Mi mi agri long wanem Mr Ala wetem Mrs Angela tufala i talem. Olsem
143 Mr Ala i talem mi fully agri long hem um (.) ating mi tu mi no really er mi no (.) fil
144 confident blong (.) yusum Inglis long (.) klasrum (.) especially olsem Mr Ala i talem
145 we taem yu tijim wan (.) wan topic and then olsem be yu mas (.) mekem long wan
146 wei blong wan (.) styuden i:: (.) olsem eni kwestin/s we hem i come up long that
147 particular topic? Styuden hem i save ansarem kwestin. Hem i save tantanem eni
148 other (.) eni wei blong hem i save ansarem kwestin ia. Olsem (.) um (.) sabjek blong
149 mi hem i (.) mainly hem i that particular olsem (.) aedia nao i kam insaed we (.) yu
150 talem wan samting be styuden bae (.) styuden bae hem i lukum (.) that particular
151 mebi wanem (.) wanem yu tijim ia bae hem i lukum long fulap defren eria. Bae yu
152 save blong givim defren ansa/s long that particular topic we yu tijim. So (.) mebi
153 hem i wan problem tu olsem blong complete/im ol kwestin/s ol defren kwestin/s
154 blong ansarem uh (.) that eni kwestin/s blong come up long that particular topic tu
155 hem i wan (.) wan mebi sort of the problem long (.) sabjek we mi gat.

- 156 (13)
- 157 Mme Adrienne: Mi ting se mi yusum Inglis (.) evri dei.
- 158 Mrs Angela: <laughs> But?
- 159 Mme Adrienne: Olsem (.) mi no gat problem wetem. Wan man we hem i save better
 160 Inglis olsem Fiona bae i correct/em. Se whether Inglis blong mi i nogud be (.) blong
 161 talem se are you confident? Mi save talem se yes.
- 162 (2)
- 163 Mr Andrew: Mi long saed blong mi? Yes ating olsem Mme Adrienne i talem. Mi (.)
 164 olsem taem mi stap long wanem ia long environment (.) local environment? Mi ting
 165 se mi confident be taem we mi kam to public speaking o iven we taem we yumi gat
 166 ol visita? Then hem i wan test blong traem confidence long saed blong mi long yus
 167 blong Inglis. But mi ting se mi biliv long wan saying that taem yu (.) the more you
 168 use it? The more you become familiar wetem or confident wetem.
- 169 (14)
- 170 Mr Ala: Okei muv go long C? <reads> "Students and staff do not speak English very
 171 often outside the classroom. Why is this."
- 172 Mrs Angela: <laughs>
- 173 Mr Andrew: Okei hem i hem i no wan problem we mi save talem se hem i wan
 174 problem long (.) ol pipol long Vanuatu? Since yumi long Vanuatu yumi grow up long
 175 (.) wan long (.) totally defren climates altogether? Er the reason why yumi no yusum
 176 Inglis a lot of times aot saed long klasrum (.) teachers or staff and students? Hem i
 177 wan nao hem i hu yu stap wetem long taem we yu stap aot saed long klasrum. Hem
 178 i wan contributing factor. Sapos yu stap wetem er (.) yu blong Ambae yu stap
 179 wetem wan man we yu kam (.) yutufala i kamaot long sem ples yutufala i mas
 180 speak/im lanwis nomo. So activity aot saed long klasrum tu hem i contribute long (.)
 181 how often yu speak/im Inglis (.) especially yu stap aot saed long klasrum? Be yu
 182 stap wetem wan waetman? Obviously you must speak in English. So (.) long (.) why
 183 yumi no speak/im a lot of this aot saed long klasrum wan nao hem i (.) hem i hu yu
 184 stap wetem? That moment aot saed long klasrum. And wan narafala samting tu?
 185 Vanuatu hem i full of cultures and (.) what (.) er ol traditions? Taem yumi stap aot
 186 saed long klas sapos yumi dring kava? Yumi blong Vanuatu nomo? Then bae mi go
 187 sidaon stori wetem Mr Ala obviously mitufala i mas speak/im lanwis blong mi. Secret
 188 (.) er secret long (.) lanwis tu hem i another contributing factor. Sapos we mitufala i
 189 wantem tokbaot wan man? Mitufala blong Ambae mitufala i mas toktok lanwis
 190 nomo. And (.) sapos i (.) mifala stap wetem wan man we hem i speak/im Inglis hem
 191 i no save Bislama? Mifala i sutum hem wetem Bislama (.) blong haedem information
 192 is another contributing factor. And sapos yu stap long wan traditional (.) activity laek
 193 mared o olsem? Then mostly bae oli yusum local dialects blong whatever (.) uh eria
 194 o (.) uh yes (.) aelan we hem i stap long hem.
- 195 (5)

196 Mrs Angela: Ating bae yumi kambak long confidence bakegen nomo uh? Olsem aot
197 saed blong (.) talem se yumi no speak/im aot saed long klasrum. Ating long klasrum
198 from hem i a must. Must olsem hem i wan medium we yumi yusum. Taem we aot
199 saed? Olsem (.) yumi no tingting strong nomo se

200 Mrs Anne: Yes mi:: mi ting se wanem oli talem i tru from mi stap lukum olsem (.)
201 long mi wan olsem mi luk (.) er (.) to students olsem mi traem bes blong mi. From mi
202 save se hem i wan requirement blong skul blong yumi toktok Inglis long olgeta at all
203 times even (.) insaed long klasrum o aot saed. So (.) olsem. Mi olsem mi traem long
204 taem blong skul olsem mi hardly toktok Bislama o eni ting long ol styuden and (.) be
205 wanem mi faenem se (.) taem sapos yumi wokbaot tugeta wetem ol styuden bae
206 yumi go olsem yumi wokbaot go long stadium or yumi go eni wea. Sapos we mi ting
207 se mi communicate wetem olgeta long Inglis? Bae dis taem bae i katemaot
208 conversation long olgeta nao. Bae mi mi toktok. Sapos mi toktok long olgeta? Oli
209 yes no oli givim wan smol ansa nomo finis? Oli stop nao. Bae mifala i
210 communication i no save go so. Mifala i jes wokbaot olsem (.) kwaet nomo i go. Be
211 sapos mi jenis ia mi kam Bislama nao conversation i (.) i stat nao i go on. So (.) mi
212 luk se olsem we oli talem (.) we hem i mebi (.) i kambak nomo olsem mi mi no
213 confident nomo blong mi toktok long (.) Inglis.

214 Mme Adrienne: Bae mi add-em smol long hemia Mrs Anne i talem hem i tru. Mi wan
215 olsem mi traem bes blong mi blong toktok long Inglis aot saed. But it comes a time
216 we sapos we yu toktok long Inglis ia? Olsem we yu toktok long ol styuden we mifala
217 kam long sem ples? Naoia mi fil bad tu. Se bae oli talem se woman ia i flas o
218 wanem. <others laugh> Si. So samting olsem hem i stap. But hem i no minim se::
219 mifala i no sua se Inglis mifala i laekem speak/im but i gat wan samting ating it is to
220 do with tradition blong mifala o (.) yes olsem.

221 (2)

222 Mr Ala: Mi olsem (.) hemia olsem long nara point of view but nara poen bakegen
223 olsem mi mi luk olsem skul rul tu hem i (.) contribute long (.) long hemia tu olsem.
224 Sapos skul rul i talem se speak English at all times? Olsem nao bae ol pikinini bae
225 oli traem had blong nomata se oli toktok nogud be bae oli gohed nomo blong (.) be
226 sapos skul rul i talem se speak English long ol certain times olsem ia? Naoia bae i
227 olsem ah no yumi yusum Bislama nomo. Olsem tingting blong mi nomo. Aot saed I
228 mean aot saed long klas. Olsem klasrum. Taem yumi go aot saed hem i defren be
229 (.) around the school boundary olsem. Mainly (.) administration and classrooms.

230 Mme Adrienne: Be taem yu talem olsem hem i (.) i no se ol man we olsem se oli
231 stap lukum ol skul rul/s ia? Oli (.) taem i kam long lanwis? Oli no wantem
232 enforce/em Inglis tu from oli talem se ol pikinini oli gat raet blong toktok long
233 Bislama. Long lanwis blong olgeta. So hemia long ples ia that will be our problem.

234 Mr Ala: Oli sud jenisim polisi ia. Speak English and French at all times. From tufala
235 lanwis ia nao oli stap talem long skul.

236 Mr Andrew: Be (.) olsem Vanuatu i mas develop into a country so (.) ol local
237 lanwis/es blong yumi tu oli impoten olsem (.) yumi mas kipim traditional cultures and

238 kastom i alive? Be (.) i min se ol pikinini oli mas sam hao practise/im ol lanwis blong
 239 olgeta blong kipim histri.

240 Mr Ala: Olsem mi i gat wan argument long ples ia from olsem. Inglis wetem French?
 241 Yumi tijim olgeta be Bislama wetem lanwis? Yumi no tijim. So olgeta oli toktok rabis
 242 Bislama wetem rabis lanwis.

243 (2)

244 Mr Andrew: Ating hem i wan project blong gavman we i impoten be because
 245 Gavman blong Vanuatu hem i politicised tumas? Be mi ting se long wan woksop we
 246 mifala i attend/em hemia nao oli traem blong cover/em. Hem i blong mekem sua se
 247 evri pikinini long Vanuatu i (.) not just speak/im English and French? But they need
 248 to learn the language from the roots up to the (1) stamba o wanem.

249 <others laugh>

250 F: Be wanem nao skul rul naoia?

251 Mr Andrew: Speak English every day.

252 Mrs Angela: No afta mi ting se oli amen- oli amend/em se (.) long skul aoa/s nomo.

253 Mrs Anne: Up to half past four.

254 Mrs Angela: Up to half past four.

255 F: Ah okei.

256 Mrs Angela: O samting olsem.

257 Mrs Anne: <laughs>

258 Mme Adrienne: Be hemia nao mi talem iven hem i wan- hem i polisi ia? Hem i wan
 259 discussion hem i anda discussion from taem yu talem bae i Inglis nomo? Samfala?
 260 Bae oli stil argue se nogat. Yu mas givim taem blong olgeta blong oli save toktok
 261 Bislama o lanwis blong olgeta.

262 Mr Ala: Hem i olsem bilif blong mi olsem se sapos yumi talem se toktok Inglis
 263 wetem French at all times? Sapos oli mestem oli toktok lanwis hem i no wan
 264 samting be (.) from (.) olsem problem ia nao? Insaed long klasrum oli no save
 265 andastanem Inglis. Olsem ridim mo speak/im aot uh? So the more they do it the
 266 more they become better.

267 Mrs Anne: Yumi (.) yumi talem about lanwis (.) olsem hao yumi speak/im long
 268 klasrum o olsem ol styuden-s be (.) olsem hemia i wan problem. Hem i wan bigfala
 269 problem finis be (.) olsem mi faenem long sabjek blong mi tu. Wan problem se yu
 270 tokbaot olsem bae mi yusum ol (.) terms long wod/s long sentens blong mi. Be ol
 271 simple terms we mi yusum ol simple wod oli no save andastanem nomo so hemia
 272 mi nomo save nao. Se i olsem wanem. Hem i kambak long wanem (.) hem i go bak
 273 long hao yumi (.) yumi raet (.) yumi talem long olgeta? O hem i go back to (.) mebi
 274 problem se oli no rid o wanem. From wan simple wod we mi ting se iven hem i go

275 as far as Yia 13? Yu yusum wan simple wod we (.) olsem consequences for
276 example. Olsem wan wod ia we mi ting se oli sud save be (.) hemia bae oli no save
277 wanem. Bae oli askem se hemia hem i minim wanem oli no save se hem i minim
278 wanem. So mi no save. Hemia bae mi (.) olsem (.) go long (.) go long wanem kaen
279 problem nao. <laughs>

280 Mme Adrienne: Be yu lukum hemia hem i tru. From naoia yu tekem consequences
281 ia? For example olsem wan wod? Bae yu traem eksplenem long Bislama bae yu
282 talem olsem wanem. Bae ol pikinini bae oli jes konfius mo. Consequence bae yu
283 talem olsem wanem long Bislama. Yumi ting se Inglis hem i we oli sud harem save
284 be yet nogat. Taem we bae yu mekem i go long Bislama? Hemia bae i worse.

285 (8)

286 Mrs Angela: Be hemia i minim se i foldaon long wanem? Wei we yumi skul i kam?
287 Edyukesen olsem wei we yumi bin attend/em long evri level i kam? O i foldaon long
288 (1) olsem i tru olsem mifala long lanwis bae mifala i talem olsem wod/s. Yu no save.
289 Dictionary oli go lukum faenem be (.) no oli no wantem. Oli no bothered long (.) wod
290 ia i minim wanem? Hao nao mi save yusum wod ia? O (1) so hemia i kambak long=

291 Mr Andrew: =Wan problem long yumi long Vanuatu because yumi gat so much
292 lanwis so yumi gat so much vocab so (.) wan stumbling block blong yumi. Olsem
293 Miss Fiona olgeta? The only vocab is English vocab nomo. So they've been grow
294 up since smol i go antap wetem Inglis vocab. Be yumi long (.) Vanuatu? Yumi gat er
295 Inglis and French blong lanem long skul? And then yumi gat Bislama blong yumi
296 lanem long wan yang ej? Yumi gat mother tongue we yumi lanem long very very
297 yang ej so (.) taem yu traem blong bildim i kam yu kosem wan hybrid ia hem i very
298 difficult.

299 Mr Ala: Mi luk wan samting we olsem (.) sapos (.) long edyukesen level blong bifo?
300 Olsem ol olfala we oli skul finis long Klas 6 nomo. Yumi long ples ia i olsem naoia
301 yumi skul kasem Yia 10? Yia 12 13? Be sapos yumi compare/em Inglis level blong
302 olgeta wetem ol yumi naoia? Olgeta oli speak good English than yumi. (2) Ol olfala
303 blong yumi. (1) Hemia observation nao mi no save se wanem nao i

304 (1)

305 Mr Andrew: Mi ting se wan long olgeta influences ia we hem i create/em hemia hem
306 i long that period of time? Bislama hem i no wan common lanwis for every citizen
307 long Vanuatu. Like er (.) sapos yu stap long Ambae? Bae yumi speak Ambae
308 lanwis nomo. So taem yumi jiam aot long Ambae lanwis (.) sel blong Ambae
309 lanwis? Yumi jiam i go direct long Inglis o French. Be (.) Bislama nao hem i wan
310 long olgeta er (.) lanwis (.) nasonal lanwis we hem i miksim tumas mekem se hem i
311 isi for young people from (.) young population blong Vanuatu i toktok long hem.
312 Therefore hem i had blong yumi jiam i go long Inglis vocab o French vocab.
313 Because Bislama nao hem i wan hybrid lanwis blong Inglis mo French ia. So i
314 mekem wan bigfala contr- olsem negative contribution long impact long yus blong
315 lanwis long Vanuatu. And sapos yu luk vocabulary blong Bislama? Hem i (.) no
316 match/em Inglis vocab mo French vocab. From oli jes get it from the blue and put it
317 into the language.

318 Mr Ala: Mi:: agri wetem Mr Andrew tu long eria ia olsem. Bislama blong yumi hem i
 319 no wan gudfala Bislama. Hem i (.) hem i made up lanwis nomo. Bae yu harem long
 320 dis yia ia bae ol man oli toktok defren? Oli yusum defren wod. Long nekis yia bae yu
 321 harem ol wanem ol terms o wanem ia? Oli defren nao. Oli made up sam ples i kam
 322 ale ol man oli yusum nao. Mekem se:: i no gud

323 Mrs Angela: Yes olsem blong [yumi talem?]

324 Mr Ala: [Hem i con]tribute long olsem (.) long understanding
 325 long Inglis blong yumi. Yu save from. Olsem uh. Mi stap long Ranwadi i gat wan
 326 pikinini we hem i kam in long Yia 7? Uh olsem skul rul i talem se speak English at all
 327 times. Then hem i traem blong speak Inglis be hao i putum olsem ol man oli talem
 328 se hem i talem wan toktok hem i giaman. Afta nara wan i talem se eh boe ia i talem
 329 long hem se i wantem talem long Inglis se (.) hem i sud talem se no he is lying. Afta
 330 hem i talem se no he is giaman/ing. Olsem hem i yusum Bislama? I putum i-n-g
 331 long en. <laughs>

332 (3)

333 Mme Adrienne: Hem i tru. Bislama hem i plem wan role blong spolem
 334 understanding blong tufala lanwis/es olsem French wetem (.) Inglis. Mi talem mi?
 335 Wan eksampol long mi mi stap kasem Yia 10 mi no save wan wod long Bislama.
 336 Nogat. Very fas ting we oli talem se bae mi go karem nasese? Mi go karem mases.
 337 Mi no save. Okei so (.) but speaking French? Mifala i toktok toktok toktok i nogud o i
 338 gud? Nobody hem i correct/em yu. Yu speak it. Olsem long insaed? Teaching. Yu
 339 go aot saed hem i French. Hem i no gud o i gud be yu mekem. But Bislama olsem i
 340 no gat nomo. Yes. Antap long hem mi talem hemia nomo from yu talem se from
 341 wanem nao ol olfala oli (.) Inglis blong olgeta hem i really gud than yumi.

342 (2)

343 Mr Ala: Okei. <reads> "Do you think any other language (.) should be used in
 344 school?" (.) Yu min se insaed long klasrum o?

345 F: Eni wea nomo.

346 Mrs Angela: Eni wea.

347 Mme Adrienne: That is what is happening now.

348 Mr Ala: Olsem. Mi mi yusum Bislama insaed (.) sometimes long klasrum blong
 349 eksplenem wan term we hem i had blong oli andastanem. That's why hem i:: bae mi
 350 talem se:: olsem castration. Bae mi eksplen long Inglis gogo no. Be olsem katem
 351 bol blong buluk. Afta ah okei. <laughs>

352 Mr Andrew: Yes long wan lanwis polisi summit we i bin take place long Saratamata?
 353 Olsem (.) gavman hem i reorganise/em lanwis/es blong yumi tijim long skul/s nao.
 354 Wan nao hem i (.) wanem ia vernacular o wanem ia? Ol local lanwis/es ia? Then
 355 Inglis mo French. Be (.) Bislama oli discourage/im. So hemia nao wan long (.) from
 356 why? Olsem we mi bin talem finis. I no gat vocabulary blong hem (.) i no gat
 357 vocabulary. Hem i too difficult.

358 Mme Adrienne: I bin gat wan (.) wan comment i bin kamaot se olsem wanem long ol
359 pikinini we oli stap long Vila mo Santo we oli kam long defdefren (.) ples/es. Bae yu
360 tijim olgeta olsem wanem long mother tongue blong ol. Actually i no bin really gat
361 wan (.) um confirm ansa we hem i gud ol wanem we oli bin (.) hem i stil wan olsem
362 wan discussion nomo taem we (.) sapos we pikinini blong yu hem i no save (.) hem i
363 no save (.) lanwis blong yu? Hem i (.) hem i fault blong yu long haos. Be yu luk
364 olsem bae yu neva save (.) bae yu no save yusum vernacular nomo. Bae hem i
365 Bislama nomo long tufala main taon.

366 Mr Andrew: Ating wan risej hem i find out se:: hem i proper blong jiam long
367 vernacular into English and French rather than jumping from vernacular into
368 Bislama and then into that. Hem i Bislama nao hem i kosem a lot of mess. And ating
369 wan long olgeta emphasis tu i stap naoia? Hem i blong introduce/em uh (.) Asian
370 lanwis as well insaed long skul/s because maket blong wol this time hem i Asian
371 maket so (.) ating long (.) few years' time? Bambae nara foreign lanwis tu bae hem i
372 likely to be introduced. Hem i Asian lanwis.

373 (8) <some whispering>

374 Mr Ala: Ol poen/s oli impoten ia. (5) I finis? (3) Okei mov go long namba tu?
375 <reads> "Using English and French? Do you speak French? Do you wish (.) you
376 spoke it better?"

377 (9)

378 Mrs Angela: Ansa blong hem hem i mi no toktok long French. <laughs>

379 Mr Ala: Mi? Olsem mi::

380 Mrs Angela: You speak French. <laughs>

381 Mr Ala: Mi laekem French. Be mi (.) toktok smolsmol afta mi harem se:: sapos mi
382 traem mi:: mi save mi toktok gud mo long French. Hem i wan (.) lanwis be (.) hem i
383 intres blong mi nomo.

384 (3)

385 Mrs Anne: Ating mi tu olsem. Be:: (.) mi save andastanem ol (.) simple wod/s nomo
386 (.) ol terms oli yusum be otherwise ol (.) much harder wan/s ia nogat o mi:: mi stap
387 wis ia sapos we <laughs> mi olsem mi bin tekem French mo mi tekem seriously
388 mebi. From mi lukum long (.) tudei laek yu go anywhere? French mo Inglis nao hem
389 i surround long ol eria/s o:: iven raon long ples ia yu luk? Yu traem blong (.) yu luk ol
390 styuden/s oli stap lanem French o wanem. Mi stap regret long (.) sapos mi bin
391 lanem <laughs> taem mi stap long skul be. Mi wis se mi bin lanem mo. Mebi tekem
392 more seriously.

393 (3)

394 Mme Adrienne: Mi mi toktok uh (.) French? Mi toktok French. Olsem mi lukluk olsem
395 bae (.) long grammar saed blong hem? Bae mi talem se mi save gud grammar
396 blong French. <reads> "Do you wish to (.) do you wish you spoke it better?" Ah:: mi

397 save talem se mi save French from mi stap long environment blong yumi hemia. But
398 (.) mi gat kwestin. Mi gat kwestin sapos we mi go long wan environment we oli
399 toktok French naoia? Se bae mi catch up wetem olgeta? From actually French hem
400 i wan kaen lanwis we olsem hem i laef. Oli jenisim ol long ol expression olsem we
401 yumi talem Bislama tudei. Be (.) bae oli talem bae mi still harem save. But blong (.)
402 toktok long hem? Mi (.) mi wantem sapos we bae mi go insaed mi laekem blong mi
403 improve/um ol taem. But dis taem mi toktok hem i oraet. Olsem we yumi stap ia wan
404 man i kam bae hem i toktok wan taem ia? Bae mi harem save. Bae mi ansarem
405 hem. But maybe somewhere outside? Hem i already jenis. So long kwestin yes. Mi
406 wis se mi speak/im better mi stap long wan environment we oli speak/im blong mi
407 save (.) update/em ol expression ol wod/s olsem.

408 (6)

409 Mr Ala: Long B? Uh? Yumi go?

410 Mme Adrienne: Uh-uh.

411 Mr Ala: <reads> "Is it good for individuals to know both English and French?"

412 (1)

413 Mme Adrienne: Yes=

414 Mrs Anne: =Yes.

415 Mr Ala: [Yes.]

416 Mrs Angela: [Yes.] Ating hem i (.) mi no save mi for one olsem mi stap admire/em ol
417 Francophones uh?

418 Mrs Anne: M-m.

419 Mrs Angela: Yu faenem ol Francophones? Olsem (.) yumi Inglis sapos we yumi ol
420 Anglophones yumi mitim yumi bakegen? Bae yumi toktok Bislama o (.) be yumi luk
421 wetem olgeta? Mi stap luk olsem ol French taem oli mitim olgeta? Hemia (.) French
422 nomo. Oli save toktok French nomo. Ah mi stap luk olsem ia mi stap wis se mi mi
423 olsem ia nao <laughs> olsem mi stap laekem be:: from yumi no save nomo. Be hem
424 i gud. Mi luk se naoia hem i impoten uh? Very impoten blong (.) blong yumi save
425 both languages. Mi ting se i no jes Inglis. Bae i gud blong yumi save both English
426 French tu?

427 (4)

428 Mme Adrienne: Mi kwestin ia? Olsem bae mi talem olsem se (2) mi ting se sapos
429 we mi save mi (.) mi save tufala lanwis tugeta mi ting se hem i privilege naf blong mi
430 (.) mi olsem. Mi save both French and (.) English? But mi save se hem i no (.) hem i
431 no that easy. Hem i isi long mi nomo from mi bin folem system we mi go long
432 French fastaem. Mi lanem Inglis mi luk se hem i much easier. And then it (.)
433 somehow it comes that mi save both language mi save toktok tufala tugeta. But mi
434 save se hem i no that (.) easy. But taem yumi lukum samtaem mi eksplenem long ol
435 pikinini? Bae mi talem gud long olgeta se (.) hem i samting we yu tekem olsem yumi

436 talem se hem i wan (.) personal privilege of some individual. Sapos yu save both
437 languages. Yumi talem olsem from samtaem bae samfala man oli argue. I gat wok
438 we:: French hem i (.) olsem sapos yu speak French? Bae hem i no gat tumas
439 opportunity blong wok. Sam man oli luk olsem. O oli talem se yumi stap long (.) long
440 wol we hem i dominated by English. Mi se hem i (.) hem i oraet. Hem i raet but mi
441 lukum olsem hem i wan (.) individual samting we yu holem se hem i wan privilege
442 blong yu. Yu traem blong tingting ol taem olsem.

443 (5)

444 <all looking down at question list, whispering>

445 Mr Andrew: Long mi? Long saed blong issue we blong yus blong Inglis mo French
446 for individual mo for Vanuatu. As a country? Uh long lukluk blong mi? Se er prior to
447 Indipendens (.) straight after Independence long eighties and nineties? Ating (.) er
448 individual ni-Van hem i (.) laek blong save both Inglis mo French. But as taem hem i
449 go on? Near to the two thousand ia? Mi ting se (.) Vanuatu hem i become mo
450 dominant wetem Inglis. So (.) hem i (.) mi no save risen why? But that's why lanwis
451 polisi ia oli traem blong emphasise/em mo blong French se blong evri sitisen i mas
452 save French. But again? Hemia hem i minim se gavman hem i mas do/im pat blong
453 hem blong lukluk long ensure that intres ia blong lanem French hem i continue
454 blong flow. Otherwise hem i jes flow up nomo? Job opportunities nogat? I no gat ol
455 skul/s blong ol pikinini oli go long hem. Bae hem i wan total waste bakegen. But for
456 Vanuatu as a whole? Mi ting se so far (.) uh wol hem i dominantly rule by Inglis? So
457 (.) er for individual? It can be a privilege to actually learn French. But for the country
458 as a whole? Hem i sud be more long Inglis? And Asia. Yu save because long saed
459 blong marketing? Yu tok Asian. Long saed blong communication? We talk English.

460 (3)

461 F: So wei we yu talem se wan privilege? Olsem fulap blong yufala i talem privilege o
462 mi laekem wei we ol man Franis oli toktok o something like that. Be i gat eni
463 purpose blong (.) wan man i save tufala lanwis o hem i wan (.) hem i show/em se yu
464 gat skil long lanwis nomo o i gat wan (.) function blong hem? O material benefit o
465 wanem.

466 Mr Andrew: Ating wan nomo. Whatever job we yu actually engage long hem? As a
467 ni-Van? Then hem i sud qualify/em yu the interest to learn both? But for country as
468 a whole? Long naoia? Yumi stap luk finis trends hem i stap go? French hem i stap
469 er (.) glide off while Inglis hem i stap continue blong climb up. So ating hemia nao
470 that's er reason why the new language policy we mi no ting se naoia (.) gavman
471 blong tudei hem i emphasise mo long hem dis taem because gavman blong tudei
472 hem i wan Inglis gavm- er ruling power so. That policy was introduced by a French-
473 speaking power. So

474 F: Be yu harem se i gud se yumi long Vanuatu yumi gat tufala tugeta? O hem i wan
475 samting blong histri nomo yumi lego nao o

476 Mr Andrew: Ating as an individual? Hem i oraet. But as a country? Hem i no really
477 impoten blong gat tufala lanwis ia hem i (.) mo impoten blong gat mo lanwis i kam

478 insaed. Those languages to do wetem marketing especially. So not just French and
479 English but we should learn other languages as well. But for individuals? Whichever
480 language you have hem i should be a privilege.

481 Mme Adrienne: Bae mi mi putum olsem ia se French actually olsem. Yumi (.) hem i
482 dipen (.) olsem hem i talem hem i dipen long job. Yes job opportunities. But again
483 hemia hem i se yu nao individual. Olsem kwestin i stap. Uh <reads> “is it good that
484 Vanuatu uses both English and French?” Stil hem i kambak long kwestin se hem i
485 stap long yu nomo. Which one from we (.) system blong yumi hem i allow/em?
486 Sapos yu wantem go long French? Yu go long French. Yu wantem go long Inglis?
487 Yu go long Inglis. But sapos we gavman i no wantem jenisim system ia be hem i
488 stap long hem.

489 (1)

490 Mr Ala: Mi ting se Mme Adrienne olsem ol sam criteria insaed long ol jobs? Yu mas
491 save both language. Olsem hemia tu we hem i kam long wan (.) eria we:: sapos yu
492 save both language yu gat janis blong kasem wan job nao. (1) Olsem sam
493 advataesmen i kam ia i se yu mas (.) be a good er English speaker and French.
494 Olsem hem i stap long system blong yumi finis. So naoia i kam long wan samting
495 we (.) French tu i impoten long ol eria. Blong faenem wan job. Sapos we yu save
496 Inglis nomo? Bae yu no save karem that job we (.) advataesmen i kam from. Mi ting
497 se most long ol advataesmen nao (.) olsem know a little bit of (.) save Inglis and
498 know a little bit of French. Mo andastan. (5) And from we yumi bin (.) olsem kaontri
499 olsem finis? Taem we wan French man i kam? Samtaem we yumi speak Inglis?
500 Bae yumi no save toktok nao. From (.) privilege ia from yumi no gat save uh.

501 (4)

502 Mr Andrew: Mi ting se wan long olgeta biggest problem tu wetem (.) use of both
503 English and French long kaontri? Hem i the interest blong ol expat blong lanem
504 Bislama. Sapos wan French man i (.) fastaem i arrive long Vanuatu? Bae hem i fas
505 samting we hem i wantem lanem is Bislama. So that's why hem i decline (.) intres
506 blong kaontri (.) olsem individual tu blong lanem (.) speak/im French o English.
507 Because again Bislama hem i wan (.) olsem ol Pis Kop olgeta oli kam oli ol Inglis
508 speakers be oli arrive long Vanuatu? Tu wik/s woksop ia oli generally Bislama. So
509 instead blong kam developem English long ol rural eria/s? Bislama. Ating blong
510 communication blong olgeta towards long locals hem i gud be (.) blong uphold/em
511 communication skills blong locals in terms of English?

512 (2)

513 Mr Ala: Mi mi ting se olsem i gud blong yumi save both (.) mi tingbaot wan (.) mi
514 stap long Santo i gat wan woman i kam long Caledonia. I kam kasem long epot?
515 Hem i no save Inglis? I no save Bislama. So (.) hemia? Olfala Ezekiel i stap long
516 epot. So hem i traem bes blong speak Ing- er Franis long hem. So mi tingbaot wan
517 toktok we i talem i putum hanbag blong hem i go insaed finis i talem se (.) c'est
518 tout? Afta woman i se oui. Ale hemia nao i olsem se woman ia i harem se (.) olsem
519 mi andastanem smol pat ia mi harem se olfala Ezekiel i win long smol pat ia nao

520 blong talem c'est tout. <laughs> (3) So hem i helpem hem smol ples ia i helpem
 521 hem blong er=

522 Mme Adrienne: =Blong communicate.

523 Mr Ala: Yeah blong communicate. Olsem hem i impoten blong yumi communicate
 524 uh?

525 Mrs Angela: No be (.) Mr Ala i stap talem olsem mi stap tingting bakegen olsem bae
 526 yumi long Vanuatu? I no se blong yumi waepemaot be i gud blong yumi
 527 encourage/im from (.) bae yumi lukluk nao olsem ol turis. Yumi tokbaot tourism uh.
 528 Hem i wan bigfa- wan biggest um risos revenue blong yumi long Vanuatu. Be olsem
 529 sapos yumi karem turis i kam long ol eria/s? Afta i no gat wan i save toktok French
 530 bae (.) hao. Olsem i gud blong sam at least i save? Olsem mi mi stap talem ating
 531 Fiona i save <laughs> se mi mi talem se wan pikinini blong mi mas skul French.
 532 Sapos yumi gat wan visita we i kam long hao we i toktok French? At least mi gat
 533 somebody we i andastanem. No gud we bae i kam olsem bae yumi c'est tout finis
 534 taem i kam bakegen? Bae yu no save nao se nekis wan wanem. <all laugh> Olsem
 535 mi stap lukluk se i gud. I no olsem se i nogud. Hem i gud blong save both uh? So
 536 yumi talem. Turis oli kam? (1) Fulap turis i kam long Vanuatu so (.) i gud blong
 537 yumi=

538 Mr Ala: =Er wan samting tu olsem mi faenemaot se ol man we oli skul French? Oli
 539 toktok gud Inglis than yumi ol we yumi skul Inglis.

540 (1)

541 Mr Andrew: Wanem nao risen blong hem.

542 Mme Adrienne: Mi ting se risen blong hem from grammar nomo.

543 Mrs Angela: Grammar nomo.

544 Mme Adrienne: Grammar blong French hem i quite had. Hem i had in itself. Inglis
 545 hem i gat grammar but grammar blong hem hem i se yu harem se yu klia long hem.
 546 French olsem yu gat wan rul yu gat handred exception i mekem i had. So ating yu
 547 save (.) tingting olsem the reason why yu talem se oli speak (.) er better? Ating
 548 that's because grammar blong Inglis hem i simple. Blong French hem i had.

549 Mrs Angela: So once taem oli grasp/em long French? Olsem se oli (.) i had be once
 550 taem oli kasem finis? Olsem taem we oli kam long lukluk long isi wan? No from oli
 551 save had wan so that's why i isi blong oli switch. (1) Be yumi olsem se blong yumi
 552 sidaon we yumi wantem ah (.) hu i wantem save? Hemia mi no wantem lanem tu.
 553 Laek yumi gat that mentality se (.) blong wanem yumi extra one? Hu i wantem save.
 554 So mekem se yumi no save.

555 Mr Andrew: Ating hemia hem i (.) wan classic eksampol nomo long (.) las wiken ia?
 556 Long graduation blong yumi i gat wan boe ia we hem i wan Yia 11 styuden. Simon.

557 Mrs Angela: M-m.

558 Mr Andrew: Hem i complete/im Yia 11 long Melsisi olsem Francophone and then
 559 hem i switch i kam long Inglis long Yia 11. And then hem i manage blong get
 560 through long ol Inglis subjek long (.) Inglis.

561 Mrs Angela: Hemia hem i tru. Mi gat wan we mi mi tijim (.) hem i 7 to 10 long
 562 French? Ale hem i kam 11 12 Inglis? Be (.) taem we hem i raet? Hem i very careful
 563 long grammar ol tenses blong hem. Olsem spelling blong hem. Hem i sidaon wetem
 564 dictionary olsem se i very careful. Afta iven taem we i raet? Olsem. Samtaem yu
 565 ridim stori bae yu no bilivim se i tru wan Francophone i raetem. Iven i raet better
 566 than yumi ol Anglophones i raet.

567 Mr Ala: Mi mi ting se long olsem (.) from wanem ol French oli lanem (.) oli speak
 568 gud Inglis mo bitim yumi? From oli lanem long ej we olsem oli mature. Oli lanem
 569 Inglis. Then oli lanem wan gud Inglis oli speak wan gud Inglis. Yumi from yumi
 570 statem long kindy i kam antap ia? Olsem yumi miksim Bislama wetem Inglis (.) yumi
 571 miksim gogo taem yumi kam antap ia? Olsem that (.) that (.) wanem? Hem i should
 572 be olsem (.) proper English olsem ia? Yumi no save speak/im (.) er gud Inglis
 573 wantaem uh? Bae yumi karem hemia hemia. Be taem we yu lanem olsem long (.) ej
 574 we yu mature? Olsem yu tijim yu lanem ia? Yu (.) olsem ol French. Olsem tingting
 575 blong mi nomo. I no evriwan. Be sam.

576 (6)

577 Mr Andrew: So wetem (.) trends we mi luk long styuden hem i lan better than hem i
 578 switch from er French to English ia. Olsem hemia tu hem i contribute long why a lot
 579 more ni-Van oli speak/im Inglis?

580 (2)

581 Mr Ala: So i min se yumi save yusum French blong yumi (.) blong yumi save tok mo
 582 better Inglis. Yumi save toktok French? Be hem i come in long Inglis.

583 Mrs Angela: [Yes.]

584 Mme Adrienne: [Yes xx] se yumi stap talem? Sapos we yumi mekem wan jenis? Ol
 585 praemeri skul blong yumi? Sapos oli mekem se oli stat long French kasem fo? Oli
 586 kambak long Inglis? Hemia yu helpem olgeta finis. Bae later on long laef blong
 587 olgeta bae oli stil save. Bae oli harem save. Even though sapos wan i no toktok.
 588 Hemia yu tekem olgeta i kambak long Inglis nao. Wan present problem blong yumi
 589 nomo we yumi stap we yumi gat wan kaen dual system we i gat French (.) afta (.)
 590 Inglis. Sapos i gat wan wei blong yumi (.) putum tufala tugeta sapos yumi no
 591 wantem actually lusum wan? From bae yu traem had (.) bae yu talem long (.) talem
 592 se French i kamaot ia? Hem i stat long Indipendens finis. Man ia Joe hu ia? Carlot?

593 Mrs Angela: Carlot.

594 Mme Adrienne: Hem nao hem i protest from. Se bae oli neva karemaot. Hem i wan
 595 identity blong kaontri. So sapos we gavman hem i tingting gud? Hem i mekem se (.)
 596 blong yumi kam we naoia yumi stap talem se wan privilege o hem i wan individual
 597 privilege then. Yumi faenem wan wei. Mi ting se yumi statem long praemeri? Yumi
 598 statem long praemeri? Then yumi switch i kambak long Inglis i go i go for good.

599 Sapos yumi wantem kipim that/fala identity. But yet i gat fulap kwestin bae hem i
600 arise long eni kaen tingting we mi talem ia. Olgeta ol Francophone er praemeri tija/s
601 we oli tijim wan tu tri bae oli kam wea? Yes hemia olsem yumi gat ol kwestin olsem
602 hemia. Actually hem i gud. Sapos yu wantem helpem ol pikinini blong yumi? Yumi
603 start/em off? Afta then yumi switch/im bak olgeta i kam long Inglis. Oli lanem oli
604 faenem hem i isi mo. Blong oli stadi mo long lanwis/es. Olsem oli kambak long
605 Inglis. (5) Again olsem yu luk se yumi stap go raon ia? Bae yumi no save end/em
606 discussion blong yumi ia. Yumi no save faenem ansa. Gavman bae hem i mas gat
607 ansa blong hem olsem (.) wan system wan polisi we bae hem i talem i kam long ol
608 pipol. Be yumi? Blong yumi tok raon nomo. Bae yumi no faenem ansa.

609 Mrs Angela: Hem i dipen nao se hu i (.) hu i go long paoa. Hu i ranem gavman. For
610 the day.

611 Mrs Anne: Yeah but.

612 Mrs Angela: Iven (.) from bae yu luk? Taem wan i kam. Olsem lastaem hem i
613 Charlot ia? Hem i olsem se yu luk we yu luk save nomo hemia hem i wantem se
614 French hem i mas leftemap. Naoia bae yumi gat er wan we bae hem i kam olsem
615 Inglis? Bae yu luk bae hem i slakem tingting ia bakegen. Be hemia hem i gud nomo
616 se oli come up wetem wan. Gavman nao i agri long wan se yumi mekem hemia
617 nao.

618 (2)

619 Mr Andrew: Mi tingbaot taem yumitu <addresses Mme Adrienne> go long woksop
620 long summit blong lanwis polisi samting long Saratamata ia? Woman ia Madeleine
621 Lesines?

622 Mme Adrienne: M-m.

623 Mr Andrew: Hem i bin talem se (.) long saed blong communication? Hem i bet- (.)
624 pipol oli lan better when oli jiam aot from blue? Blong lanem samting (.) wan lanwis.

625 Mme Adrienne: Oli kolem wanem (.) immersion.

626 Mr Andrew: I min se sapos hem i emerge from (.) er that's why oli wantem
627 introduce/um vernacular long stat ia? From bae hem i better hem i no gat wan
628 related vocab blong French mo Inglis? Therefore taem oli kam blong lanem French
629 bae hem i isi. And taem French hem i go blong lanem Inglis bae hem i isi. But taem
630 we hem i jiam from vernacular into English? Bislama tu i stap long ples ia. Bislama
631 English hem i (.) olsem Bislama hem i dominated by English. So bae a lot of
632 students bae oli get muddled up wetem hemia=

633 Mr Ala: =Bislama.

634 Mr Andrew: So min se hem i better blong (.) jump from blue and lanem wan lanwis
635 we bae yu grab/em better.

636 Mme Adrienne: Hemia olsem se oli kolem kaen system ia immersion. Olsem yu
637 karemaot ia? Taem yu finis long French go long (.) [Inglis]

638 Mrs Angela: [Inglis]

639 Mr Andrew: [Inglis] (.) From French and
640 English (.) vocabulary blong tufala i totally separate. So that's why hem i se that's
641 why students they learn better because (.) not knowing the vocab from English?
642 Taem oli introduce/um oli get interested to learn.

643 (3)

644 Mr Ala: <quietly> Yumi mov? Bifo doti Bislama i overtake/em?

645 <all laugh>

646 F: Okei mi luk se yumi go long 4 A nomo. <reads> "Should there be one type of
647 school for everybody? (.) Or should we keep Anglophone and Francophone
648 separate schools." Olsem yumi maintain/em system we i stap naoia? O yu luk se
649 hem i gud se yumi go long system nao we yumi stat long praemer i evri pikinini go
650 long wan? So if yu go from system ia we yumi joenem? Main kwestin blong mi se
651 hao nao bae i save wok aot.

652 Mme Adrienne: Yu tingbaot graph blong yumi long woksop Mr Andrew? Graph
653 blong yumi actually yumi putum se vernacular? French?

654 Mr Andrew: French.

655 Mme Adrienne: And then a little bit Inglis i go in. Taem blong Klas 4 5. And then. Oli
656 save jus samwea long Yia 9 whether oli go long Inglis o French. Hem i bin hemia?
657 Hemia i bin graph blong olgeta tija/s. From se taem mifala i present/em olsem ol
658 toktok blong mifala i olsem (.) bae yufala mekem hamas polisi. But ol tija nao oli
659 lukluk long klasrum.

660 Mrs Anne: Okei.

661 Mme Adrienne: From bae oli (.) debate/em gogo? Taem i kam tija nao bae hem i
662 lukum ansa blong hem long klasrum.

663 Mrs Anne: Yes. <quietly talking to Mrs Angela in background>

664 Mr Andrew: Mi ting se long saed blong mi mi ting se (.) hem i proper blong ranem ol
665 separate Anglophone and Francophone schools tu from olsem sapos you want to
666 become a Fren- (.) purely a French teacher? Then you have to accelerate on the
667 French stream. Be sapos you (.) want to use it as a communication (.) blong
668 developem communication skills blong yu long tufala lanwis then hem i proper blong
669 stap long wan skul we hem i contain/em both.

670 (15)

671 F: Mi luk se tufala nomo we tufala i go long Saratamata (.) ating tufala i practise long
672 taem finis be (.) hem i olsem wan main argument we ol styuden tu oli gat tingting
673 long hem. Se hem i gud se yumi (.) yumi stap olsem naoia we <addresses Mrs
674 Angela> yu yu talem se (.) ale pikinini blong mi bae i skul Inglis be narawan bae i
675 skul French. Hem i gud se yumi gat system ia? We narawan i go olsem narawan i

676 go olsem? O hem i mo gud se yumi evriwan yumi stap long wan system? (1) Olsem
 677 hem i no gat isi ansa blong hem.

678 Mrs Anne: M-m.

679 Mrs Angela: Tru ia.

680 (4)

681 Mr Ala: Be taem yu fosem bae i no really wok aot?

682 (2)

683 Mrs Angela: Give them an opportunity. Sapos oli intres.

684 F: Olsem wan kwestin blong mi long saed blong hemia se (.) olsem yumi start off
 685 long discussion ia yumi tokbaot kwestin wan se (.) ol styuden oli gat gudfala Inglis
 686 naomia? Blong yusum long skul. Be yumi tokbaot Yia 10 Yia 12 i go antap. So
 687 kwestin blong mi se sapos yumi start off long French? Yumi go gogo kasem long
 688 Yia 9 o samting olsem yu switch? Bae i possible blong evriwan oli switch? I go long
 689 Inglis. Bae oli catch up wetem Inglis o nogat. From yumi stap tokbaot Simon we i
 690 stap long Yia 11. Yes. Wan i kam insaed i mas toktok Inglis nao from ol fren blong
 691 hem oli Inglis. So mekem se i isi blong wan i switch. Be hem i wan genuine question
 692 nomo. Mi mi no save be yu ting se bae hem i possible se (.) ol styuden oli get used
 693 long French? Mo tu ol tija oli bin tijim French fastaem? Naoia long saed blong
 694 science. We yu talem finis se i gat ol vocabulary blong science insaed we i had long
 695 olgeta long Inglis. So imagine se oli kamaot long praemeri Yia 7 Yia 8. Oli save ol
 696 wod/s blong science o Agriculture long French finis? Naoia yu nao yu fas wan blong
 697 tijim olgeta long Inglis. Yu luk se bae i had o (.) bae i possible blong yu nomo yu fas
 698 man blong (.) bae yu tu yu mas save French. From yu mas relate back long ol
 699 vocabulary blong Yia 8 o. Olsem Mr Ala i yusum eksampol blong castration finis se
 700 (.) naomia hem i go insaed long klas bae i fas bakegen from i gat (.) oli save
 701 castration long French? Afta bae yu mas go bak long Bislama bakegen? From hem
 702 <points to Mr Ala> i no save wod blong castration long French.

703 Mrs Angela: Okei yes.

704 F: So minim se hao nao bae yu save mekem (.) brij (.) i go long

705 Mrs Angela: Tru.

706 Mr Ala: Phew.

707 <all laugh>

708 Mme Adrienne: Hem i wan (.) hem i wan kwestin we hem i had blong yumi talem.
 709 Bae yumi save talem olsem se yu (.) yu se long Simon hem wan. What about like
 710 the whole system.

711 F: M-m.

712 Mr Ala: Mi ting se olsem (.) olsem sapos we yumi switch bae yumi switch long Yia::
 713 er long Yia 6. Bifo oli go long 7. From taem yu go long 7 yumi gat ol basics blong ol
 714 samting ia nao long olsem long Inglis.

715 Mme Adrienne: Yes.

716 Mr Ala: We:: yumi tijim uh? Taem we yumi kam in long medel? Hemia nao problem.
 717 Be sapos yu kam in olsem long Yia 7? Olsem yumi long Inglis? Secondary i stat
 718 long Yia 7 nao olsem ol terms we yumi yusum long Yia 7 nao? Yumi yusum for the
 719 rest of (.) uh klas kasem long ol er yunivesiti uh. Sem terms ia nao we yumi stap
 720 yusum ol taem. Be long praemeri skul i kam antap? Oli stap lanem ol (.) ol (.) er
 721 separate er sabjek ia? So i kam kasem long Yia 7? Naoia yumi stap separate/em ol
 722 sabjek nao. Olsem ol main sabjek insaed long ol skul/s. Sapos we yumi bridge/im
 723 long ples ia nao (.) bae i much

724 (1)

725 F: So wanem nao main risen why yu wantem se yumi joen tugeta long wan system.
 726 Wanem main purpose blong hem?

727 Mrs Angela: What's the purpose. <laughs>

728 F: From wanem yumi wantem combine/em?

729 Mme Adrienne: The very first reason? From hem i olsem hem i wan identity blong
 730 yumi? Blong save tufala lanwis. But (.) samfala? Olsem bae yu talem se naoia yumi
 731 luk se (.) Inglis ia hem i (.) hem i (.) wanem nao hem i spoken more long wol? Hem i
 732 Inglis. But bae hem i had blong Vanuatu hem i livim French. So wanem we yumi
 733 traem nao se yumi traem blong fulfil/im but bae yu luk se (.) bae yu fulfil/im ia bae yu
 734 (.) bae yu harem save French nomo be actually yu stap kambak long Inglis ia. Taem
 735 bae yu kam long Yia 7 i go i go i go i go continue studies blong yu long yunivesiti?
 736 Hemia yu harem we yumi livim totally out French. Be yu yu really wantem se pikinini
 737 blong yu i go bak i folem edyukesen blong hem long French? Hemia nao hem i
 738 question mark. Sapos i gat wan skul nomo hem i oraet. We hem i offer/em that/fala
 739 janis blong ol pikinini. Hemia nao mi se bae yumi tok raon ia bae i no gat ansa blong
 740 hem.

741 Mr Ala: Olsem. Sorry but uh (.) long (.) hemia bae yumi save gobak long fas
 742 kwestin blong yumi ia. Olsem (.) blong mekem se ol pikinini oli speak/im gud Inglis.
 743 (2) Olsem oli gat gud understanding. Be hao blong putum long wod/s? Blong talem
 744 long gud Inglis? Hemia nao yumi stap insaed long klasrum. Be sapos yumi traem
 745 olsem long suggestion olsem ia? Bae olgeta. Yumi (.) mi no save.

746 Mrs Anne: Ating yumi talem tu olsem ia from uh yumi stap luk long ol sam
 747 eksampol/s we yumi lukum we oli (.) taem oli switch oli kam from French to English
 748 olsem oli perform gud uh? So (.) hem i (.) yumi no save tu se hem i only for
 749 individual students or maybe for the whole group. Be hem i wan samting we mebi oli
 750 sud (.) bifo yumi putum aot olsem oli sud mekem testem long wan smol grup. Blong
 751 lukum se hem i wok aot o nogat. Be ating aedia ia tu hem i kam antap se (.) yumi
 752 luk long sam styuden/s we yumi gat? Mo olsem past styuden/s yumi lukum se ol (.)

753 styuden/s we oli start off wetem French oli kam long Inglis? Oli do much better than
754 (.) olgeta we oli jes (.) yu go long Inglis then yu go long French hem i difficult.

755 (4)

756 Mr Andrew: Yes ating hemia hem i wan tingting we hem i no save hapen overnight.
757 Hem i nid (.) bae hem i wan impoten tingting blong yumi blong putum tufala
758 lanwis/es ia i kam long wan skul nomo. But ating hem i sud tekem taem while yumi
759 nid blong trenem (.) ol risos (.) mekem ol risos blong hem? Then we get what we
760 need. Be mi mi ting se hem i proper blong putum tufala ia i kam tugeta. Long wan
761 skul. Then yumi ranem olsem Arts and Science stream long (.) secondary ol senior
762 level ia. From (.) why mi talem olsem? From hemia (.) jes yumi lukluk long wol?
763 Ating the only country long wol we i ranem French skul long narafala skul and Inglis
764 skul long wan narafala skul hem i Vanuatu. So blong go on wetem wol (.) er
765 civilisation blong wol long saed blong (.) er communication? Mekem se tufala i kam
766 wan hem i proper.

767 (2)

768 F: Be sapos yumi kambak long saed blong olsem (.) ol purpose blong skul ia nao?
769 Olsem yumi stap go from tufala lanwis nomo hem i main focus blong yumi. Be (.)
770 sapos yumi focus tumas long saed blong tufala lanwis ia bae (.) standard blong
771 edyukesen bae i godaon? O (.) olsem bae mi givim wan eksampol. Mrs Angela hem
772 i talem se (.) long famli blong hem? I mas gat wan pikinini we i French. Sapos wan
773 turis i kam long haos? Pikinini ia nao bae i save communicate wetem hem. So i min
774 se olsem (.) priority blong yumi? Yumi stap go from lanwis nomo olsem (.) never
775 mind se pikinini blong yu hem i no kasem evri samting long skul as long as taem
776 turis ia i kam long haos bae i oraet nao?

777 Mrs Angela: <laughs loudly>

778 F: <laughs> Olsem yumi stap jok nomo be yu save olsem (.) naoia sometimes yumi
779 focus long lanwis ia? Be yu luk se bae hem i gat effect long quality blong
780 edyukesen? O no?

781 (4)

782 Mr Andrew: Yes ating for evri (.) long beginning of everything in life? There is
783 always stumbling block. But as taem i go yumi tend to digest it more and then yumi
784 hop long fiuja blong hem bae hem i turn out to be alright.

785 Mr Ala: Yes hem i wan samting tu? Hem i olsem se insaed long ol skul/s?
786 Understanding blong ol pikinini. Most impoten samting insaed long klasrum? Hem i
787 understanding blong ol pikinini. Taem we yumi tekem oli no andastan? Problem ia
788 nao i iven go long vilej tu. O ol komyuniti/s olbaot. Oli tumas trabol mekem ol
789 samting ia samting ia (.) from understanding blong olgeta? I no gud olsem.

790 Mr Andrew: Problem ia nao hem i sapos understanding blong pikinini i nogud? Hem
791 i min se understanding blong papa mo mama i nogud. Understanding blong jif i
792 nogud. Understanding blong pastor i nogud. And understanding blong yumi ol tija tu
793 i nogud. So (.) whatever pikinini hem i mekem as a mistake? Hem i mistake blong (.)

794 everybody. (3) Yes long saed blong er issue ia? Olsem for the time being mi ting se
795 separation blong tufala lanwis hem i (.) stil okei. Be blong putum wan system in
796 place olsem wan polisi we Vanuatu i stap gat tingting ia (.) long long run mi ting se
797 bae hem i benefit/im. Sapos we ol styuden oli save do well long Arts and Science
798 courses? Mi ting se in terms of language we can do it as well.

799 (3)

800 Mme Adrienne: Hem i gavman. Actually hem i (.) hem i should be decision blong
801 gavman. Be yumi tend blong tingting blong whoever hem i kam hem i Minista blong
802 Edyukesen hem i wantem enforce/em tingting blong hem? Mi ting se hemia hem i
803 no really good. So hem i stap long gavman. Wea nao bae hem i stret rod we bae
804 hem i provide/em wan service we hem i gud from (.) er ol sitisen blong kaontri. Bae
805 yumi stap rao se no Inglis bae (.) bae hem nao bae hem i stap. French yumi
806 abolish/im o wanem? Yes sapos we gavman i kam long wan level blong ol pipol
807 hem i eksplenem gud long hem? Yu save ol man bae oli harem save. Hem i stap
808 long gavman nomo.

809 F: Okei mi luk se taem i stap go. Bae yumi finis long ples ia nomo. Tangkiu tumas.

**Appendix xiv – Interview with Angolovo College Teacher Group 2
(Translation)**

Date: 07-11-11

Location: Staff room

Participants: Mr Andrew, Mr Ala, Mrs Anne, Mrs Angela, Mme Adrienne

Notes: I asked each of the five participants if they would be willing to take part, as these were all people I had had informal discussions with during the first period of fieldwork. I gave them time to read through the questions first, and then Mr Ala was nominated as a chairperson to lead the discussion and move between questions as necessary.

1 Mr Ala: Let's start the discussion in the first part for (.) er the question is <reads>
2 "the school language? (.) Part A? (.) Do you find it easy or difficult to use English to
3 teach your subjects? Do you think that students find it easy or difficult to use English
4 in your classes." Okay I put it to the floor now?

5 (16)

6 Mr Andrew: Okay in my opinion I think that I (1) er find it easy to use English in (.)
7 the classroom? Um but the only problem? Because our students come from
8 different backgrounds? Therefore in some instances they find a slight difficulty with
9 (.) language and that also applies to the subjects (.) er that language that we use in
10 them. For example for us in Science? A lot of er the words that we use to teach
11 Science are very difficult for (.) a young learner like who comes from primary and
12 heads up to secondary level. So the language of subjects is also another
13 contributing factor to the difficulty for students learning them. But for the teacher?
14 Personally over the (.) time I've experienced as a teacher I think that so far (.) I (.)
15 find it easy to actually go with the (.) use of English in the classroom.

16 (3)

17 Mrs Anne: Okay for me? (1) Maybe um (.) I'm like Mr Andrew has said I find it easy
18 to (.) maybe explain more in English than in Bislama or (.) yes Bislama? Uh I tried
19 once last year to do it? We were using my class so (.) I don't know I think it's
20 possible but I (.) tried it in Bislama. I tried teaching (.) some things in Bislama but I
21 found it a bit difficult <laughs> for me to (.) but I think that (.) using English is much
22 better for me. But there are some areas in the su- maybe in this subject? That I
23 think it would be better if I could teach them in Bislama. Because the students just
24 won't be able to understand if I (.) I teach but otherwise maybe generally? I use
25 English. (1) Bu::t in terms of the students? It's like (1) I find so far I find that when (.)
26 even if you explain something that you think you've explained very clearly to the
27 students in English? But still they just won't be able to er understand. So:: I'm often

28 tempted to (.) turnaround I just try to explain in (.) Bislama to them maybe they will
29 understand more.

30 (6)

31 Mr Ala: For me (.) I also find it easy to teach my subject in English. Like there are
32 the terms as Mr Andrew said. Like you must use all the correct terms for them. Bu::t
33 er one thing like (.) if we started them at (.) at the level of Year 7 upwards? Because
34 now we have er year (.) 9 and 10. So the system is also a problem in this school. If
35 you are with them from Year 7 upwards? Then when you use these terms and these
36 things (.) like they'd have the basics from Year 7 onwards. But when you get them in
37 Year 9? Like (.) when you use the terms? They wan- they don't know what they are.
38 One problem like (.) er (.) for students who (.) who (.) maybe find it difficult is uh
39 their background. Like those who come from top-ups? They find it hard. If we
40 started them in (.) in (.) Year 7 upwards it would be easy. But there is something
41 else that I find in the classroom some students (.) they (.) like they (.) find (.) it hard
42 to use English in the classroom. Sometimes. It (.) I don't know what factors
43 contribute to this. They are ashamed? They are ashamed of their English? Or (2)
44 they know they know (.) or maybe grammar or something like that I don't know.

45 (1)

46 Mrs Angela: Maybe I (.) will come in here maybe what Mr Ala says is true. Like I
47 think those of us who teach English? Like (.) it's true. We teach them well but then
48 we come back to the children? Sometimes it's hard. Like the children find it hard.
49 Maybe one reason is like we have already said that (.) we don't bring them here
50 from Year 7 onwards. They come from somewhere else? You will find in the same
51 class that you have some good students and then you find some who are very
52 weak. Like you have a big range too that (.) those of us in language like there's a
53 big group a big gap that we have to work with. You want to work with the fast ones?
54 Or then you think about the weak ones but (.) maybe a (.) another thing maybe (.)
55 we don't use it enough. They don't use it enough in the classroom to give them
56 confidence like to speak. Some are afraid that maybe I'll (.) pronounce the word
57 wrong? So it means the children also like (.) find it hard. I think it's just confidence
58 they don't have confidence to use the language itself. So they find it quite hard.
59 Bu::t maybe again (.) like it comes back to us teachers again. The way we help the
60 children. Even though we have them for just a short time but (.) what can we do to
61 help them.

62 (7)

63 Mme Adrienne: Okay for me. Uh (.) using English in the classroom maybe (.) I find it
64 easy. Even though I teach French sometimes when I come to like grammar points
65 (.) if we are doing a grammar lesson it is much easier for me to explain in (.) I try to
66 explain in English so that they understand. It doesn't mean that I can't do it in
67 French? But I think about the children. If sometimes I explain in French I see that
68 the children are just (.) more confused so I try my best to use English to explain
69 especially the grammar points or expressions and terms that are new for the
70 students. So (.) for me? Using English is not a problem for me. The students? Even

71 though it's a French class? They hardly use (.) French. I think it's the same (.) just
72 the same reason we've said like they just don't feel confident using it even though
73 we ask them to use very simple sentences they still find it hard.

74 (2)

75 Mrs Angela: Let me add again like for me in the classroom (.) the children like (.)
76 they are not confident I think they are afraid that (.) what if I use the language and I
77 speak? Bu::t my friends laugh at me? So it means that they have a fear I don't know
78 but maybe we should come back to our culture? I don't know but (.) like it's true. In
79 the classroom like it's hard to get them to use it (.) to speak? Like they will giggle
80 over their answers as if they're just not confident using it. Those smart ones are
81 good? But then we find the others=

82 Mr Ala: =It's like. If you look outside? They perform differently than inside the
83 classroom. When they are outside they are open to this and that but inside the
84 classroom? Like I don't know. There's maybe a barrier between (.) between them
85 when they are near each other? Causing them to be unable to speak out loud. Like
86 (.) to open (.) open up uh? I (.) like that's just what I think but I don't know.

87 (12)

88 Mr Ala: Okay let's move to (.) ah B? <reads> "Are you a confident user of English?
89 Do you wish to speak" (.) sorry "do you wish"

90 Mrs Angela: "You spoke"

91 (1)

92 Mr Ala: "You spoke it better?"

93 (3)

94 Mrs Angela: I think I should start. Because I'm an English teacher. <laughs> Like.
95 Like we all I think that all of us feel (.) no I'm not confident. Maybe I wish that (.) we
96 could have spoken it better but. Maybe we come back to ourselves again <laughs>
97 we don't (.) we talk about the students but maybe it comes back to us (.) we're the
98 same like you feel that oh no if I speak then my colleagues (.) er (.) what if I say it
99 wrong or (.) sometimes I feel like that like (.) we use it in staff meetings uh? Maybe
100 somebody has (.) a point of view they want to say but the language itself now
101 because with colleagues it makes it so that (.) I don't feel (.) no I'll just leave it I
102 won't say anything but maybe at the back of our minds there's this worry that I'll say
103 it wrong. Like that's just my thinking <laughs>. A stupid one. I don't know about you
104 bu::t (.) maybe like for me like I'm not confident to speak it but we are trying. Though
105 we are not confident but we always try.

106 (3)

107 Mr Ala: Maybe I'm also the same as Mrs Angela has said. Like me:: sometimes I'm
108 not confident but (.) I feel that if I spoke better English. So that I (.) like when you go
109 to some areas like they ask questions about this and this and this? You know? You

110 have to use some English that. Sometimes I feel that I have to go like this <makes
111 lots of hand gestures, up and down and round in a circle> (.) must use these terms
112 to go down to (.) just go down but (.) sometimes like I wish I spoke better English so
113 that I could. You know English stu- er teachers are like that but for me:: it's just the
114 same thing but it turns round and round and round <hands rapidly moving round>
115 <all laugh> Which makes the children crazy uh? <all laugh> So that's it I feel that
116 that would help me a lot to be able to (.) er make them picture it (.) to (.) like when I
117 question them I turn it upside down? So that they can turn the picture back (.) like
118 this.

119 (2)

120 Mrs Angela: Like I don't know but I feel that now? As I go on I feel that I wish I was a
121 student now like at this age when you (.) you realise like I wish that (.) I could study
122 again maybe I would learn more like you (.) at the time when you were a student
123 maybe like (.) then it wasn't clear but now that we are working I often think that (.) I
124 wish I had the chance to study again maybe I could speak English better o::r
125 <laughs> that's just my crazy idea again (.) because maybe we have come to an
126 age that we understand. And then you regret that (.) eh I think about my time at
127 school and what if I had gone to class or what if I had asked my teachers things at
128 the time. If I had been smart like these smart children who speak English uh. (2)
129 What about those who've studied in Australia? <looking at Mr Andrew>

130 (1)

131 Mrs Anne: I agree with what Mr Ala and Mrs Angela have both said. As Mr Ala said I
132 fully agree with him um (.) maybe I'm also not really er I don't (.) feel confident (.)
133 using English in the (.) classroom (.) especially like Mr Ala said when you are
134 teaching a (.) a topic and then like you have to (.) do it in a way so that (.) the
135 students (.) like any questions that come up on that particular topic? Students can
136 answer the question. They can turn it any other (.) in any way to answer the
137 questions. Like(.) um (.) my subject is (.) mainly it's that particular (.) idea that (.) you
138 say one thing but the students must (.) students may see (.) that particular maybe
139 what (.) they will come across what you have taught in many different areas. You
140 must be able to give different answers on that particular topic you've taught. So (.)
141 maybe it's a problem too like to complete questions with the different questions to
142 answer uh (.) so that any questions that come up on that particular topic it's uh (.)
143 maybe that's sort of the problem in (.) the subject I have.

144 (13)

145 Mme Adrienne: I think that I use English (.) every day.

146 Mrs Angela: <laughs> But?

147 Mme Adrienne: Like (.) I don't have a problem with it. Someone who knows better
148 English like Fiona can correct me. Say whether my English is poor but (.) in saying
149 are you confident? I can say yes.

150 (2)

151 Mr Andrew: For me? Yes maybe as Mme Adrienne has said. I (.) like when I am in a
152 what's that an environment (.) local environment? I think that I am confident but
153 when it comes to public speaking or even when we have visitors? Then that is a test
154 for my confidence in my use of English. But I think that I believe in a saying that
155 when you (.) the more you use it? The more you become familiar or confident with it.

156 (14)

157 Mr Ala: Okay let's move to C? <reads> "Students and staff do not speak English
158 very often outside the classroom. Why is this."

159 Mrs Angela: <laughs>

160 Mr Andrew: Okay this is this is not a problem that we can say it's a problem for (.)
161 the people of Vanuatu? Since we grow up in Vanuatu in (.) in a (.) totally different
162 climate altogether? Er the reason why we don't use English a lot outside the
163 classroom (.) teachers or staff and students? It is about who you are with outside
164 the classroom. That is a contributing factor. If you are with er (.) if you are from
165 Ambae and you are with someone that you (.) the two of you come from the same
166 place then you must speak lanwis. So the activity outside the classroom also
167 contributes to (.) how often you speak English (.) especially when you are outside
168 the classroom? But if you are with a foreigner? Obviously you must speak in
169 English. So (.) for (.) why we don't speak a lot of this outside the classroom one
170 reason is (.) is who you are with? That moment outside the classroom. And another
171 thing too? Vanuatu is full of cultures and (.) what (.) er traditions? When we are
172 outside class if we are drinking kava? And we are just from Vanuatu? Then if I sit
173 down to chat with Mr Ala obviously we have to speak our language. Secrets (.) er
174 secrets in (.) language is another contributing factor. If the two of us want to talk
175 about someone? And we're from Ambae so we must use lanwis. And (.) if (.) we are
176 with someone who speaks English and doesn't know Bislama? We can get him with
177 Bislama (.) so hiding information is another contributing factor. And if you are at a
178 traditional (.) activity like a marriage or something like that? Then they will mostly
179 use the local dialects of whatever (.) uh area or (.) uh yes (.) island that they are on.

180 (5)

181 Mrs Angela: Maybe it just comes back to confidence again uh? Like outside to (.)
182 explain why we don't speak it outside the classroom. Maybe in the classroom it is a
183 must. Must like it is the medium we have to use. When we are outside? Like (.) we
184 don't think so much that

185 Mrs Anne: Yes I:: think that what they say is true because I see that (.) for me one
186 thing I see (.) er (.) to students like I try my best. Because I know that it is a school
187 requirement that we speak English to them at all times even (.) inside the classroom
188 or outside. So (.) like. I like I try during school time like I hardly speak Bislama or
189 anything to the students and (.) but something I find is (.) when if we are walking
190 around together with the students we'll go like we walk to the stadium or we go
191 anywhere. If I think that I'll communicate with them in English? Then this will cut the
192 conversation with them now. I'll talk. If I speak to them? They yes no when they've
193 just given a small answer? They stop now. Our communication can't continue so.

194 We just walk along like (.) quietly. But if I change and come to Bislama now the
195 conversation (.) will start and will go on. So (.) I think that like they said (.) that
196 maybe (.) it just comes back to like I'm just not confident speaking in (.) English.

197 Mme Adrienne: Let me add something small to what Mrs Anne has said it's true. I
198 am someone who tries my best to speak in English outside. But it comes a time that
199 if you speak in English? Like if you speak to students who come from the same
200 place as you? Then I will feel bad too. They are going to say this woman is flash or
201 whatever. <others laugh> Yes. So there is something like this. But it doesn't mean
202 that we are not sure we like speaking English but there is something to do with our
203 traditions or (.) yes like that.

204 (2)

205 Mr Ala: For me (.) like it's another point of view but another point again is like I think
206 the school rules also (.) contribute to (.) to it. If the school rules said speak English
207 at all times? Then the children would try hard no matter whether they spoke poorly
208 they would just go ahead (.) but if the school rules say speak English at certain
209 times like this? Now they will like ah no we can just use Bislama. Like that's my
210 opinion. Outside I mean outside class. Like the classroom. When we go out it's
211 different but (.) within the school boundary. Mainly (.) administration and
212 classrooms.

213 Mme Adrienne: But when you say that (.) the people who consider the school rules?
214 They (.) when it comes to language? They don't want to enforce English either
215 because they say that children have the right to speak Bislama. And in their
216 language. So that will be our problem.

217 Mr Ala: They should change the policy. Speak English and French at all times.
218 Because these are the two languages they say are for school.

219 Mr Andrew: But (.) like Vanuatu has to develop into a country so (.) our local
220 languages are also important (.) we must keep our traditional cultures and kastom
221 alive? But (.) it means that the children must somehow practise their languages to
222 keep this history.

223 Mr Ala: But I have an argument about this because. English and French? We teach
224 them but Bislama and lanwis? We don't teach them. So they speak rubbish Bislama
225 and rubbish lanwis.

226 (2)

227 Mr Andrew: I think it's a government project that is important because the
228 Government of Vanuatu is too politicised? But at a workshop we attended I think
229 this is what they were trying to cover. It is to make sure that every child in Vanuatu
230 does (.) not just speak English and French? But they need to learn the language
231 from the roots up to the (1) the trunk or what.

232 <others laugh>

233 F: But what are the school rules at the moment?

234 Mr Andrew: Speak English every day.

235 Mrs Angela: No I think they amen- they amended them to (.) just in school hours.

236 Mrs Anne: Up to half past four.

237 Mrs Angela: Up to half past four.

238 F: Ah okay.

239 Mrs Angela: Or something like that.

240 Mrs Anne: <laughs>

241 Mme Adrienne: But that's what I'm saying even if that's the- that's the policy? It is a
 242 discussion that is under discussion because when we say it will be English only?
 243 Some? Will still argue that we can't. You must give them time to speak Bislama or
 244 their language.

245 Mr Ala: I believe that like if we say that they should speak English and French at all
 246 times? If they make a mistake and speak lanwis it's not a problem but (.) because (.)
 247 the problem at the moment? Inside the classroom they don't understand English.
 248 Like reading and speaking out uh? So the more they do it the more they become
 249 better.

250 Mrs Anne: We (.) we talk about language (.) like the way we speak it in the
 251 classroom or like the students but (.) like this is a problem. It's already a big problem
 252 (.) like I find in my subject. One problem you are talking about I will use (.) terms and
 253 the words in my sentences. But the simple terms that I use these simple words they
 254 just don't understand them so I don't know what to do about this. What it is. What it
 255 comes back to (.) does it go back to how (.) we write (.) how we say it to them? Or
 256 does it go back to (.) maybe the problem is that they don't read or what. Because a
 257 simple word that I think it even goes as far as Year 13? You use one simple word
 258 that (.) like consequences for example. Like this word which I think they should
 259 know but (.) they won't know what it is. They will ask what does it mean they don't
 260 know what it means. So I don't know. So it (.) like (.) goes to (.) goes to what kind of
 261 problem now. <laughs>

262 Mme Adrienne: But you see this it's true. Because now if you take consequences?
 263 For example as a word? If you try and explain it in Bislama how will you explain it.
 264 The children will just be more confused. How can you explain consequence in
 265 Bislama. We think that they should understand English but yet they can't. When you
 266 do it in Bislama? That will be worse.

267 (8)

268 Mrs Angela: But this means that what does it come down to? The way we have
 269 learnt before? Our education like that we have attended at every level? Or does it
 270 fall down to (1) like it's true like us language teachers we will say these words. If you
 271 don't know them. They can find them in the dictionary but (.) no they don't want to.

272 They are not bothered about (.) what does this word mean? How can I use this
273 word? Or (1) so it comes back to=

274 Mr Andrew: =One problem for us in Vanuatu because we have so many languages
275 so we have so much vocab so (.) it's a stumbling block for us. Like Fiona and all of
276 them? The only vocab is just English vocab. So they've grown up since they were
277 small with English vocab. But us in (.) Vanuatu? We have er English and French to
278 learn at school? And then we have Bislama to learn at a young age? We have the
279 mother tongue which we learn at a very very young age so (.) when you try to build
280 them up you cause a hybrid that is very difficult.

281 Mr Ala: I have noticed something that (.) if (.) at the education level in the past? Like
282 the old people who just finished school in Class 6. And us who now go as far as
283 Year 10? Year 12 13? If we compare their English level with ours now? They speak
284 better English than us. (2) The old people. (1) That's just my observation I don't
285 know why it's

286 (1)

287 Mr Andrew: I think one of the influences that causes this is that in that period of
288 time? Bislama was not a common language for every citizen in Vanuatu. Like er (.) if
289 you were on Ambae? You would only speak the Ambae language. So when we
290 jumped out from the Ambae language (.) shell of the Ambae language? We
291 jumped directly into English or French. But (.) Bislama is now one of the (.)
292 languages (.) national language which is very widespread so it is easy for young
293 people from (.) the young population of Vanuatu to speak it. Therefore it's hard for
294 us to jump into English vocab or French vocab. Because Bislama is a hybrid
295 language of English and French. So it make a big contr- like negative contribution
296 on the impact on the use of language in Vanuatu. And if you look at the vocabulary
297 of Bislama? It (.) it doesn't match English vocab and French vocab. Because they
298 just get it from the blue and put it into the language.

299 Mr Ala: I:: agree with Mr Andrew too about this. Our Bislama is not a good Bislama.
300 It's (.) it's just a made up language. You'll hear this year people speak in one way?
301 They use certain words. Next year you'll hear the what the terms or whatever?
302 They're different now. They're made up somewhere and people just use them.
303 Meaning it's no good.

304 Mrs Angela: Yes like [we said?]

305 Mr Ala: [It contributes] to (.) to our understanding of English. You
306 know because. Like uh. I was at Ranwadi there was a child who came in in Year 7?
307 Uh like the school rule said speak English at all times. Then he was trying to speak
308 English but the way he put it was people said that he said something and he lied.
309 And then another one said eh that boy he told him he wanted to say in English that
310 (.) he should say no he is lying. Then he said no he is giaman/ing. Like he used
311 Bislama? He put i-n-g on the end. <Laughs>

312 (3)

313 Mme Adrienne: It's true. Bislama plays a role in spoiling understanding in the two
 314 languages of French and (.) English. I tell you me? An example of mine until I was in
 315 Year 10 I didn't know one word of Bislama. Not at all. The very first thing they told
 316 me was to go and get nasese²⁸? I went and got mases²⁹. I didn't know. Okay so (.)
 317 but speaking French? We talked talked talked bad or good? Nobody corrected you.
 318 You speak it. Like inside? Teaching. You go outside it was French. It was bad or it
 319 was good but you did it. But Bislama it was like it just wasn't there. Yes.
 320 Furthermore I only say this because you ask why old people (.) their English is
 321 much better than ours.

322 (2)

323 Mr Ala: Okay. <reads> "Do you think any other language (.) should be used in
 324 school?" (.) Do you mean in the classroom or?

325 F: Anywhere.

326 Mrs Angela: Anywhere.

327 Mme Adrienne: That is what is happening now.

328 Mr Ala: Like. I use Bislama in (.) sometimes in the classroom to explain a term that
 329 is hard for them to understand. That's why i::t's if I sa::y like castration. I can explain
 330 over and over in English but no. But if I say katem bol blong buluk³⁰. And then they
 331 are ah okay. <laughs>

332 Mr Andrew: Yes at a language policy summit which took place at Saratamata? As (.)
 333 the government is reorganising the languages that we teach in schools at the
 334 moment. One is (.) what's that vernacular or whatever? The local languages? Then
 335 English and French. But (.) they discourage Bislama. So that's one of (.) why? As I
 336 have already said. It has no vocabulary (.) it has no vocabulary. It's too difficult.

337 Mme Adrienne: There was a (.) comment that came up that what about the children
 338 in Vila and Santo who come from so many different (.) places. How will you teach
 339 them in their mother tongue. Actually there wasn't really any (.) um confirmed
 340 answer that was satisfactory that they (.) there is still a discussion about when (.) if
 341 your child doesn't know (.) doesn't know (.) your language? It's (.) It's your fault at
 342 home. But it seems that you will never be able (.) you will never be able to use the
 343 vernacular. It will just be Bislama in the two main towns.

344 Mr Andrew: I think a research found tha::t it's proper to jump from vernacular into
 345 English and French rather than jumping from vernacular into Bislama and then into
 346 that. It's Bislama that causes a lot of mess. And maybe one of the influences there
 347 is now too? It's to introduce uh (.) Asian languages as well in schools because the
 348 world market at this time is an Asian market so (.) maybe in (.) a few years' time?
 349 Other foreign languages are also likely to be introduced. That's Asian languages.

²⁸ type of shellfish

²⁹ matches

³⁰ cut the bullock's balls

350 (8) <some whispering>

351 Mr Ala: These points are important. (5) Finished? (3) Okay let's move to number 2?
 352 <reads> "Using English and French? Do you speak French? Do you wish (.) you
 353 spoke it better?"

354 (9)

355 Mrs Angela: The answer to that is I don't speak French. <laughs>

356 Mr Ala: Me? Like me::

357 Mrs Angela: You speak French. <laughs>

358 Mr Ala: I like French. But I (.) speak a little and then I feel tha::t if I tried I:: I could
 359 speak better in French. It's a (.) language that (.) it's just my interest.

360 (3)

361 Mrs Anne: Maybe I'm the same. Bu::t (.) I can understand just the (.) simple words
 362 (.) the phrases they use but otherwise the (.) much harder ones I can't or I:: I wish
 363 that <laughs> like I'd taken French and I'd taken it more seriously maybe. Because I
 364 see that (.) today like you go anywhere? French and English surround us
 365 everywhere o::r even around here you look? You try to (.) you see the students are
 366 learning French or whatever. I regret that (.) suppose I'd learnt it <laughs> when I
 367 was at school but. I wish I'd learnt more. Maybe taken it more seriously.

368 (3)

369 Mme Adrienne: I speak uh (.) French? I speak French. Like I think (.) in terms of its
 370 grammar? I can say that I know the grammar of French well. <reads> "Do you wish
 371 to (.) do you wish you spoke it better?" Ah:: I can say that I know French because I
 372 am in this environment of ours. But (.) I have a question. I have a question whether
 373 if I go to an environment where they speak French now? Will I keep up with them?
 374 Because actually French is a kind of language which is alive. They change the
 375 expressions like we said about Bislama today. But (.) if they say something I'll still
 376 understand. But to (.) speak to them? I (.) I wish I could go into I would always like
 377 to improve it. But at the moment I speak it's alright. Like we're here if someone
 378 comes some time and he speaks? I'll understand. I'll answer him. But maybe
 379 somewhere outside? It's already changed. So for the question yes. I wish that I
 380 spoke better that I was in an environment where they speak it so that I could (.)
 381 update my expressions or my words.

382 (6)

383 Mr Ala: B? Uh? Shall we go?

384 Mme Adrienne: Uh-uh.

385 Mr Ala: <reads> "Is it good for individuals to know both English and French?"

386 (1)

387 Mme Adrienne: Yes=

388 Mrs Anne: =Yes.

389 Mr Ala: [Yes.]

390 Mrs Angela: [Yes.] Maybe it's (.) I don't know but me for one like I admire
391 Francophones uh?

392 Mrs Anne: M-m.

393 Mrs Angela: You come across Francophones? Like (.) us English if we Anglophones
394 meet each other? We will speak Bislama or (.) but you see with them? I see French
395 speakers when they meet each other? It's (.) French only. They can just speak
396 French. Ah I look at them and I wish that I was like that <laughs> I like it bu::t we
397 just can't do it. But it's good. I think it's important uh? Very important for (.) for us to
398 know both languages. I think it's not just English. It's good for us to know both
399 English and also French?

400 (4)

401 Mme Adrienne: Me for this question? Like I can say that (2) I think that if I know (.) I
402 know both languages together I think this is enough of a privilege for me (.) like. I
403 know both French and (.) English? But I know that it's not (.) it's not that easy. It's
404 easy for me because I followed the system of going to French first. When I learnt
405 English I found it was much easier. And then it (.) somehow it happened that I know
406 both languages I can speak both together. But I know that it's not that (.) easy. But
407 when we see sometimes I explain to the children? I will tell them clearly that (.) it is
408 something that you can have like we say it's a (.) personal privilege for some
409 individuals. If you know both languages. We say this because sometimes people
410 argue. That there are jobs tha::t French it's (.) like if you speak French? There are
411 not many opportunities for work. Some people see it like this. Or they say that we
412 are in (.) a world that is dominated by English. I say this is (.) this is okay. It's right
413 but I see it like it's an (.) individual thing that you hold that is a privilege for you. You
414 try and think about it like this.

415 (5)

416 <all looking down at question list, whispering>

417 Mr Andrew: In terms of the issue of using English and French for individuals and for
418 Vanuatu. As a country? Uh my opinion? Is that er prior to Independence (.) straight
419 after Independence in the eighties and nineties? Maybe (.) er individual ni-Vans (.)
420 wanted to know both English and French. But as time has gone on? Near to the two
421 thousands? I think that (.) Vanuatu has become more dominated by English. So (.)
422 it's (.) I don't know why? But that's why this language policy is trying to emphasise
423 more on French for every citizen to know French. But again? This means that the
424 government must do its part to ensure that the interest to learn French continues to
425 flow. Otherwise it just flows up? There are no job opportunities? There are no
426 universities for the children to go to. It will be a total waste again. But for Vanuatu as
427 a whole? I think that so far (.) uh the world is dominantly ruled by English? So (.) er

428 for an individual? It can be a privilege to actually learn French. But for the country as
429 a whole? It should be more about English? And Asia. You know because in terms of
430 marketing? You speak Asian. In terms of communication? We talk English.

431 (3)

432 F: So when you say a privilege? Like many of you have talked about a privilege or I
433 like the way that French speakers speak or something like that. But is there any
434 purpose for (.) someone to know both languages or is it (.) does it just show that you
435 have skills in language or does it have any (.) function? Or material benefit or
436 whatever.

437 Mr Andrew: Maybe just one. Whatever job you are actually engaged in? As a ni-
438 Van? Then that should give you the interest to learn both? But for the country as a
439 whole? At the moment? We can already see the trends that are happening? French
440 is er (.) gliding off while English continues to climb up. So I think that's er the reason
441 why the new language policy that I don't think (.) today's government is emphasising
442 anymore because today's government is an English gov- er ruling power so. That
443 policy was introduced by a French-speaking power. So

444 F: But do you think it's good that in Vanuatu we have both together? Or is it just
445 something from history that we should let go of now

446 Mr Andrew: Maybe as an individual? It's okay. But as a country? It's not really
447 important to have two languages it's (.) more important to have more languages
448 coming in. Those languages to do with marketing especially. So not just French and
449 English but we should learn other languages as well. But for individuals? Whichever
450 language you have it should be a privilege.

451 Mme Adrienne: Let me say that French is actually like. We (.) it depends (.) as he
452 says it depends on jobs. Yes job opportunities. But again that is about you as an
453 individual. Like the question here. Uh <reads> "is it good that Vanuatu uses both
454 English and French?" Still it comes back to the question that it's up to you. Which
455 one because (.) our system allows this? If you want to go to French? You go to
456 French. You want to go to English? You go to English. But if the government doesn't
457 want to change this system then it's up to them.

458 (1)

459 Mr Ala: I think Mme Adrienne that like some of the criteria for jobs? You must know
460 both languages. Like this too comes to one (.) area tha::t if you know both
461 languages you have a chance to get a job now. (1) Like some advertisements
462 appear that say you must (.) be a good er English speaker and French. Like it's in
463 our system already. So now it comes to something that (.) French too is important in
464 these areas. To find a job. If you only know English? You won't be able to get that
465 job which (.) the advertisement is for. I think that most advertisements now (.) like
466 know a little bit of (.) know English and know a little bit of French. And understand.
467 (5) And because we are (.) already a country like this? If a Frenchman comes?
468 When we speak English? We can't communicate now. Because of (.) this privilege
469 because we don't have the ability uh.

470 (4)

471 Mr Andrew: I think that one of the biggest problems too with (.) the use of both
472 English and French in the country? Is the expats' interest to learn Bislama. When a
473 Frenchman (.) first arrives in Vanuatu? The first thing he wants to learn is Bislama.
474 So that's why it has declined (.) the interest in the country (.) like for individuals to
475 learn (.) to speak French or English. Because again Bislama is a (.) like when the
476 Peace Corps come they are all English speakers but they arrive in Vanuatu? They
477 have a two week workshop and they generally use Bislama. So instead of coming to
478 develop English in the rural areas? It's Bislama. Maybe for their communication
479 towards the locals it's good but (.) to uphold the communication skills of the locals in
480 terms of English?

481 (2)

482 Mr Ala: I think it's good for us to know both (.) I remember once (.) I was in Santo
483 there was a woman from Caledonia. She came to the airport? She didn't speak
484 English? She didn't speak Bislama. So (.) then? Old Ezekiel was at the airport. So
485 he tried his best to speak Eng- er French to her. So I remember one phrase when
486 she had put her bag in and he asked (.) c'est tout?³¹ Then the woman said oui³².
487 Okay then it was like the woman felt that (.) like I understood that small event I felt
488 that old Ezekiel did well there by saying c'est tout. <laughs> (3) So it helped him a
489 little there it helped him to er=

490 Mme Adrienne: =To communicate.

491 Mr Ala: Yeah to communicate. Like it's important to communicate uh?

492 Mrs Angela: No but (.) as Mr Ala was saying that I was thinking again about us in
493 Vanuatu? We shouldn't wipe it out but we should encourage it because (.) you look
494 at the tourists. We talk about tourism uh. It's a big- one of our biggest sources of
495 revenue in Vanuatu. But like if we bring tourists to different areas? And there's
496 nobody who speaks French then (.) how. Like it's good that at least some can? Like
497 I keep saying I think Fiona knows <laughs> that I've said that one my children must
498 school French. Suppose we have a visitor who comes to the house who speaks
499 French? At least I'll have somebody who understands. It's no use them coming like
500 we've already said c'est tout and then they come back again? You won't know what
501 to say next. <all laugh> Like I think it's good. It's not that it's bad. It's good to know
502 both uh? So we say. Tourists come? (1) Many tourists come to Vanuatu so (.) it's
503 good that we=

504 Mr Ala: =Er something else is like I find that people who school French? They speak
505 better English than us who school English.

506 (1)

507 Mr Andrew: What's the reason for this.

³¹ Is that everything?

³² Yes

508 Mme Adrienne: I think the reason is just because of the grammar.

509 Mrs Angela: Just the grammar.

510 Mme Adrienne: The grammar of French is quite hard. It is hard in itself. English has
 511 grammar but its grammar is like if you hear it then it's clear. French is like if you
 512 have a rule you have a hundred exceptions which makes it hard. So maybe you
 513 know (.) like the reason why you say they speak (.) er better? Maybe that's because
 514 English grammar is simple. In French it's hard.

515 Mrs Angela: So once they grasp it in French? Like they (.) it's hard but once they've
 516 got it? Like when they come to see the easy one? No because they know the hard
 517 one so that's why it's easy to switch. (1) But us like for us to sit down with the one
 518 we want ah (.) who cares? I don't want to learn it. Like we have that mentality of (.)
 519 why do we want an extra one? Who cares. So it means that we don't know it.

520 Mr Andrew: This is maybe (.) a classic example from (.) last weekend? At our
 521 graduation there was one boy in Year 11. Simon.

522 Mrs Angela: M-m.

523 Mr Andrew: He completed Year 11 at Melsisi as a Francophone and then he
 524 switched to English for Year 11. And then he managed to get through in the English
 525 subjects in (.) English.

526 Mrs Angela: It's true. I had one who I taught (.) he did Year 7 to 10 in French? And
 527 then he came to Year 11 12 in English? But (.) when he wrote? He was very careful
 528 with all his grammar and tenses. And like his spelling. He sat with his dictionary and
 529 was very careful. When he wrote? Like. Sometimes you would read his stories you
 530 wouldn't believe that a Francophone had really written it. He even wrote better than
 531 the way we Anglophones write.

532 Mr Ala: I think that for (.) why Francophones learn (.) they speak better English than
 533 us? Because they learn it at an age when they are mature. They learn English. They
 534 they learn a good English they speak a good English. Us because we start in kindy
 535 and come up? Like we mix Bislama and English (.) we mix it the whole time that
 536 we're growing up? So that (.) that (.) what? It should be like (.) proper English like
 537 that? We can't speak (.) er good English straightaway uh? We take a little like this
 538 and like this. But when you learn it like (.) at an age when you're mature? Like you
 539 teach it and you learn it? You (.) like Francophones. That's just my opinion. It's not
 540 everyone. But some.

541 (6)

542 Mr Andrew: So with (.) these trends that we see students learning better when they
 543 switch from er French to English. Like that also contributes to why a lot more ni-
 544 Vans speak English?

545 (2)

546 Mr Ala: So it means that we can use French (.) in order to speak better English. We
547 can speak French? But it comes into English.

548 Mrs Angela: [Yes.]

549 Mme Adrienne: [Yes xx] what we are saying? If we make a change? Our primary
550 schools? If they made it so that they start in French up to Class 4? Then they come
551 back to English? This helps them. Later on in their life they will still know it. They will
552 understand. Even if they can't speak it. Then you bring them back to English. One
553 present problem we have here is that we have a kind of dual system where there is
554 French (.) and then (.) English. If there was a way for us to (.) put the two together if
555 we don't actually want to lose one? Because however hard you try (.) you say (.)
556 you say that French will be dropped? It started already at Independence. That man
557 Joe who? Carlot?

558 Mrs Angela: Carlot.

559 Mme Adrienne: He protested about it. That they would never drop it. It's an identity
560 for the country. So if the government thinks carefully? It should make it so that (.) for
561 us to come now and say that it's a privilege or it's an individual privilege then. We
562 find a way. I think we should start with primary? We start with primary? Then we
563 switch to come back to English and then go and go for good. If we want to keep that
564 identity. But there are still many questions that would arise with this idea I've said.
565 Where would the Francophone er primary teachers come from to teach Classes 1 2
566 and 3? Yes there are lots of questions like this. Actually it's good. If you want to help
567 our children? We start them off? And then we switch them back to English. When
568 they learn it they will find it easier. To study more languages. Like when they come
569 back to English. (5) Again like you see we are going round with this? We will never
570 end this discussion. We can't find the answer. The government needs to find the
571 answer for (.) a system a policy which it can put to the people. But us? If we just talk
572 about it. We won't find an answer.

573 Mrs Angela: It depends on (.) who comes to power. Who is in charge of the
574 government. For the day.

575 Mrs Anne: Yeah but.

576 Mrs Angela: Even (.) because you see? When one comes in. Like last time it was
577 Charlot? He was like you could just tell that he wanted to lift up French. Now we
578 have er who's that coming in who is English? You'll see that he'll relax the idea
579 again. But it would be good if they came up with one. For the government to agree
580 on one and then we do that.

581 (2)

582 Mr Andrew: I remember when we <addresses Mme Adrienne> went to a workshop
583 for the language policy summit thing at Saratamata? That woman Madeleine
584 Lesines?

585 Mme Adrienne: M-m.

586 Mr Andrew: She said that (.) in terms of communication? It's bet- (.) people learn
587 better when they jump out from the blue? To learn something (.) a language.

588 Mme Adrienne: What do they call it (.) immersion.

589 Mr Andrew: It means that they emerge from (.) er that's why they want to introduce
590 the vernacular at the start? Because it's better because it doesn't have any related
591 vocab to French and English? Therefore when they come to learn French it will be
592 easy. And then from French when they go to learn English it will be easy. But when
593 they jump from vernacular into English? Bislama is also here. Bislama English it's (.)
594 like Bislama is dominated by English. So a lot of students will get muddled up with
595 it=

596 Mr Ala: =Bislama.

597 Mr Andrew: So it means that it's better to (.) jump from the blue and learn one
598 language that you can grab better.

599 Mme Adrienne: They call this system immersion. Like you take one out? When you
600 finish with French and go to (.) [English]

601 Mrs Angela: [English]

602 Mr Andrew: [English] (.) Because French and English (.) their
603 vocabulary is totally separate. So that's why they say that's why students learn
604 better because (.) not knowing the vocab from English? When they introduce it they
605 get interested to learn.

606 (3)

607 Mr Ala: <quietly> Should we move? Before dirty Bislama takes over?

608 <all laugh>

609 F: Okay I think we should go to 4 A. <reads> "Should there be one type of school for
610 everybody? (.) Or should we keep Anglophone and Francophone separate schools."
611 Like should we maintain the system we have now? Or do you think we should go to
612 this system where we start in primary all children go to one? So if you go for this
613 system where we join them? My main question is how would this work.

614 Mme Adrienne: You remember our graph at the workshop Mr Andrew? Our graph
615 actually had vernacular? French?

616 Mr Andrew: French.

617 Mme Adrienne: And then a little bit of English went in. In Class 4 and 5. And then.
618 They can choose somewhere around Year 9 whether they go to English or French.
619 It was like that? That was the graph from all the teachers. Because when we
620 presented like all the discussions (.) like how many policies would you have. But the
621 teachers were thinking about the classroom.

622 Mrs Anne: Okay.

623 Mme Adrienne: Because they (.) are debating on and on? When it came to the
 624 teachers they looked for their answer in the classroom.

625 Mrs Anne: Yes. <quietly talking to Mrs Angela in background>

626 Mr Andrew: I think that for me (.) it is proper to run separate Anglophone and
 627 Francophone schools too because if you want to become a Fren- (.) purely a French
 628 teacher? Then you have to accelerate on the French stream. But if you (.) want to
 629 use it as a communication (.) to develop your communication skills in the two
 630 languages then it is proper to be in one school that contains both.

631 (15)

632 F: I think these two who went to Saratamata (.) they've practised this already but (.)
 633 it's like a main argument that the students also had an opinion on. That is it good for
 634 us (.) to be like we are now where <addresses Mrs Angela> you say (.) okay one of
 635 my children will school English but another one will school French. Is it good that we
 636 have this system? Where one goes this way and the other one goes that way? Or
 637 would it be better if all of us were in the same system? (1) Like it doesn't have an
 638 easy answer.

639 Mrs Anne: M-m.

640 Mrs Angela: True.

641 (4)

642 Mr Ala: But if you force people it won't really work?

643 (2)

644 Mrs Angela: Give them an opportunity. If they are interested.

645 F: One question I have on this is that (.) like we started off the discussion talking
 646 about question one whether (.) the students are good at English? Using it at school.
 647 And we were talking about Year 10 Year 12 and upwards. So my questions is if we
 648 start off in French? And we go up to Year 9 or something and then you switch? Will
 649 it be possible for everyone to switch? To English. Will they catch up with English or
 650 not. Because we've talked about Simon in Year 11. Yes. If one comes in then he
 651 has to speak English because his friends are English speaking. So it makes it easy
 652 for one to switch. But this is a genuine question. I don't know but do you think it's
 653 possible that (.) the students get used to French? And the teachers have been
 654 teaching in French? So for Science. You've already said that there is a Science
 655 vocabulary which is hard for them in English. So imagine that they come from
 656 primary in Year 7 Year 8. They know the terms for Science or Agriculture in French?
 657 Then if you are the first ones to teach them in English. Do you think it will be hard or
 658 (.) would it be possible for you the first ones to (.) you would also need to know
 659 French. Because you would have to relate back to the vocabulary from Year 8 or.
 660 Like Mr Ala used the example before of castration (.) but now he will go inside the
 661 class and be stuck again because (.) they know castration in French? So then do

662 you have to go back to Bislama again? Because he <points to Mr Ala> doesn't know
 663 the word for castration in French.

664 Mrs Angela: Okay yes.

665 F: So it means how would you make (.) the bridge (.) to go to

666 Mrs Angela: True.

667 Mr Ala: Phew.

668 <all laugh>

669 Mme Adrienne: It's (.) it's a question that is hard for us to say. We can say that you
 670 (.) you are saying that Simon is like just one person. What about like the whole
 671 system.

672 F: M-m.

673 Mr Ala: I think that like (.) like if we switch then we should switch in yea::r er in Year
 674 6. Before they go to 7. Because when you go to 7 we have the basics for everything
 675 like in English.

676 Mme Adrienne: Yes.

677 Mr Ala: Tha::t we teach uh? When we come in halfway? That's the problem. But if
 678 you come in like Year 7? Like for us in English? Secondary starts in Year 7 like all
 679 the terms we use from Year 7? We use them for the rest of (.) uh up to er university
 680 uh. We use these same terms all the time. But from primary school up to here?
 681 They learn (.) the (.) er separate er subjects? So they come to Year 7? Now we
 682 separate the subjects. Like the main subjects in schools. If we bridge it here then (.)
 683 it will be much

684 (1)

685 F: So what is the main reason why you want to join them together in one system.
 686 What's the main purpose of it?

687 Mrs Angela: What's the purpose. <laughs>

688 F: Why do we want to combine them?

689 Mme Adrienne: The very first reason? Because like it's an identity for us? To know
 690 both languages. But (.) some? Like you can say now we can see that (.) English is
 691 (.) it's (.) which one is spoken more in the world? It's English. But it will be hard for
 692 Vanuatu to leave French. So what we are trying to do now is we are trying to fulfil
 693 this but you see that (.) if you fulfil this you will (.) you will understand French but
 694 actually you come back to English. When you come to Year 7 and go go go to
 695 continue your studies at university? Then it seems that we are totally leaving out
 696 French. But if you really want your children to go back and do their education in
 697 French? Then that's a question mark. If there is just one school that would be okay.

698 That offers that chance for children. There you are I said we would talk round this
699 without finding an answer.

700 Mr Ala: Like. Sorry but uh (.) for (.) this can we go back to our first question. Like (.)
701 to get children speaking good English. (2) So they have good understanding. But
702 how to put it in words? To say it in good English? For this we are in the classroom.
703 But if we try like this suggestion? Will they. We (.) I don't know.

704 Mrs Anne: Maybe we should also say like we are looking at some examples that
705 we've seen who (.) when they switch French to English they perform well uh? So (.)
706 it's (.) we don't know whether this is only for individual students or maybe for the
707 whole group. But it's something that they should maybe (.) before they roll this out
708 like they should test it on a small group. To see whether it works or not. But I think
709 the idea has come from (.) us seeing some students we have? And like past
710 students we've seen (.) students who start off with French and come to English?
711 They do much better than (.) those who just (.) you go to English then it will be
712 difficult to go to French.

713 (4)

714 Mr Andrew: Yes I think it's an idea that cannot happen overnight. It needs (.) it's an
715 important thing for us to put the two languages into one school. But it needs to take
716 time while we need to train (.) the resources (.) make the resources for it? Then we
717 get what we need. But I think that it's proper to put the two together. In one school.
718 Then we can run like Arts and Science streams at (.) senior secondary level.
719 Because (.) why do I say this? Because (.) if we look at the world? Maybe the only
720 country in the world that runs some schools as French schools and other schools as
721 English schools is Vanuatu. So to get on in the world (.) er civilisation in the world in
722 terms of (.) er communication? For the two to become one is proper.

723 (2)

724 F: But if we come back to like (.) the purpose of school? Like we go for these two
725 languages that is our focus. But (.) if we focus so much on these two languages will
726 (.) the standard of education go down? Or (.) like if I give an example. Mrs Angela
727 said that (.) in her family? One child must speak French. If a tourist comes to the
728 house? Then this child can communicate with them. So does this mean like (.) our
729 priority? We just go for these languages (.) never mind whether our children
730 understand everything at school as long as when the tourists come it will be alright?

731 Mrs Angela: <laughs loudly>

732 F: <laughs> Like we joke about it but you know (.) sometimes we focus on
733 language? But do you think there is an effect on the quality of education? Or not?

734 (4)

735 Mr Andrew: Yes maybe for every (.) at the beginning of everything in life? There is
736 always a stumbling block. But as time goes on we tend to digest it more and then
737 we hope in the future that it will turn out to be alright.

738 Mr Ala: Yes that is something too? Like in schools? Children's understanding. The
739 most important thing in the classroom? Is children's understanding. When we take
740 them and they don't understand? The problem even goes to the villages. Or the
741 communities everywhere. There is too much trouble making and things like that (.)
742 because their understanding? Is no good.

743 Mr Andrew: The problem here is that if children's understanding is no good? It
744 means that the mother and father's understanding is no good. The chief's
745 understanding is no good. The pastor's understanding is no good. And our
746 understanding as teachers is also no good. So (.) whatever mistakes children
747 make? They are everybody's (.) mistake. (3) Yes for er this issue? Like for the time
748 being I think that separation into two languages is (.) still okay. But to put one
749 system in place like the policy that Vanuatu is thinking about (.) in the long run I
750 think that this will benefit us. If students can do well in Arts and Science courses? I
751 think that in terms of language we can do it as well.

752 (3)

753 Mme Adrienne: It's the government. Actually it (.) it should be the decision of the
754 government. But we tend to think that whoever comes as Minister of Education
755 wants to enforce his own ideas? I don't think that's really good. So it's up to the
756 government. To say where the straight path is that will provide a service that is good
757 for (.) er the country's citizens. We can keep arguing that no English will (.) it will be
758 like this. We abolish French or whatever? Yes if the government comes to the level
759 of the people and explains it well to them? You know people will understand. It's up
760 to the government.

761 F: Okay I see that time is going. Let's finish here. Thank you very much.

Appendix XV – Interview with Collège de Faranako Teacher Group (Original)

Date: 02-11-11

Location: On the grass outside

Participants: Mr Felix, Mr Fred, Mlle Felicia

Notes: I hadn't had a chance to arrange my visit in advance. When I arrived, the teachers were in an awareness meeting about the new national curriculum. I spoke to one of them briefly and arranged to meet three of the four teachers who had been present during the first period of fieldwork once the meeting had finished.

It was quite late when we started. It was too dark inside because the generator hadn't been switched on, so we sat outside. However, it quickly grew dark, and by the end of the interview, the teachers were reading the questions by torchlight. I therefore joined in with some questions more quickly than I would have liked to, rather than waiting until the end.

The three teachers took about 15 minutes reading through the questions at the beginning, writing notes, and sometimes consulting with each other, although I tried to stop them discussing their answers until the recorder was switched on. They explained that this was the way Francophones approached a task – to think carefully first before starting.

1 Mr Felix: Okei. Bae mi mi stat. Long fas kwestin? Taem mi stap long Montmartre?
2 Olsem long (.) long fas kwestin hem i se <reads from question> “est-ce que vous
3 trouvez que c’est facile ou difficile d’utiliser le français pour enseigner toutes les
4 matières.” Okei. Long mi? Hem i oraet. Okei hem i isi long mi. Afta blong seken wan
5 i se <reads from question> “croyez-vous que les étudiants trouvent facile ou difficile
6 de l’utiliser en classe.” Okei mi mi mekem tu skul nomo? Mi stap long Montmartre
7 fastaem? Ol styuden oli luk se (.) hem i (.) isi. Be long ples ia samtaem mi toktok
8 Franis mi luk ol pikinini oli (.) <laughs> sam oli stap ae i bigbigwan. Mi (.) mi ting se
9 Franis hem i had lelebet long olgeta long (.) long long aelan.

10 (2)

11 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i tru hem i tru. Mi mi stap long Lycée? Long Lycée yu toktok
12 Français hem i (1) i oraet. Be taem mi kambak long aelan? Mi toktok Français gogo
13 bae (.) yu luk se (.) i go fas? Naoia bae mi kambak long Bislama nao. Mi toktok
14 Bislama ia.

15 (5)

16 Mlle Felicia: Lo::ng mi? Mi mi kam mi stap long ples ia tri yia? Hem i fes skul tu mi
17 jes (.) stat blong tij? Long wan secondary skul? Afta? Olsem (.) long French? I oraet
18 olsem yu toktok oli andastanem yu. Bae yu toktok oli andastanem be wan samting

19 nomo? Olgeta oli no manage blong bae oli:: traem blong toktok long olsem (.)
20 ansarem bak yu bakegen long French. Olsem mi mi luk long ples ia be (.) long ol
21 narafala skul/s olsem Monsieur i talem finis. Long Montmartre from mi go mekem (.)
22 wanem ia praktikel blong mi long Montmartre? Mi luk se lanwis ia hem i:: (.) yu
23 toktok oli ansarem yu hariap nomo.

24 Mr Felix: M-m.

25 Mlle Felicia: Be long ples ia oli tekem (.) olsem oli stap hesitate oli fraet o oli olsem
26 wanem. Timides blong ansarem yu. So yu yu mas (.) yu mas faenem evri evri wei o
27 kona yu faenem blong yu save putum samting i kamaot. O samtaem yu yet yu stap
28 givimbak ol ansa blong ol wanem ia (.) kwestin blong yu bakegen. Mekem se::
29 olsem (.) lanwis hem i is- hem i stret. Yumi yusum blong yumi save talem wan (.)
30 pasem wan (.) olsem givim wan samting uh? Be hem i lelebet difficile tu (.) olsem
31 difficult tu olsem long level blong ol tu from (.) hem i wan lanwis tu olsem hem i jes
32 lanem. Ating bae i stap toktok long hem i ting se bae yumi jikim hem o wan samting
33 olsem ia. Be:: olsem yumi stap traem blong encourage/m hem blong bae i:: (.) hem i
34 toktok gud lanwis. Yes. (3) Afta? (1) Yumi mov nao?

35 Mr Felix: M-m.

36 Mr Fred: Yes?

37 Mlle Felicia: Long (.) B (/bi/). <reads from question> “B (/be/). Est-ce que vous
38 utilisez le français avec assurance?” Et (.) afta? Oli askem bakegen se <reads from
39 question> “est-ce que vous aimeriez le parler mieux.” Olsem blong mi bae mi talem
40 olsem ia se (.) taem mi toktok olsem taem mi tijim wan samting olsem wan subjek
41 olsem ia normalement mi stap long French uh? Be olsem yu assurer? Yu samtaem
42 yu yu really wantem se samting ia hem i mas (.) done. Olsem ol objectives blong yu
43 blong (.) tija i mas (.) yu wantem se bae yu mas (.) yes bae i mas done uh? Be
44 hemia nao taem yu (.) mi mi wantem se bae mi mas (.) tok tok tok tok gud mo
45 lanwis ia? Be problem hem i long level blong ol pikinini we yumi tekem oli kam long
46 ol defdefren ples tu. Mekem se (.) samtaem bae i go fasfas smol. Samtaem yumi
47 swap nao go long narafala lanwis blong traem (.) go insaed ia blong mekem se (.)
48 communication i isi smol?

49 Mr Fred: Long (.) long (.) long ples ia? I gat (.) yumi tijim ol defdefren ej blong
50 pikinini? So long ples ia? Blong assure/em yu? Yu assure/em yu wetem ol pikinini?
51 So yu mas folem (.) level blong hem? Yu bae yu no yusum wan (.) wan (.) wod/s we
52 hem i had blong pikinini ia. Sapos pikinini oli stap daon ia? So yu mas yusum wod/s
53 ia we yu luk se hem i (.) simple blong hem i andastanem. And then hemia long
54 narafala klas we hem i go antap? Yu (.) yu seftem yu go antap. Hem i (.) tufala i no
55 sem mak ia. So long ples ia yu mas (.) mekem ol (.) ol wei/s blong yusum ol (.) ol
56 wod/s blong yu.

57 (4)

58 Mr Felix: Okei blong mi? Yes bae mi talem ansa blong kwestin hem i yes? Fas wan.
59 Blong seken wan? Yes mi wantem se mi toktok gud mo olsem (.) blong mi toktok
60 wetem ol styuden hemia mi save toktok olsem long Franis olsem. O wetem wan

61 colleague blong mi mi save toktok. Olsem mi toktok Franis. Be sapos mi toktok
 62 wetem (.) wan stret Franis man? Bae vocabulaire blong mi bae (.) hemia nao bae
 63 mitufala no save gat niu wan. Sapos mi save toktok olsem wan Franis man (.) bae
 64 mi laekem. (4) Okei. Bae yumi go long nekis kwestin. (2) Okei. <translates from
 65 question> Ol styuden wetem ol (.) tija?

66 Mlle Felicia: Tija?

67 Mr Felix: Oli no stap toktok tumas Franis aot saed long klas.

68 Mlle Felicia: From wanem.

69 Mr Felix: From wanem. Okei. Mi? Mi stap long Montmartre? Mi toktok Franis wetem
 70 ol styuden blong mi? Aot saed. Hemia? Mi sanem olgeta? Wanem? Mi talem
 71 evriwan long Franis. Mi kam traem long ples ia. Mi talem? Styuden i stanap
 72 bakegen? Hem i se mi stap talem wanem. So (.) blong (.) mi no tekem tumas taem
 73 traem blong mekem i andastanem wanem mi wantem talem long hem aot saed? Mi
 74 talem stret long hem long Bislama yu go wokem? Hem. (1) Hemia nao blong mi.

75 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i wan (1) bae mi talem se olsem wanem? Wan (.) wan (.)
 76 wan problem we hem i stap finis blong lanwis uh? Sapos mi wan tija blong ples ia?
 77 Then pikinini we hem i kam long ples ia blong (.) bae mi toktok Franis wetem hem?
 78 Bae hem i girap i stanap i lukluk mi bakegen bae i toktok (.) bae i toktok long lanwis
 79 blong mitufala nao? Bae i no ansarem long (.) long Franis we mi mi wantem.

80 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

81 Mr Fred: So long ples ia i mekem se (.) taem mi sanem hem? Bae mi toktok lanwis
 82 blong mi nao. Olsem lanwis blong mitufala. Bae mi no sanem hem long (.) Franis.

83 (2)

84 Mr Felix: Ating wan samting olsem fulap blong ol styuden ia? Taem oli stap kam
 85 antap long praemeri? Sapos i se oli stap lanem gud blong oli toktok Franis finis?
 86 Ating taem oli kam antap long mifala ating bae mifala i faenem i isi blong (.)
 87 communicate wetem olgeta long Franis. Olsem naoia yu luk narasaed long
 88 praemeri? Oli traem blong oli jenisim. Naoia sapos yu go narasaed long praemeri yu
 89 harem evri pikinini oli toktok

90 (1)

91 Mlle Felicia: Franis.

92 Mr Felix: French nomo. Oli toktok Franis wetem tija? Evri samting long (.) long
 93 French. Ating olgeta we mifala i stap tekem olgeta naoia? From oli stap kam antap?
 94 Oli no gat hemia olsem (.) wan blong mifala i talem tudei se (.) ating (.) oli no (.) oli
 95 no statem gud. Be sapos i se oli statem gud? Bae oli kam antap ating bae hem i isi
 96 long olgeta.

97 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i (.) wan samting tu bae yumi gobak long hom. Blong
 98 wanwan. Pikinini. So long hom blong wanwan pikinini? Papa wetem mama tufala i
 99 toktok lanwis ia.

100 F: M-m.

101 Mr Fred: Tufala i no toktok French. (1) So taem hem i sanem hem blong i go karem
 102 wan samting? I talem i no talem long French? So long ples ia? Taem hem i kambak
 103 long ples ia? Taem hem i kam aot saed long klas? Tingting blong hem hem i stap
 104 long hom blong hem ia. So blong yu (.) talem wan samting long French? Hemia
 105 pikinini i tekem se no. (1) So long ples ia bae yumi talem se hem i dipen bigwan tu
 106 long relation (.) peren/s wetem ol praemeri daon.

107 F: M-m.

108 Mr Fred: So naoia oli traem bes blong olgeta blong oli mekem? Ating bae i kam gud
 109 antap mo long (.) secondary.

110 (7)

111 Mr Felix: Okei?

112 Mr Fred: M-m.

113 Mr Felix: Bae yumi go long nekis kwestin? (3) Hem i::

114 Mr Fred: D.

115 Mr Felix: D uh?

116 Mr Fred: Uh-uh.

117 Mr Felix: Okei. <translates from question> Yu ting se bae yumi yusum ol narafala
 118 lanwis olsem Inglis? Bislama? O lanwis blong Ambae? (2) Okei. (2) Mi long tingting
 119 blong mi se sapos se hem i se bae yumi (.) mekem uh (.) teaching sapos yumi tij
 120 long Franis? Then yumi mas traem blong emphasise se (1) yumi toktok er Franis
 121 nomo blong helpem pikinini blong hem i improve/m (.) Franis blong hem. Okei.
 122 Lo::ng samtaem olsem ol pikinini oli defdefren? Olsem (.) eksampol sapos mi givim
 123 wan lesen blong science? Afta mi talem wan samting we i stap long narafala
 124 kaontri? Pikinini oli no save but then (.) i gud blong bae mi givim nem blong hem
 125 long Bislama tu blong hem i=

126 Mr Fred: =Yes

127 Mr Felix: M-m.

128 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

129 Mr Felix: Hemia tingting blong mi.

130 Mr Fred: I gat? I gat sam (.) olsem yes ol eksampol ia nem uh? Samfala nem ia we i
 131 no gat long Bislama? And then bae i no gat long (.) long French? I min se i blong
 132 ples ia. So olsem ia? Bae yu givim nem ia long lanwis blong (.) blong ples ia nao.
 133 So (.) i min se yumi save yusum (.) evri (.) wan impoten samting? Yu yu wantem se
 134 pikinini i save.

135 Mr Felix: M-m.

136 Mr Fred: So yu traem bes blong yu blong pik- i go insaed long (.) bren blong hem.
 137 So yu stap lukaotem ol wei/s blong yu mekem se nem blong samting ia i mas go
 138 long bren blong hem. Be sapos yu talem long Français? And then pikinini hem i se
 139 (.) no nem ia? Mi no (.) taem yu talem long Bislama be taem Bislama i no gat? Bae
 140 yu talem long lanwis nao.

141 F: M-m.

142 Mr Fred: M-m.

143 (2)

144 Mlle Felicia: Mi long mi? Ating ol tingting ia i (.) mi tu mi gat sem tingting olsem
 145 tufala colleague tufala i talem. Olsem mi gat sem (.) mi nomo save wanem bae mi
 146 talem mo be mi ting se poen ia nao olsem tufala i talem finis.

147 Mr Felix: <laughs> Okei? Bae yumi go long

148 Mlle Felicia: Deux?

149 Mr Felix: Seken wan. <translates from question> Yusum Franis? Ating hem i minim
 150 yusum Franis o Inglis uh?

151 Mr Fred: M-m.

152 F: M-m.

153 Mr Felix: Hemia nao.

154 F: M-m. Yusum (.) no yusum tufala tugeta.

155 Mr Felix: Okei.

156 F: I no one or the other hem i=

157 Mr Felix: =Franis mo [Inglis]

158 F: [Français] et Anglais.

159 Mr Felix: Okei.

160 Mlle Felicia: Wetem. M-m.

161 (2)

162 Mr Felix: Er <translates from question> yu toktok (.) Inglis? (1) Smol.

163 Mlle Felicia: <laughs>

164 Mr Felix: Mi save smol Inglis. Bae mi er sapos wan waetman i kam ating bae mi
 165 save

166 Mlle Felicia: <laughs>

167 F: <laughs> Sapos wan [i kam?]

168 Mr Felix: [Ating bae] mi save (.) ating bae mi manage. <laughs>

169 Mlle Felicia: Bae i mekem taet taet.

170 Mr Felix: Okei bae:: yu save (.) yu (.) yes. <translates from question> Yu laekem
171 blong toktok mo? Yes.

172 (1)

173 Mr Fred: Mi

174 F: Be from wanem. Yu no jes talem yes nomo. Olsem wanem nao purpose blong
175 Inglis blong yufala?

176 Mr Felix: Okei. (3) Bae mi talem (.) olsem (5) olsem. Wan hem i blong ol turis? Mo
177 samtaem sapos i se (.) yu nidim samting yu go fulap long ol advisor? Ol man
178 Ostrelia oli stap sanem i kam? Ol man ia oli no lanem Bislama bifo oli kam. So
179 samtaem yumi go? Yu mas toktok Inglis long olgeta. (1) Hemia nao wan (.) sapos
180 mi toktok Inglis ating bae:: sapos mi toktok wetem hem? Mi go talem sam samting.
181 Sapos i gat wan advaesa blong Ostrelia long Ministri blong Edyukesen mi go luk
182 hem? Sapos mi toktok gud Inglis ating bae i andastanem wanem concerne blong
183 mi. Be sapos mi no toktok gud Inglis hemia nao bae. <laughs>

184 (2)

185 Mr Fred: Lo::ng (.) long ples ia hem i concern/em ol (.) ol religion tu. I gat samfala
186 religion we oli stap long Inglis nomo. So taem (.) taem olsem ia sapos mi mi skul
187 Francophone and then (.) religion blong mi hem i stap yusum Inglis nomo?

188 F: M-m.

189 Mr Fred: So (.) mi mas toktok Inglis. From taem mi go insaed long jioj blong mi? Bae
190 mi toktok Inglis ia. Bae mi no toktok French.

191 F: Be hem i experience blong yu long vilej blong yu?

192 Mr Fred: Yes.

193 F: Hemia wanem (.) Anglican?

194 Mr Fred: No blong mi hem i SDA.

195 F: Okei. Oli yusum Inglis nomo long [vilej?]

196 Mr Fred: [Inglis] nomo.

197 F: Oli no yusum lanwis long vilej?

198 Mr Fred: Um oli yusum lanwis? Be from

199 (1)

200 Mlle Felicia: [Baeb-]

201 Mr Felix: [Baebol.]

202 Mr Fred: Baebol nao hem i::

203 F: Inglis nomo okei.

204 Mr Fred: Inglis nomo. (2) So taem we yumi go tokbaot? Bae i yusum ol wod/s?

205 Inglis nomo nao.

206 F: M-m.

207 (2)

208 Mlle Felicia: Okei mi? (3) Yes?

209 <all laugh>

210 Mlle Felicia: Mi laekem toktok Inglis? Mi intres tumas long lanwis ia? From mi tekem

211 lanwis ia. Wan lanwis we mi tijim tu long (.) long klas? Mo (.) mi wantem (.) so mi

212 wantem er (.) toktok mo long hem i gat sam (.) i gat sam stadi blong mi mo mo mo

213 long lanwis ia yet. Mi stap intres tumas blong mi save gat wan mo (.) save go skul

214 bakegen blong lanem sam samting bakegen about uh lanwis ia. Uh-uh. From Inglis

215 hem i wan samting we olsem (.) tru long olsem ol (.) yu save lanem tru long ol

216 magazine? Ol kaen olsem ol reading books o wan samting. Olsem ia? Be hem i

217 wan (.) hem i wan (.) olsem wan lanwis we (.) bae mi talem se (.) most olsem (.)

218 population blong wol ia oli tok lanwis ia. So hem i wan lanwis we hem i flow raon fo-

219 fala kona blong wol. Blong earth. So mi ting se (.) mi long mi mi laekem tumas

220 Inglis? Mi laekem tumas blong mi toktok long hem. Hemia nao mi stap yusum long

221 ol taem blong klas blong Inglis nomo be (.) samtaem taem aot saed olsem ia? Bae

222 mi foldaon long wan (.) wan fren o (.) mi stap traem blong mi toktok. Mi stap traehad

223 olsem ia from mi laekem. (4) Yes.

224 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i (.) hem i isi nomo. Inglis hem i isi nomo. (2) Long ples ia?

225 Long ples ia sapos yu save pikinini i skul French? O i skul Inglis? (1) Be hem i isi.

226 Inglis hem i isi. From wanem? From Bislama hem i stap finis.

227 Mr Felix: Bislama olsem ol (.) hem i wan dérivé blong Inglis=

228 Mr Fred: =Yes.

229 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

230 Mr Fred: Yu (.) yusum ol wod/s long Bislama? Hem i blong Inglis nomo. Be (.)

231 French? Hem i lelebet (.) bae yumi talem se i had blong (1) blong ol man uh?

232 Mlle Felicia: French i expensive tumas blong olsem <laughs>

233 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) taem mi (.) mi mi skul long (.) mi skul long Lycée? Er prof blong

234 mifala hem i se (.) wan mot blong Anglais? Long Français hem i save gat fo. Fo

235 mots long wan. Wan mot long Anglais nomo.

236 (1)

237 Mlle Felicia: Okei.

238 Mr Fred: So long ples ia hem i show/em stret se no (.) French hem i had ia. (1) So
 239 pikinini (.) pikinini we hem i lanem Bislama? Hem i no go yet long (.) blong skul
 240 Inglis? Yu toktok long Inglis long hem? Bae hem i andastanem. (2) So long ples ia
 241 (.) evri man Vanuatu bae oli se oli laekem toktok Inglis. Iven hem i skul French be
 242 bae i laekem toktok Inglis.

243 (5)

244 Mr Felix: Okei? Yumi mov i go long nekis kwestin? (1) <Translates from question>
 245 Hem i gud blong ol individuel? Oli save toktok Franis mo Inglis? (2) Mi ting se yes?
 246 Hem i gud blong oli save (.) wanwan individual i mas toktok Franis mo Inglis. From
 247 (.) yumi long Vanuatu i se (.) er oli approve/m (.) tu (.) lanwis blong teaching hem i
 248 (.) [Inglis]

249 Mlle Felicia: [Inglis?]

250 Mr Felix: Mo (.) Franis. Okei blong yu wan tija? Sapos i se (.) er olsem blong wan
 251 tija i gud blong (.) yu save tugeta. Sapos oli putum yu yu go long wan Inglis skul be
 252 (.) bae yu save manage. Blong yu (.) o sapos oli talem se yu go (.) yu go tijim er (.)
 253 French long wan Inglis skul? Be teaching blong yu yu mas mekem long Inglis? O
 254 sapos i se oli sanem er (.) wan Francophone?

255 Mr Fred: M-m.

256 Mr Felix: Bae i go tij long wan (.) olsem i go tijim Anglais long wan Inglis skul be (.)
 257 hem i.

258 Mr Fred: Yes.

259 Mr Felix: Nao olsem bae hem i vice versa.

260 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

261 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) long ples ia? Long ples ia bae yumi talem se man ia (.) man ia
 262 nao hem i bilingual ia nao. Man ia. Sapos yumi yusum hemia? Se mi toktok
 263 Français wetem mi toktok Anglais hem i sem mak nomo. Man ia nao hem i (.) be
 264 Vanuatu hem i no bilingual. Vanuatu i no bilingual. Be i gat sam man nomo oli
 265 bilingual. From hem i toktok French? Hem i sem mak wetem hem i toktok Inglis.
 266 Hemia nao bilingual.

267 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

268 Mr Fred: So long ples ia mi ting se Vanuatu i mas (.) olsem yu (.) yu mas toktok
 269 olsem hem i talem. From oli fasem hem i stap long (.) konstityusen ia? Tufala lanwis
 270 ia. So man Vanuatu i mas (.) hem i mas kam (.) bilingual. Be hemia naoia i kam
 271 kasem naoia i no bilingual ia. Vanuatu i no bilingual ia. Wanwan person nomo oli
 272 bilingual. Hamas nomo. Ating bae yumi talem se (.) ating mebi ten percent nomo.
 273 Be hemia naenti percent? Nogat.

274 F: Be yu talem se konstityusen i talem se (.) evri man i mas bilingual?

275 Mr Felix: No.

276 F: No oli talem se Inglis French tufala lanwis ia.

277 Mr Felix: Yes tufala lanwis [blong edyukesen.]

278 Mr Fred: [Yes tufala lanwis we] bae oli mas yusum.

279 F: So hem i min se narawan i save yusum French nomo?

280 Mr Fred: Yes.

281 F: Narawan i save yusum Inglis nomo.

282 Mr Felix: M-m.

283 Mr Fred: Yes. Yu mas andastanem. Long konstityusen i se (.) French wetem Inglis
284 be yu mas andastanem. Yu Anglophone yu mas andastanem (.) Français.

285 F: Hem i talem long konstityusen?

286 Mr Fred: Yes.

287 (1)

288 F: Okei?

289 Mr Fred: And then hemia long (.) long Francophone? I mas Anglophone. That's why
290 hemia i stap (.) i stap continue.

291 (2)

292 Mr Felix: I gat wan colleague blong mifala? Wan Francophone olsem yumi stap
293 tokbaot ol bi- (.) ol man we oli bilingue? I gat er wan tija blong Agriculture i stap
294 lo::ng

295 Mlle Felicia: Malapoa College.

296 Mr Fred: Malapoa.

297 Mr Felix: Malapoa College. Naoia oli tekem hem i go long CDU? Hem i wan
298 Francophone.

299 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

300 Mr Felix: Hem i tij long (.) hem i go (.) stap long Malapoa College? Hem i go tijim
301 Agriculture? Long Inglis. Be hem i wan Francophone. Hemia nao i gud se yumi gat=

302 Mr Fred: =Kaen man ia tu yes.

303 Mr Felix: Yu save tugeta lanwis. Sapos i se yu go (.) yu faenem wan Inglis man. Yu
304 toktok Inglis long hem. Yu faenem wan Franis man yu toktok Franis long hem.

305 Mlle Felicia: Narafala wan ia tu? We hem i stap long PM's ofis ia.

306 Mr Fred: Yes. And then daarekta blong samting ia? Hemia ol man ia nao ol bilingual
 307 ia nao.

308 F: M-m.

309 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

310 Mr Fred: Be wan (.) wan samting we yumi wantem? Vanuatu naoia. Naoia we oli
 311 stap tokbaot naoia. Hemia we oli wantem se Vanuatu i mas bilingual ia. So system
 312 ia we hem i stap talem hemia hemia. Oli wantem evriwan oli mas (.) Inglis yu toktok
 313 sem mak wetem French. I sem mak nomo. So long ples ia nao bae yumi talem se
 314 no. Yumi kam bilingual nao.

315 F: Okei. Ating hemia i stap touch long nekis kwestin ia nao. Wanem nao olsem
 316 benefit blong (.) long saed blong wan (.) hol kaontri.

317 Mr Fred: Yes.

318 F: I no blong wanwan man nomo. Olsem wanem nao benefit blong tufala lanwis ia.
 319 (1)

320 Mr Fred: Hem i (1) bigwan ia? Mebi hem i communication. Communication. From
 321 samtaem? Sapos mi mi toktok Inglis nomo? And then French man i toktok wetem
 322 mi? Naoia bae mi fas nao? And then sapos hemia we i toktok French nomo? Sapos
 323 er wan Inglis man i toktok wetem hem? Bae i fas nao. And then hao nao bae i wok?
 324 Bae yumi talem se developmen blong kaontri bae i (.) bae i go. O bae yumi talem
 325 wanem. Ikonomi? So long ples ia i min se (.) yu mas save tugeta. From olsem
 326 kaontri blong Vanuatu hem i (.) hem i kamaot long (.) condo- condo-

327 Mr Felix: Condominium.

328 Mr Fred: Condominium?

329 Mlle Felicia: Condominium.

330 Mr Fred: Condominium hem i Inglis wetem French gavman we tufala i (1) so taem
 331 tufala i statem? Taem tufala i statem? Tufala i statem wetem ol wok ia. So taem ol
 332 wok ia oli stap French? Inglis. So once yu wantem se ol wok ia oli mas i go on (.) ol
 333 developmen i mas go on? Yumi mas save tufala lanwis ia nomo. Evri man oli mas
 334 save. From sapos no? Yumi mekem narawan hem i ded? And then narawan hem i
 335 go antap. Be Vanuatu hem i no wantem olsem ia. Hem i wantem se tugeta i go
 336 antap.

337 (5)

338 Mr Felix: Okei? Yumi touch long kwestin C finis uh?

339 Mr Fred: M-m.

340 Mr Felix: Yumi go long namba 3?

341 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

342 Mr Felix: Okei.

343 F: <to Mlle Felicia> Yu traem tos. <light fading>

344 Mr Felix: <reads from question> “Est-ce que les Français?” Okei. <translates from
 345 question> Ol Francophone ? O ol Anglophone oli gat mo opportunité blong go stadi
 346 long (.) oversea. (2) Okei. Mi luk se hem i ol Anglophone. From oli gat Fiji klosap?
 347 Uh (.) [Ostreliia]

348 Mr Fred: [Ostreliia?]

349 Mr Felix: Mo New Zealand?

350 Mlle Felicia: New Zealand.

351 Mr Felix: Solomon.

352 Mr Fred: Solomon.

353 Mlle Felicia: Solomon.

354 Mr Felix: Mifala i gat e::r

355 Mlle Felicia: New Caledonia?

356 Mr Felix: New Caledonia nomo i stap klosap long mifala we gavman i faenem i jip
 357 blong i sanem mifala i go ia.

358 (3)

359 Mr Fred: Ating hem i (1) hem i wan (.) sapos yu lukum ol man Vanuatu? Ol man
 360 Vanuatu oli laekem bigwan nao hem i (.) Inglis. (1) Oli laekem bigwan naoia hem i
 361 Inglis. Um (.) mi mi no save se why. Be blong population blong Vanuatu oli lae- oli
 362 laekem Inglis. And then? Taem oli laekem Inglis? So long ples ia oli stap traem
 363 plante wei/s blong oli faenem isi wei long (.) Inglis fastaem bifo (.) hem i blong.
 364 That's why hem i lukum se (.) plante Anglophone oli aot oli go long (.) defren
 365 kaontri. Plante. Be long saed blong Francophone? Smol nomo. Be from hem i smol
 366 from wanem? From i gat smol namba nomo blong (.) long saed blong Francophone.
 367 Smol namba nomo. Be sapos yumi talem bakegen be sapos tufala i sem mak? Bae
 368 gouvernement bae i mas lukaotem wan wei blong hem i isi mo wetem (.) tufala i
 369 mas sem mak nomo. Se be naoia? Naoia no yet? Hem i stap olsem ia nao. Yumi
 370 luk se Anglophone oli gat bigfala (.) access blong oli go long (.) defren kaontri. Be
 371 olgeta long Angl- er (.) Francophone hemia long Calédonie nomo.

372 (3)

373 Mlle Felicia: Yes mi tu mi gat sem aedia nomo. Yumi mov on go daon long

374 Mr Felix: Kwestin B? Uh?

375 Mlle Felicia: Uh-uh.

376 Mr Felix: <translates from question> Ol Francophone o ol Anglophone oli gat mo
 377 opportunité blong faenem wan wok. (3) Mi luk se fas (.) bifo ating (.) hem i (.) bae mi
 378 talem se ol Anglophone.

379 Mr Fred: M-m?

380 Mr Felix: Be naoia? Bae mi save talem se i sem mak.

381 Mr Fred: M-m.

382 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

383 (2)

384 Mr Felix: From uh fulap olsem (.) fulap blong mifala ol Francophone hemia mifala i
 385 kick off long Francophone finis? Fulap oli stap oli jes stap go mekem Foundation
 386 long USP ia. Ale oli jes stap complete/m mekem fulap blong olgeta oli (1) olsem
 387 fulap blong ol tutor. Fulap blong ol tutor long USP? Long USP? Hemia sam blong ol
 388 fren blong mi we mifala i skul hemia ol Francophone. Pierre? Joel? Hem i ol tutor
 389 blong ol=

390 Mlle Felicia: =Wan blong Tanna ia. Traem tingbaot hemia we hem i tijim Science
 391 ating? Yes. Ol Francophone.

392 (3)

393 Mr Felix: O yu luk olsem wanem Mr Fred?

394 Mr Fred: Blong mi hem i olsem nao.

395 Mlle Felicia: Yes mi tu mi olsem ia. Mi luk se tufala tugeta.

396 Mr Fred: Fastaem. Fastaem. Hem i fastaem hem i ol Anglophone oli

397 F: Be ol grup nao we yu talem se oli skul long USP? I min se oli skul long Inglis tu?

398 (1)

399 Mr Fred: Hemia

400 F: Yu talem se ol Francophone. Naoia oli gat equal opportunity

401 Mr Felix: M-m.

402 F: Be i min se oli mas tekem Inglis tu blong tekem equal opportunity ia.

403 Mr Fred: Yes?

404 Mr Felix: M-m.

405 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

406 Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

407 F: Be wan Francophone we hem i save Franis nomo hem i?

408 Mlle Felicia: Hem i [xx]

409 Mr Felix: [Olsem] wan Francophone we hem i mekem Franis nomo.

410 F: Uh-uh. Hem i gat ol equal opportunity wetem wan Anglophone we hem i save
411 Inglis nomo? O::

412 Mr Fred: U::m

413 F: O mas tekem Inglis fastaem.

414 (1)

415 Mr Fred: Hem i=

416 Mr Felix: =No hem i gat sem

417 Mr Fred: M-m.

418 Mr Felix: Sem opportunité.

419 Mr Fred: Hemia we hem i toktok French nomo? Hem i gat sem opportunité.

420 Mlle Felicia: Opportunité olsem narawan.

421 Mr Felix: M-m.

422 (5)

423 Mr Felix: Okei. Yumi mov? Nekis kwestin hem i (.) wanem?

424 Mlle Felicia: <reads from question> “Est-ce que les Francophones.”

425 Mr Felix: <translates from question> Ol Francophone? O ol Anglophone? Oli lanem
426 gud Franis o Inglis. Okei. Mi mi luk se mifala ol Francophone mifala i lanem gud
427 Inglis. (2) Grammaire? Orthographe? Blong Inglis mifala i wokem. Be mi no save se
428 ol (1) Anglophone olgeta oli mekem sem samting blong mifala o nogat. Olsem blong
429 mifala (.) Francophone ia? Oli stap fosem Inglis long mifala olsem se (.) bae mifala i
430 continue wetem Inglis ia nao. Se mifala=

431 Mlle Felicia: =Be mifala i faithful olsem blong attend/em ol klas/es blong (.) Inglis
432 kasem en blong olsem (.) edyukesen blong yu o wanem.

433 Mr Felix: So mi ting se mifala i lanem gud mo Inglis

434 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

435 Mr Felix: Than ol Anglophone oli lanem French. Be ating sapos bae yumi stap lukluk
436 olsem long ol tan aot blong hem bae yu luk se (.) wanem? Ating ol Anglophone
437 olgeta ating bae oli lanem hao blong oli toktok nomo be long saed blong writing mo
438 reading? Bae oli no developem hemia tumas.

439 Mr Fred: Long

440 Mr Felix: Sapos hem i gud sapos olgeta tu oli mekem olsem blong mifala.

441 Mlle Felicia: Mifala long=

442 Mr Felix: =Mifala i lan blong raetem mo mifala i lan blong toktok long hem.

443 (1)

444 Mr Fred: Hem i (.) hem i olsem bae yumi kambak bakegen ia. Mi mi talem fastaem
 445 finis. Um Anglophone? Anglophone hem i blong lanem French hem i had. I had ia.
 446 That's why yu luk se i (.) hem i no (.) hem i no really (.) putum hem. Olsem blong
 447 save evriwan. So long saed blong mifala ol Francophone? Hemia blong lanem (.)
 448 Inglis? Hemia hem i isi nomo. That's why pikinini hem i? Yu toktok Inglis insaed long
 449 klas? I ansarem yu long Inglis. Hem i save ansarem yu long Inglis. Be hemia long
 450 saed blong ol (.) Anglophone? Blong yu givim French long hem? Sore tumas
 451 <others laugh>. I had we i had we i had. (1) Mi bin stap long Angolovo College? Mi
 452 tijim French olsem? Mi harem se (.) i no nao <others laugh>. From taem mi toktok i
 453 go? Blong

454 Mlle Felicia: Ansa i kambak [long yu nogat]

455 Mr Fred: [Blong oli respond] long mi? Nogat? I mekem gogo
 456 hemia Bislama nomo nao bae i wok. (1) Hemia i isi nomo blong olsem (.) yu talem
 457 Bonjour? Fas wan mi talem Bonjour? Hem i gat ating tu or tri oli talem. Be ol
 458 narawan? Shh? <mimes zipping his mouth closed>. (xx) wantaem ia. (1) Afta mi se
 459 (.) be yu talem good morning long ol Francophone styuden? Oli talem good morning
 460 nao. Be from hem i wan kam (.) hem i kam tu long (.) mi talem (.) Bislama. Bislama
 461 nao i mekem se long Inglis hem i isi wetem ol Francophone. Ol Francophone
 462 styuden/s.

463 (6)

464 Mr Felix: Okei?

465 Mlle Felicia: D (/de/). D (/di/). D- (/d/) <laughs>

466 Mr Felix: D?

467 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

468 Mr Felix: Okei. <translates from question> Long tingting blong yu i gat (.) fulap man i
 469 toktok Franis? O Inglis long Vanuatu. (1) Uh fulap man i toktok (.) Inglis long
 470 Vanuatu. (3) Yes? Fulap man hem i toktok Inglis? Hem i folem uh ol misinari nomo
 471 bifo. Okei. Ol jioj nao we oli (.) spread/em tufala lanwis ia. Catholic jioj? Hem hem i
 472 kam wetem Franis? Afta?

473 Mlle Felicia: [Presbyterian]

474 Mr Felix: [Ol narafala jioj] oli kam. Presbyterian? (.) [Anglican]?

475 Mr Fred: [Anglican]

476 Mr Felix: Oi SDA olgeta oli kam wetem Inglis. So i mekem se (.) hemia nao Inglis i
 477 bigwan. Franis i smol.

478 (4)

479 Mr Fred: Um (.) long long (.) Hemia hem i stap talem se (.) from mifala olsem bae yu
 480 talem se ol Francophone? Mi mi toktok Inglis tu? Be hemia Anglophone i no save
 481 toktok Français. So long ples ia nao bae yumi talem se no be plante man oli toktok
 482 Anglais. Oli toktok Inglis. From ol Francophone tu oli toktok Inglis. Be blong olgeta
 483 long Anglophone blong oli toktok French? Nogat.

484 Mr Felix: M-m.

485 Mr Fred: That's why mi talem se no bae olsem nao.

486 (7)

487 Mr Felix: Okei? U::h kwestin E? <translates from question> Long tingting blong yu i
 488 gat fulap man i toktok Franis? O Inglis long wol. Ating hem i Inglis.

489 Mr Fred: Hem i Inglis.

490 Mlle Felicia: Yes. Olsem mi mi talem long fas ples finis. Inglis hem i the most
 491 popular language olsem long wol uh? Fulap. Fulap kaontri long wol oli yusum (.)
 492 lanwis ia olsem se hem i wan ofisol lanwis. Blong ol.

493 Mr Fred: M-m. Bae yumi talem se long (.) olsem klosap long Pasifik ia? Sapos yumi
 494 kaontem long (.) karem long Pasifik nomo? Long Pasifik nomo hem i Inglis hem i
 495 bigwan.

496 Mlle Felicia: Yes ating (.) yes hemia i tru.

497 Mr Fred: Inglis hem i bigwan.

498 F: Okei bae yumi mekem se las kwestin nomo 4 A. Mi kanselem las tu nomo from
 499 yumi kavremap finis.

500 Mlle Felicia: <reads from question> "A votre"

501 Mr Felix: Okei. Bae yu traem talem bak kwestin hemia ia? Se yu:: yu minim olsem
 502 wanem.

503 F: Okei so naoia yumi gat sam skul oli Anglophone? Sam skul oli Francophone. So
 504 yu olsem wan peren? Yu save mekem choice. Yu save sanem nara pikinini i go
 505 longwe nara pikinini i skul longwe. Hemia wan option. Be nara option long hem se
 506 yumi nomo gat

507 Mr Felix: Inglis o

508 F: Skul ia longwe skul ia longwe. Yumi evriwan yumi kam tugeta.

509 Mr Fred: M-m.

510 F: Be hem i min se sapos yu jusum seken option ia? Mi wantem askem se hao nao
511 bae i wok aot. Yu minim wanem. Bae i min se long Klas 1 i go antap? Bae yumi
512 yusum Inglis French wantaem? O yumi lego Inglis yumi French nomo i go antap? O
513 yumi French long praemeri Inglis long secondary? O (.) so taem yu talem se bae yu
514 combine/m system.

515 Mr Fred: Yes.

516 F: Naoia bae yu mas combine/m lanwis tu.

517 Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

518 F: Bae yu. Hao nao bae i save wok aot. Hemia kwestin ia nao. (2) We i no gat wan
519 ansa blong hem. Hemia gavman i stap faet from naoia. So i jes blong tingting nomo.

520 Mr Fred: Olsem mi talem bakegen. Long (.) Vanuatu we gavman hem i wantem se i
521 mas bilingual. Be hem i no bilingual ia. Be yumi yumi wantem se i mas bilingual. So
522 blong statem blong yumi kam bilingual? Bae yumi stat daon. Ol smolsmol wan. Be
523 blong statem blong smolsmol wan? Bae i lanem French fastaem. From French hem
524 i had. Bislama hem i stap finis. Hem i stap finis blong hem i (.) hem i givim Inglis. So
525 bae i stap lanem i kam i kam i kam kam kam kam kam (.) mebi (.) from naoia mi
526 harem oli talem se bae i kasem Klas 4 uh? Klas 4 uh? Klas 4 finis ale bae i jes (.) go
527 sapos yu wantem go long Inglis uh? Klas 4 be afta mi se no. Hem i no yet ia. Blong
528 mi no yet. (2) Hem i mas kasem sam ples long mebi Yia 8? Yia 8 o Yia 9. Yia 8 o
529 Yia 9? And then long ples ia nao bae i swing i go long (.) long Inglis. Long ples ia
530 blong hem i no fogetem (.) French? And then hem i save toktok i save raet. From
531 taem hem i go long Inglis? Ah hemia i isi nomo. Evri samting hem i isi nomo sapos i
532 go long Yia 10 long Inglis? Hem i isi nomo. So long ples ia long ples ia? Long ples
533 ia nao bae yumi mekem olsem. Hem i mas stat daon be hem i stap (.) bae i lanem
534 French fastaem. Blong hem i kam kam kam kam mi ting se long Yia 8. Long Yia 8
535 nao bae i. Be sapos no? Blong yumi talem se no hem i (.) hem i stat tugeta
536 wantaem. Sapos hem i lanem daon wetem er wanem. French wetem Inglis? Bae
537 pikinini hem i (.) lanem Inglis bae i bi- (.) hem i bitim French.

538 Mlle Felicia: Mi long tingting blong mi mi ting se (.) hem i wan view blong mi nomo
539 uh? Sapos wan i se i oppose/m bae i save oppose/m. Sapos yumi stap lukluk?
540 Tudei yufala i tokbaot (.) mi mi go lisin smol nomo afta mi kam aot saed bakegen
541 long wan (.) olsem wan toktok we oli go tru long dei tudei about er (.) new
542 curriculum blong (.) er yes blong Vanuatu ia. Be olsem taem oli stap talem wod ia
543 common. Olsem blong yumi kam (.) olsem wan? Be yumi mas common olsem long
544 evri level ia. Olsem long lanwis? Long lanwis especially from sapos we yumi stap
545 tokbaot er (.) sapos yumi no tokbaot common hem i min se yumi stil separate yet.
546 Bae i stil gat ol Anglophone skul yet saed afta Francophone long saed. Be sapos yu
547 stap lukluk gud long ol eksam? Ol eksam especially ol eksam blong (.) ol wanem ia
548 Yia 10 olsem ia we yumi raetem nomo long Vanuatu hemia i min se oli common
549 finis. From se ol sem samting nomo ol sem kwestin nomo. Be lanwis nomo hem i
550 separate/m uh?

551 F: M-m.

552 Mlle Felicia: Be i gat sam eria yet we yumi stil (.) olsem olsem ia yet be. Olsem hem
553 i wan issue we olsem we bae yumi mas tokbaot olsem plante plante blong
554 faenemaot wan (.) olsem wan wei wan solution blong traem bringim ol samting i
555 kam common we yumi save wokbaot wetem samting ia i go kasem en blong (.)
556 olsem aim o vision we yumi stap. Yumi stap er (.) olsem yumi stap drim from. Hem i
557 wan vision o hem i wan samting we yumi (.) stap wantem blong Vanuatu i go long
558 ples ia nao olsem ol pikinini blong tumora oli go long ples ia. So mi ting se (.) hemia
559 nao hem i wan impoten poen blong oli mas discuss long hem fulap fulap fulap blong
560 harem ol tingting blong ol man blong oli save mekem ol samting ia.

561 Mr Felix: Okei.

562 Mlle Felicia: Yes. Tangkiu.

563 Mr Felix: Mi long tingting blong mi? (2) Mi luk se blong talem naoia se bae yumi
564 mekem wan (.) common wan? Mi luk se yumi no (.) sapos yumi statem naoia bae
565 yumi mekem salad. <all laugh> So hem i gud se yumi mekem ol (.) olsem hemia
566 nao. Wan curriculum nomo be yumi tijim long tu defren lanwis. Yumi lego choice. Yu
567 wantem go long Inglis? Yu go. Yu wantem go long Franis?

568 Mr Fred: Yu go.

569 Mr Felix: Yu go. Be sapos i se yumi karem tugeta yumi putum long (.) hemia bae mi
570 sua se bae oli tekem wan bae oli lego narawan.

571 (2)

572 Mlle Felicia: Ating i stap long choice tu i.

573 Mr Felix: M-m.

574 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

575 F: Yes mi gat tu comment nomo long (.) olsem tingting blong yu? Olsem yes mi
576 tekem se common hem i wan impoten samting se yumi go from hemia be. Sapos
577 yumi (.) olsem mi mi no oppose/m wei blong go antap long Yia 8 be tu praktikel
578 kwestin nomo se. Firstly? Wem ol tija blong praemer. Sapos yu wantem se evriwan
579 i skul French fas wan? Kasem long Yia 8?

580 Mr Fred: Yes.

581 F: Bae yu trenem ol tija blong olsem (.) ol Anglophone tija we oli stap naoia? Bae yu
582 severance pay o wanem? O bae yu re/trenem olgeta?

583 Mr Fred: Mi (.) mi minim se sapos yumi stat long praemer? Bae ol Francophone
584 tija/s nomo oli (.) lanem ol pikinini.

585 F: Be blong putum wan Francophone tija long wanwan klas long praemer. Yu min
586 se yufala nao we yufala i tijim Yia 10

587 Mr Fred: Yes.

588 F: Bae yufala i godaon? Yu nao bae yu go long Klas 2?

589 (1)

590 Mr Fred: I min se (.) hem i min se sapos evri pikinini. Bae yu statem praemeri blong
591 yu?

592 F: Hemia nao.

593 Mr Fred: Bae yu statem long French.

594 F: Be hu bae tijim olgeta. Ol Francophone tija oli no naf. Yufala nao we yu get used
595 long secondary? Bae yu godaon. Yu willing blong go long praemeri?

596 Mr Fred: Er <laughs>

597 <all laugh>

598 F: From mi stap luk se long praemeri naoia? Yumi gat foti percent nomo o teti
599 percent oli Francophone.

600 Mr Fred: Wanem ia blong <laughs>

601 F: So sapos yumi wantem se yumi spr=

602 Mr Fred: =Yes.

603 F: Mi talem nomo se hao nao bae yumi implement/em from olsem we yu yu talem i
604 no gat tumas bilingue long kaontri ia

605 Mr Fred: Yes. Hem nao.

606 F: So sapos yu luk ol praemeri tija we oli stap naoia we oli Anglophone? Bae yu
607 mek wanem long olgeta? Bae yu promotem olgeta i kam long Yia 13? O yu lego
608 olgeta i gobak long vilej nomo. Afta hu bae jenisim olgeta?=
609 Mr Fred: =Yes. Hem i had lelebet ia.

610 F: Hemia nao.

611 Mr Fred: Uh-uh.

612 Mlle Felicia: O sapos oli trenem sam? Bae i no

613 Mr Fred: No.

614 Mr Felix: Bae i stil had wok from [xx]

615 Mlle Felicia: [xx]

616 Mr Fred: [xx] hemia we hem i stap talem ia. Se bae sapos
617 olsem ia bae i (.) bae i (.) hemia we yumi stap tokbaot ia? Yu mas mekem smolsmol
618 i go go go go go we (.) yumi bae yumi aot. Hemia we blong taem yumi aot long
619 hem? And then hemia we oli tren long hemia? Oli mas (.) oli jes karemaot nao. Be
620 sapos naoia? Long taem naoia? Yumi no save mekem. Yumi no save mekem.

621 Mr Felix: Wan tingting blong gat tu tu hem i gud blong yumi save open up i go long
 622 wol. Yumi no go long wan saed nomo. Okei? Yumi open up i go long olgeta we oli
 623 (1) toktok Inglis? Yumi open up i go long olgeta we oli toktok Franis tu. O:: olsem
 624 hem i stap tokbaot hemia be olsem tudei oli stap talem se bae Japanese i kam
 625 insaed? Nao i gud tu blong

626 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

627 Mr Felix: Fulap yumi stap tekem fulap Chinese i kam naoia? Communication i sem
 628 mak nomo yumi go toktok long olgeta. Olgeta (.) i fas. <all laugh>

629 Mlle Felicia: Fas fas?

630 F: Okei seken poen blong mi long saed blong aedia ia se (.) okei naoia yumi stap
 631 luk i gat fulap pikinini ia we oli skul French fas wan?

632 Mr Fred: Yes.

633 F: Afta oli faenem se i isi blong mov i go long Inglis.

634 Mr Fred: Yes.

635 Mr Felix: Yes.

636 F: So yumi stap talem evri taem se oh hem i isi nomo. Yumi French fas wan ale go
 637 long Inglis.

638 Mr Fred: [Yes.]

639 Mr Felix: [Yes.]

640 F: Bae oli pikimap. Be (.) hemia wan tingting blong mi nomo se sapos evri pikinini
 641 long Vanuatu? I toktok French fastaem i go kasem long Yia 8?

642 Mr Felix: M-m.

643 F: Tija whoever i tijim Yia 9 i go insaed se ale yumi Inglis nao. Bae oli faenem se i isi
 644 blong switch. Sapos evri pikinini long klas?

645 Mr Fred: Uh (.) mi mi tijim wan (.) wan pikinini we hem i (.) hem i aot long (.) taem
 646 mifala i stap long Navutiriki. Hem i aot long Francophone? And then hem i go (.)
 647 long Inglis. Hem i aot long Yia 10? And then hem i mekem Yia 11 hem i Inglis. Hem
 648 i toktok Inglis hem i isi nomo.

649 F: Be sapos yufala evriwan French? Bae yufala evriwan i save mov tugeta i go long
 650 Inglis? O bae i had nao.

651 Mr Fred: Um. Hem i dipen. Hem i dipen long (.) ating long choice tu. Hemia we yumi
 652 stap tokbaot ia. Blong (.) be hem i isi. Evri Francophone styuden mi talem bakegen.
 653 Evri Francophone styuden whatever i stap long wanem level. Hem i long level Yia 8
 654 Yia wanem ia. Taem i mov i go long saed blong Anglophone? I no gat (.) i no gat (.)
 655 bae i no gat difficultés ia. Nogat.

656 F: Yutufala i agri? Yu kasem mining blong mi? Olsem mi tu mi no save be (.) yumi
657 tokbaot ability. Olsem yes hem i possible blong wan Francophone i pikimap Inglis.
658 Be sapos evri pikinini long klas oli comfortable long French? Be naoia tija nomo i jes
659 <claps hands> switch nomo. Yumi evriwan yumi jes

660 Mr Fred: Kam long

661 Mlle Felicia: Ating bae oli struggle long Inglis ia.

662 F: Bae oli lanem. Olsem naoia olsem foreign lanwis. Be suddenly long. Olsem long
663 last term? French? Maths hem i long French nomo. Ale suddenly yu go insaed? I
664 gat sam pikinini we oli struggle lelebet long Maths? Yu save naoia (.) sam oli
665 struggle finis taem yu tijim olgeta long French.

666 Mr Fred: Yes.

667 F: Naoia yu jenisim lanwis blong hem? Yu se ale yumi evriwan yumi Inglis nao. Yu
668 ting se bae i isi blong jes (.) switch nomo?

669 Mr Felix: No.

670 Mlle Felicia: No bae i no

671 Mr Felix: Bae i no isi blong switch.

672 Mr Fred: Um.

673 Mr Felix: Hem i se sapos i se (.) olsem yu mekem kasem long 8^{ième} finis ale 8^{ième}?
674 Olsem yu tekem long primaire?

675 Mr Fred: Yes.

676 Mr Felix: Uh? Primaire go kasem long 8^{ième}? Yu mekem long

677 Mlle Felicia: French.

678 Mr Felix: Long long Français. Uh?

679 Mr Fred: Yes.

680 F: Wan hem i save switch.

681 Mr Fred: Yes.

682 F: Be mi askem se sapos olgeta teti faef insaed? Oli kam tugeta long praemeri i go
683 antap? Taem oli kasem Yia 8?

684 Mr Fred: And then hem i=

685 F: =Mi no save nao se hol grup ia nao oli save switch. Overnight. O (.) be taem wan
686 pikinini nomo yes hem i mas switch from.

687 Mlle Felicia: No bae i no

688 F: From hem wan nomo.

689 Mlle Felicia: Mi mi ting se bae i no isi blong=

690 Mr Felix: =Sapos yu se long [Yia]

691 Mlle Felicia: [Switch] i go long=

692 Mr Felix: =Yes. From fulap we oli switch ia oli no switch early. Oli switch late. (1)

693 Blong yu

694 Mr Fred: Ating bae (.) mi ting se hem i isi. Blong mi hem i isi. Sapos we evri pikinini

695 hem ia we hem i kam sem mak nomo i kam kam kam kam (.) be i harem Inglis

696 smol? Then oli kam kasem long Yia 8? Se evri wan oli go long Yia 9. Blong

697 Anglophone. Evriwan. Muv i go long Yia 9. Mi ting se hem i isi nomo. Be ol Inglis tija

698 (.) i no Francophone tija i tijim. Be no hem i (.) pure Inglis hem i tijim. Hemia bae i isi

699 nomo.

700 Mlle Felicia: Ah-ia

701 Mr Felix: No olsem we mi talem long yu tudei ia. Se ating long beginning bae hem i

702 wan salad. <all laugh>

703 Mr Fred: Hemia nao. Bae (.) bae i go mo bae i stret. (1) Be hemia hemia? Hem i isi

704 nomo.

705 F: Okei.

706 Mr Fred: Pikinini (.) evri pikinini i save mekem. Be hemia nomo. Blong Anglophone

707 blong i switch i kam long Francophone (.) hemia i no save mekem.

708 Mr Felix: Olsem se. Sapos i se yumi mekem wan nomo? Be isi wan yumi stat

709 French.

710 Mr Fred: Yes.

711 Mr Felix: Yumi switch i go Inglis. Yumi no save go Inglis switch i go French.

712 Mr Fred: M-m.

713 F: Okei yumi (.) sidaon krangke long tudak ia mi luk se bae yumi finis long ples ia

714 nomo. Tangkiu.

**Appendix xv – Interview with Collège de Faranako Teacher Group
(Translation)**

Date: 02-11-11

Location: On the grass outside

Participants: Mr Felix, Mr Fred, Mlle Felicia

Notes: I hadn't had a chance to arrange my visit in advance. When I arrived, the teachers were in an awareness meeting about the new national curriculum. I spoke to one of them briefly and arranged to meet three of the four teachers who had been present during the first period of fieldwork once the meeting had finished.

It was quite late when we started. It was too dark inside because the generator hadn't been switched on, so we sat outside. However, it quickly grew dark, and by the end of the interview, the teachers were reading the questions by torchlight. I therefore joined in with some questions more quickly than I would have liked to, rather than waiting until the end.

The three teachers took about 15 minutes reading through the questions at the beginning, writing notes, and sometimes consulting with each other, although I tried to stop them discussing their answers until the recorder was switched on. They explained that this was the way Francophones approached a task – to think carefully first before starting.

- 1 Mr Felix: Okay. I will start. For the first question? When I was at Montmartre? Like
2 for the (.) first question <reads from question> “est-ce que vous trouvez que c’est
3 facile ou difficile d’utiliser le français pour enseigner toutes les matières.” Okay. For
4 me? It’s alright. Okay it’s easy for me. And then for the second one <reads from
5 question> “croyez-vous que les étudiants trouvent facile ou difficile de l’utiliser en
6 classe.” Okay I’ve only been at two schools? I was at Montmartre first? The
7 students seemed like (.) it was (.) easy. But here sometimes I speak French I see
8 the children (.) <laughs> some just sit there wide-eyed. I think French is a bit hard
9 for them on (.) on on the islands.
- 10 (2)
- 11 Mr Fred: It’s (.) It’s true it’s true. I was at Lycée? At Lycée you speak French it’s (1)
12 it’s alright. But now I’ve come back to the island? I go ahead in French (.) you’ll see
13 that (.) it doesn’t work? I’ll come back to Bislama now. I speak Bislama.
- 14 (5)
- 15 Mlle Felicia: Fo:r me? I’ve been here for three years? This is the first school I’ve
16 just (.) started teaching? In a secondary skul? And? Like (.) with French? It’s alright
17 like you talk and they understand you. You talk and they understand but just one

18 thing? They don't manage to:: try to speak to like (.) answer you back again in
 19 French. Like I've seen this here (.) at other schools like Monsieur has said already.
 20 At Montmartre because I did my (.) what's that my practical at Montmartre? I saw
 21 that language wa::s (.) you spoke and they just answered you straightaway.

22 Mr Felix: M-m.

23 Mlle Felicia: But here they make it (.) like they hesitate or they're afraid or they're
 24 kind of. Timid to answer you. So you must (.) you must find every way or corner you
 25 can to get something out. Or sometimes you give them back all the answers to (.)
 26 your questions again. So:: like (.) the language is eas- it's fine. We use it so that we
 27 can say a (.) transfer a (.) like give something uh? But it's a bit difficult too (.) like
 28 difficult too like at their level too because (.) it's a language too that they are just
 29 learning. Maybe to speak in it they think that we'll make fun of them or something
 30 like that. Bu::t like we try to encourage them to:: (.) speak the language well. Yes.
 31 (3) And then? (1) Let's move now?

32 Mr Felix: M-m.

33 Mr Fred: Yes?

34 Mlle Felicia: For (.) B (bi/). <reads from question> "B. Est-ce que vous utilisez le
 35 français avec assurance?" Et (.) And then? They ask <reads from question> "est-ce
 36 que vous aimeriez le parler mieux." Like for me I can say that (.) when I speak like
 37 when I'm teaching something like a subject like normally I use French uh? But like
 38 to make sure? Sometimes you really want something to be (.) done. Like your
 39 objectives as a (.) teacher must (.) you want to make sure (.) yes it must be done
 40 uh? But then when you (.) I want to (.) talk talk talk talk in this language properly?
 41 But the problem is at the level of the children who come from many different places.
 42 So (.) sometimes it will go a bit wrong. Sometimes we swap to another language to
 43 try (.) and go in to make (.) the communication a bit easier?

44 Mr Fred: For (.) for (.) this? There are (.) we teach many different ages of children?
 45 So on this? To have confidence in yourself? You must have confidence in yourself
 46 with the children? So you must follow (.) their level? You can't use (.) some (.) words
 47 that are hard for the children. If the children are down here? So you must use words
 48 that you think are (.) simple for them to understand. And then those in the other
 49 classes a bit higher up? You (.) you shift it up. It's (.) the two are not the same. So
 50 with this you have to (.) do (.) different things in using (.) your words.

51 (4)

52 Mr Felix: Okay for me? Yes I can say that the answer to this question is yes? The
 53 first one. For the second one? Yes I wish that I spoke better like (.) to speak with
 54 students that's I can speak French like that. Or I can speak with one of my
 55 colleagues. Like I speak French. But if I spoke with (.) a real French man? My
 56 vocabulary would (.) that's it now we wouldn't have any new ones. If I could speak
 57 like a French man (.) I'd like that. (4) Okay. Let's go to the next question. (2) Okay.
 58 <translates from question> Students and (.) teachers?

59 Mlle Felicia: Teachers?

60 Mr Felix: They don't speak much French outside class.

61 Mlle Felicia: Why.

62 Mr Felix: Why. Okay. Me? I was at Montmartre? I spoke French with all my
63 students? Outside. Then? I sent them? Whatever? I said everything in French. I
64 came and tried it here. I say something? The student just stands there? He asks me
65 what I've said. So (.) so that (.) I don't take too much time trying to make him
66 understand what I want to tell him outside? I tell him straight in Bislama you go do
67 this? That's it. (1) That's what I think.

68 Mr Fred: It's (.) it's a (1) how can I explain it? A (.) a (.) a problem that we have with
69 language uh? If I am a teacher from around here? Then a child who comes from this
70 area (.) if I speak French to him? He will get up stand there and just look at me
71 again and (.) he will reply in our language? He won't answer (.) in French like I want
72 him to.

73 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

74 Mr Fred: So this means that (.) when I send him? I will speak my language. Like our
75 language. I won't send him in (.) French.

76 (2)

77 Mr Felix: Maybe something like many of the students? When they come up from
78 primary? If they had already learnt to speak French well? Maybe when they came
79 up to us we would find it easy to (.) communicate with them in French. Like now if
80 you see the other side in primary? They are trying to change it. If you go over there
81 to primary you will hear all the children speaking

82 (1)

83 Mlle Felicia: French.

84 Mr Felix: French only. They speak French with the teacher? Everything in (.) in
85 French. I think the ones that we are teaching now? They are coming up? They don't
86 have this like (.) somebody said today that (.) maybe (.) they don't (.) they don't start
87 well. But if they started well? They would come up and maybe it would be easy for
88 them.

89 Mr Fred: It's (.) it's (.) something too we should go back to the home. Of each
90 individual. Child. So at each child's home? Papa and mama they speak language.

91 F: M-m.

92 Mr Fred: They don't speak French. (1) So when they send him to go get something?
93 They don't tell him in French? So here? When he comes back here? When he
94 comes outside from class? He thinks about his home. So for you (.) to say
95 something in French? Then the child doesn't get it. (1) So we can say that it
96 depends a lot on the relations (.) the parents and with primary down there.

97 F: M-m.

98 Mr Fred: So now they are trying their best to do this? I think it will get better at (.)
99 secondary.

100 (7)

101 Mr Felix: Okay?

102 Mr Fred: M-m.

103 Mr Felix: Let's go to the next question? (3) Which i::a

104 Mr Fred: D.

105 Mr Felix: D uh?

106 Mr Fred: Uh-uh.

107 Mr Felix: Okay. <translates from question> Do you think that we should use other
108 languages like English? Bislama? Or the language from Ambae? (2) Okay. (2) In my
109 opinion it's if it says that we (.) do uh (.) teaching if we teach in French? Then we
110 must try our best to emphasise that (.) we speak er only French to help the children
111 to improve (.) their French. (.) Okay. Bu::t sometimes like the children are all
112 different? Like (.) for example if I am giving a science lesson? And then I talk about
113 something from a different country? The children won't understand and then (.) it's
114 good for me to give its name in Bislama too so that they=

115 Mr Fred: =Yes

116 Mr Felix: M-m.

117 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

118 Mr Felix: That's my opinion.

119 Mr Fred: There are? There are some (.) like yes examples of names uh? Some
120 names that don't exist in Bislama? And then if they don't exist (.) in French? It
121 means that they are from here. So then? You give the name in the language from (.)
122 from here. So (.) it means that we can use (.) every (.) Something important? You
123 want the children to understand.

124 Mr Felix: M-m.

125 Mr Fred: So you try your best so that chil- so that it goes into (.) their brains. So you
126 keep looking for ways to make the names of things go into their brains. But if you
127 say it in French? And then the children say (.) no that name? I don't (.) when you
128 say it in Bislama but when Bislama doesn't work? Then you say it in lanwis now.

129 F: M-m.

130 Mr Fred: M-m.

131 (2)

132 Mlle Felicia: For me? These ideas (.) me too I have the same ideas as my two
 133 colleagues have said. Like I have the same (.) I don't know what else I can say
 134 apart from this point that they have already said.

135 Mr Felix: <laughs> Okay? Let's go to

136 Mlle Felicia: Two?

137 Mr Felix: The second one. <translates from question> Using French? Maybe it
 138 means using French or English uh?

139 Mr Fred: M-m.

140 F: M-m.

141 Mr Felix: That's right.

142 F: M-m. Using (.) no using the two together.

143 Mr Felix: Okay.

144 F: It's not one or the other it's=

145 Mr Felix: =French and [English]

146 F: [French] and English.

147 Mr Felix: Okay.

148 Mlle Felicia: And. M-m.

149 (2)

150 Mr Felix: Er <translates from question> so you speak (.) English? (1) A little.

151 Mlle Felicia: <laughs>

152 Mr Felix: I know a little English. I would er suppose a foreigner came I think I could

153 Mlle Felicia: <laughs>

154 F: <laughs> If one [came?]

155 Mr Felix: [I think] I could (.) I think I would manage. <laughs>

156 Mlle Felicia: It would be a strain.

157 Mr Felix: Okay you:: could (.) you (.) yes. <translates from question> Would you like
 158 to speak it more? Yes.

159 (1)

160 Mr Fred: I

161 F: But why. Don't just say yes. Like what is the purpose of English for you?

162 Mr Felix: Okay. (3) I will say (.) like (5) like. One is for tourists? And sometimes if (.)
163 you need something you often go to advisors? Australia sends them here? These
164 people don't learn Bislama before they come. So sometimes we go? You have to
165 speak English to them. (.) That's one (.) if I speak English I think I wi::ll if I talk to
166 them? I go and say something. If there is an advisor from Australia at the Ministry of
167 Education and I go to see him? If I speak good English maybe he'll understand my
168 concern. But if I don't speak English that's it now.<laughs>

169 (2)

170 Mr Fred: O::n (.) this it concerns (.) religions too. There are some religions which are
171 just in English. So when (.) like if I school Francophone and then (.) my religion only
172 uses English?

173 F: M-m.

174 Mr Fred: So (.) I must speak English. Because when I go into my church? I will
175 speak English. I won't speak French.

176 F: Is that your experience in your village?

177 Mr Fred: Yes.

178 F: What's that (.) Anglican?

179 Mr Fred: No I'm SDA.

180 F: Okay. So they only use English in the [village?]

181 Mr Fred: [just English].

182 F: They don't use the language of the village?

183 Mr Fred: Um they use lanwis? But because

184 (1)

185 Mlle Felicia: [Bib-]

186 Mr Felix: [The Bible]

187 Mr Fred: The Bible i::s

188 F: Just in English okay.

189 Mr Fred: Just English. (2) So when we talk about it? It uses these words? It's just
190 English.

191 F: M-m.

192 (2)

193 Mlle Felicia: Okay me? (3) Yes?

194 <all laugh>

195 Mlle Felicia: I like speaking English? I'm really interested in this language? Because
 196 I take language. It's one of the languages that I teach (.) in class? And (.) I would
 197 like (.) so I would like er (.) to speak it more to have some (.) to do some further
 198 studies in this language still. I am really interested in having another (.) being able to
 199 study again to learn some more things about the language. Uh-uh. Because English
 200 is something that like (.) through like (.) you can learn it through magazines? Kinds
 201 of like reading books or something. Like that? But it's a (.) it's a (.) like a language
 202 that (.) I can say that (.) most like (.) of the world's population speaks this language.
 203 So it's a language that flows around the four corners of the world. Of earth. So I
 204 think that (.) for me I really like English? I really like speaking it. I use it all the time in
 205 my English class but (.) sometimes outside? I will come across (.) a friend or (.) I will
 206 try to speak. I will try hard because I like it. (4) Yes.

207 Mr Fred: It's (.) it's (.) it's easy. English is easy. (2) Here? Here whether children
 208 school French? Or they school English? (1) It's easy. English is easy. Why?
 209 Because Bislama is here already.

210 Mr Felix: Bislama like the (.) it's a derivate of English=

211 Mr Fred: =Yes.

212 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

213 Mr Fred: You (.) use the words in Bislama? They're just from English. But (.)
 214 French? That's a bit (.) we could say that it's hard for (.) for people uh?

215 Mlle Felicia: French is really expensive to like <laughs>

216 Mr Fred: It's (.) when I (.) I was at school (.) I was at Lycée? Er our teachers told us
 217 that (.) for every word in English? French can have four. Four words for one. Only
 218 one word in English.

219 (1)

220 Mlle Felicia: Okay.

221 Mr Fred: So this shows clearly that (.) French is hard. (1) So children (.) children that
 222 learn Bislama? Who don't yet (.) learn English? If you speak English to them? They
 223 will understand. (2) So (.) everybody in Vanuatu likes speaking English. Even if they
 224 school French they will like speaking English.

225 (5)

226 Mr Felix: Okay? Let's move to the next question? (1) <translates from question> Is it
 227 good for individuals? To be able to speak French and English? (2) I think yes? It's
 228 good for them to know (.) individuals must speak French and English. Because (.)
 229 us in Vanuatu (.) er they have approved (.) two (.) languages of teaching which are
 230 (.) [English]

231 Mlle Felicia: [Inglis?]

232 Mr Felix: And (.) French. Okay if you are a teacher? If (.) er like for a teacher it's
 233 good (.) to know both. If they post you to an English school then (.) you can
 234 manage. To (.) or if they say that you go (.) you go to teach er (.) French in an
 235 English school? But you must do your teaching in English? Or if they post er (.) a
 236 Francophone?

237 Mr Fred: M-m.

238 Mr Felix: To go teach in a (.) like he goes to teach English in an English school then
 239 (.) he.

240 Mr Fred: Yes.

241 Mr Felix: It will be vice versa.

242 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

243 Mr Fred: It's (.) on this? On this we should say that this person (.) this person is a
 244 bilingual. This person. If we use these? So I speak French and I speak English just
 245 the same. These people are (.) but Vanuatu isn't bilingual. Vanuatu is not bilingual.
 246 There are just some people who are bilingual. If they speak French? The same as
 247 when they speak English. That's bilingual.

248 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

249 Mr Fred: So here I think that Vanuatu must (.) like you (.) you have to speak as they
 250 direct. Because they put it in (.) the constitution? The two languages. So a ni-
 251 Vanuatu must (.) he must become (.) bilingual. But this now it's not bilingual.
 252 Vanuatu isn't bilingual. Only a few individuals are bilingual. Just a few. We can say
 253 maybe (.) maybe just ten percent. But the other ninety percent? No.

254 F: But you say that the constitution say that (.) everyone must be bilingual?

255 Mr Felix: No.

256 F: No it says English French these two languages.

257 Mr Felix: Yes the two languages [of education.]

258 Mr Fred: [Yes the two languages which] they must use.

259 F: So it means that one can just use French?

260 Mr Fred: Yes.

261 F: The other one can just use English.

262 Mr Felix: M-m.

263 Mr Fred: Yes. You have to understand. The constitution says (.) French and English
 264 but you have to understand. If you are Anglophone you have to understand (.)
 265 French.

266 F: It says that in the constitution?

267 Mr Fred: Yes.

268 (1)

269 F: Okay?

270 Mr Fred: And then those in (.) in Francophone? They must Anglophone. That's why
271 this (.) this continues.

272 (2)

273 Mr Felix: We had a colleague? A Francophone like we're talking about bi- (.) people
274 who are bilingual? There was er an Agriculture teacher a:t

275 Mlle Felicia: Malapoa College.

276 Mr Fred: Malapoa.

277 Mr Felix: Malapoa College. Then they took him to CDU? He was a Francophone.

278 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

279 Mr Felix: He was teaching at (.) he went to (.) Malapoa College? He was teaching
280 Agriculture? In English. But he was a Francophone. It's good if we have=

281 Mr Fred: =People like that yes.

282 Mr Felix: You know both languages. If you go (.) and you find an English speaker.
283 You speak English to him. If you find a French speaker you speak French to him.

284 Mlle Felicia: Another one too? Who works in the PM's office.

285 Mr Fred: Yes. And then the director of that thing? These are all bilinguals.

286 F: M-m.

287 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

288 Mr Fred: But one (.) one thing we want? Vanuatu now. What they are talking about
289 at the moment. They want Vanuatu to be bilingual. So the system we have that says
290 this and this. They want everyone to (.) you speak English the same as you speak
291 French. Just the same. So here they will say no. We become bilingual now.

292 F: Okay. I think this is touching on the next question now. What are like the benefits
293 for (.) in terms of the (.) whole country.

294 Mr Fred: Yes.

295 F: Not just for individuals. Like what is the benefit of these two languages.

296 (1)

297 Mr Fred: It's (1) the main one? Maybe it's communication. Communication. Because
298 sometimes? If I only speak English? And then a French man speaks to me? I'll

299 struggle now? And then suppose someone who only speaks French? If er an
 300 English man speaks to him? There'll be a problem. And then how will it work? We
 301 can say that the country's development will (.) will go on. Or what do we say.
 302 Economy? So here it means that (.) you must know both. Because the country of
 303 Vanuatu is (.) it has come from a (.) condo- condo-
 304 Mr Felix: Condominium.
 305 Mr Fred: Condominium?
 306 Mlle Felicia: Condominium.
 307 Mr Fred: The condominium of the English and the French government together (1)
 308 so when they started it? When they started it? The two started the work. So this
 309 work exists in French? And English. So when you want this work to go on (.) these
 310 developments to go on? We must know both these languages. Everybody must
 311 know them. If not? If we let the other one die? And then the other one goes up.
 312 Vanuatu doesn't want that. It wants both to go up.
 313 (5)
 314 Mr Felix: Okay? We've touched on question C already uh?
 315 Mr Fred: M-m.
 316 Mr Felix: Let's go to number 3?
 317 Mlle Felicia: M-m.
 318 Mr Felix: Okay.
 319 F: <to Mlle Felicia> Shine the torch. <light fading>
 320 Mr Felix: <reads from question> "Est-ce que les Français?" Okay. <translates from
 321 question> Do Francophones? Or Anglophones have more opportunities to study (.)
 322 overseas. (2) Okay. I think that it's Anglophones. Because they have Fiji nearby?
 323 Uh (.) [Australia]
 324 Mr Fred: [Australia?]
 325 Mr Felix: And New Zealand?
 326 Mlle Felicia: New Zealand.
 327 Mr Felix: Solomon.
 328 Mr Fred: Solomon.
 329 Mlle Felicia: Solomon.
 330 Mr Felix: We have e::r
 331 Mlle Felicia: New Caledonia?

332 Mr Felix: Just New Caledonia nearby where the government finds it cheap to send
 333 us to.

334 (3)

335 Mr Fred: Maybe it's (1) it's (.) if you look at people in Vanuatu? What ni-Vanuatu
 336 really like is (.) English. (.) They really like English. Um (.) I don't know why. But in
 337 the population of Vanuatu they li- they like English. And then? When they like
 338 English? So here they are trying many things to find an easy way for (.) English first
 339 before (.) it's for. That's why it seems that (.) many Anglophones go out to go to (.)
 340 other countries. Many. But in terms of Francophones? Just a few. But why just a
 341 few? Because there is just a small number of (.) Francophones. Just a small
 342 number. But if we say again that the two are the same? The government must find a
 343 way for it to be easy with (.) the two must be the same. But now? Now not yet? It's
 344 like that now. We see that Anglophones have good (.) access for them to go to (.)
 345 different countries. But those Angl- er (.) Francophones they just have Caledonia.

346 (3)

347 Mlle Felicia: Yes I just have the same idea. Let's move down to

348 Mr Felix: Question B? Uh?

349 Mlle Felicia: Uh-uh.

350 Mr Felix: <translates from question> Do Francophones or Anglophones have more
 351 opportunities to find work. (3) I think that first (.) before maybe (.) it was (.) I can say
 352 that it was Anglophones.

353 Mr Fred: M-m?

354 Mr Felix: But now? I can say it's the same.

355 Mr Fred: M-m.

356 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

357 (2)

358 Mr Felix: Because uh many like (.) many of us Francophones those of us who
 359 kicked off as Francophones? Many just went and did foundation courses at USP.
 360 Then they completed them so many of them are (.) like many of the tutors? Many of
 361 the USP tutors? Pierre? Joel? At USP? Those are some of my friends we were
 362 together at Francophone school. Those are all the tutors=

363 Mlle Felicia: =One from Tanna. Think about that one who teaches science I think?
 364 Yes. Francophones.

365 (3)

366 Mr Felix: Or what do you think Mr Fred?

367 Mr Fred: For me it's like that.

368 Mlle Felicia: Yes me too I agree. I think that both are the same.

369 Mr Fred: First. First. It was originally Anglophones.

370 F: But the group who you say went to USP? You mean that they studied in English
371 too?

372 (1)

373 Mr Fred: That's right

374 F: You say that Francophones. Now they have equal opportunities.

375 Mr Felix: M-m.

376 F: But do you mean that they have to learn English too in order to have these equal
377 opportunities.

378 Mr Fred: Yes?

379 Mr Felix: M-m.

380 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

381 Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

382 F: But a Francophone who only knows French is he?

383 Mlle Felicia: He is [xx]

384 Mr Felix: [Like] a Francophone who only learns French.

385 F: Uh-uh. Does he have equal opportunities with an Anglophone who only knows
386 English? O::r

387 Mr Fred: U::m

388 F: Or does he need English first.

389 (1)

390 Mr Fred: He=

391 Mr Felix: =No he has the same

392 Mr Fred: M-m.

393 Mr Felix: Same opportunity.

394 Mr Fred: Someone who only speaks French? He has the same opportunity.

395 Mlle Felicia: Opportunity as the other one.

396 Mr Felix: M-m.

397 (5)

398 Mr Felix: Okay. Let's move? What's (.) the next question?

399 Mlle Felicia: <reads from question> "Est-ce que les Francophones."

400 Mr Felix: <translates from question> Do Francophones? Or Anglophones? Learn
 401 French or English. Okay. I think that we Francophones learn English well. (2)
 402 Grammar? Spelling? Of English we do it. But I don't know whether (1) Anglophones
 403 do the same thing as us or not. Like for us (.) Francophones? They force English on
 404 us so that (.) we continue with English. We=

405 Mlle Felicia: =But we are faithful like in attending English classes (.) up to the end of
 406 (.) your education or whatever.

407 Mr Felix: So I think we learn better English

408 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

409 Mr Felix: Than Anglophones learn French. But maybe if we look at like the outcome
 410 you will see (.) what? Maybe Anglophones learn just how to speak but in terms of
 411 writing and reading? They don't develop that much.

412 Mr Fred: For

413 Mr Felix: If that was good if they did it like us too.

414 Mlle Felicia: Us in=

415 Mr Felix: =We learn to write and we learn to speak it.

416 (1)

417 Mr Fred: It's (.) it's like we come back again. I've already said. Um Anglophones?
 418 For Anglophones to learn French it's hard. It's hard. That's why you see that (.) it's
 419 not (.) it's not really (.) pushed. Like to know everything. For us Francophones? To
 420 learn (.) English? That's just easy. That's why children they? You speak English in
 421 class? They answer you in English. They can answer you in English. But in terms of
 422 (.) Anglophones? If you give them French? Really sorry <others laugh>. It's so so
 423 hard. (1) I've been at Angolovo College? I taught French? I felt like (.) it wasn't
 424 possible <others laugh>. Because when I spoke? For

425 Mlle Felicia: The answer to come back [to you nothing]

426 Mr Fred: [For them to respond] to me? Nothing? We
 427 carried on but only Bislama could work. (1) It was easy to like (.) you say Bonjour?
 428 The first thing I said Bonjour? I think there were two or three that replied. But the
 429 other ones? Shh? <mimes zipping his mouth closed>. (xx) completely. (1) Then I
 430 say (.) but you say good morning to Francophone students? They say good morning
 431 now. But because it's a come (.) it comes too from (.) like I said (.) Bislama. Bislama
 432 now makes English easy for Francophones. Francophone students.

433 (6)

434 Mr Felix: Okay?

435 Mlle Felicia: D (/de/). D (/di/). D- (/d/) <laughs>

436 Mr Felix: D?

437 Mlle Felicia: M-m.

438 Mr Felix: Okay. <translates from question> In your opinion are there (.) many people
 439 who speak French? Or English long Vanuatu. (1) Uh many people speak (.) English
 440 in Vanuatu. (3) Yes? Many people speak English? It just follows the missionaries
 441 from the past. Okay. The churches which spread the two languages. The Catholic
 442 Church? It came with French? And then?

443 Mlle Felicia: [Presbyterian]

444 Mr Felix: [Other churches] came. Presbyterian? (.) [Anglican?]

445 Mr Fred: [Anglican.]

446 Mr Felix: SDA all of those came with English. So it means that (.) now English is big.
 447 French is small.

448 (4)

449 Mr Fred: Um (.) in in (.) He says that (.) because us like you say Francophone? I
 450 speak English too? But Anglophones can't speak French. So this is why we say no
 451 many people speak English. They speak English. Because Francophones also
 452 speak English. But for Anglophones to speak French? No.

453 Mr Felix: M-m.

454 Mr Fred: That's why I say no it's like that.

455 (7)

456 Mr Felix: Okay? U::h question E? <translates from question> In your opinion are
 457 there many people who speak French? Or English in the world. I think it's English.

458 Mr Fred: It's English.

459 Mlle Felicia: Yes. Like I said already. English is the most popular language like in
 460 the world uh? Many. Many countries in the world use (.) these languages like as an
 461 official language. Of theirs.

462 Mr Fred: M-m. We can say that in (.) like nearby in the Pacific? If we count in (.) take
 463 it just in the Pacific? Just in the Pacific it's English that's the biggest.

464 Mlle Felicia: Yes I think (.) yes that's true.

465 Mr Fred: English is the main one.

466 F: Okay let's make this the last question 4 A. Cancel the last two because we've
 467 already covered them.

468 Mlle Felicia: <reads from question> "A votre"

469 Mr Felix: Okay. Can you say this question again? What do you mean.

470 F: Okay so now we have some schools that are Anglophone? Some schools are
 471 Francophone. So if you are a parent? You can make a choice. You can send one
 472 child there and another child over there. That's one option. But another option for
 473 this is that we no longer have

474 Mr Felix: English or

475 F: Schools over here and schools over there. We all come together.

476 Mr Fred: M-m.

477 F: But this means that if you choose this second option? I want to ask how it would
 478 work. What do you mean. Does it mean that from Class 1 upwards? Would we use
 479 English and French together? Or would we leave out English and just use French as
 480 we go up? Or would we have French in primary and English at secondary? Or (.) so
 481 when you say that we should combine the system.

482 Mr Fred: Yes.

483 F: Now you have to combine the languages too.

484 Mr Fred: Yes. Yes.

485 F: Would you. How would it work. That's the question. (2) That doesn't have an
 486 answer to it. It's something that the government is arguing about. So it's just your
 487 opinion.

488 Mr Fred: Like I said again. For (.) Vanuatu the government wants it to be bilingual.
 489 But it's not bilingual. But we want it to be bilingual. So to start to become bilingual?
 490 We must start down. With the little ones. Starting with the little ones? They should
 491 learn French first. Because French is hard. Bislama is there already. It's there
 492 already (.) to give them English. So they should learn it coming coming coming (.)
 493 maybe (.) I've heard them say until Class 4 uh? Class 4 uh? Class 4 and the just (.)
 494 go if you want to go to English uh? Class 4 but then I say no. Not yet. For me not
 495 yet. (2) It must reach some place around maybe Year 8? Year 8 or Year 9. Year 8
 496 or Year 9? And then at this point it can swing to (.) to English. At this point so they
 497 won't forget (.) French? And then he can speak it and write it. Because when he
 498 goes to English? Ah that will be easy. Everything will be easy if they go to Year 10
 499 in English? It will be easy. So at this point at this point? At this point we can do it. It
 500 must start at the bottom but it can happen (.) they should learn French first. For
 501 them to come come come come I think to Year 8. In Year 8 now it will. But if not? If
 502 we say no (.) start them together at the same time. If they learn them at the bottom
 503 with er what. French and English? The children (.) will learn English be- (.) better
 504 than French.

505 Mlle Felicia: In my opinion I think that (.) this is just my view uh? If someone wants
 506 to oppose it they can oppose it. If we look? Today you talked about (.) I went to
 507 listen for a bit and then I came out again but one (.) like one discussion that went on
 508 today about er (.) a new curriculum for (.) er yes for Vanuatu. They were talking

509 about the word common. Like for us to become (.) like one? But we must be
510 common like at every level. Like in language? In language especially because if we
511 talk about er (.) if we don't talk about common it means that we are still separate
512 yet. There is still an Anglophone school side and a Francophone side. But if you
513 look carefully at the exams? The exams especially exams for (.) what's that Year 10
514 like which we write in Vanuatu this means that they are common already. Because
515 it's just the same things just the same questions. But it's just the language that is
516 separate uh?

517 F: M-m.

518 Mlle Felicia: But there are some areas yet that we still (.) like it's not yet but. Like it's
519 an issue that we must discuss like a lot to find (.) a way a solution to try and make
520 these things common so that we can go with these things and reach the end (.) like
521 the aim or vision we have. We er (.) like we are dreaming of this. It's a vision or it's
522 something that we (.) want Vanuatu to get to like for the children of tomorrow to get
523 to. So I think that (.) that's an important point they must discuss a lot a lot to hear
524 everybody's opinions in order to do these things.

525 Mr Felix: Okay.

526 Mlle Felicia: Yes. Thank you.

527 Mr Felix: In my opinion? (2) I think that to say that we should have a (.) common
528 one? I think we shouldn't (.) if we start this now we will make salad. <all laugh> So
529 it's good if we have (.) like that's it. Just one curriculum but we teach it in two
530 different languages. We leave the choice. If you want to go to English? You go. If
531 you want to go to French?

532 Mr Fred: You go.

533 Mr Felix: You go. But if we take them and put them together (.) then I am sure that
534 they will learn one and they will ignore the other one.

535 (2)

536 Mlle Felicia: I think it's about choice too.

537 Mr Felix: M-m.

538 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

539 F: Yes I've just got two comments on (.) like on this idea? Like yes I understand that
540 common is an important thing to go for but. If we (.) like I'm not opposing this way of
541 going up to Year 8 but just two practical questions. Firstly? Where are the primary
542 teachers. If you want everyone to school French first? Up to Year 8?

543 Mr Fred: Yes.

544 F: Would you train the teachers like (.) the Anglophone teachers that are there now?
545 Would you give out severance pay or what? Or would you retrain them?

546 Mr Fred: I (.) I mean if we started in primary? Then just the Francophone teachers
 547 would (.) teach the children.

548 F: But to put a Francophone teacher in every primary classroom. Do you mean that
 549 those of you who teach Year 10

550 Mr Fred: Yes.

551 F: Would you go down? Would you go to Class 2?

552 (1)

553 Mr Fred: It means (.) it means that if every child. When you start your primary?

554 F: That's it.

555 Mr Fred: You would start in French.

556 F: But who would teach them. There aren't enough Francophone teachers. You've
 557 got used to secondary? Would you go down. Would you be willing to go to primary?

558 Mr Fred: Er <laughs>

559 <all laugh>

560 F: Because I think at primary at the moment? We have just forty percent or thirty
 561 percent that are Francophone.

562 Mr Fred: What would <laughs>

563 F: So if we wanted to spr=

564 Mr Fred: =Yes.

565 F: I'm just saying how would we implement it because like you've said that there
 566 aren't many bilinguals in the country

567 Mr Fred: Yes. That's right.

568 F: So if you consider the primary teachers who are now in Anglophone? What would
 569 you do with them? Would you promote them to Year 13? Or would you release them
 570 and they would just go back to the village. And who would take their place? =

571 Mr Fred: =Yes. It's quite hard.

572 F: That's it.

573 Mr Fred: Uh-uh.

574 Mlle Felicia: What if they trained some? Wouldn't

575 Mr Fred: No.

576 Mr Felix: It would still be hard because [xx]

577 Mlle Felicia: [xx]

578 Mr Fred: [xx] what she says. If like (.) if (.) what we're
 579 talking about? You must do it slowly up up up until (.) are all out. So when we
 580 are all out? And then they train them for this? They must (.) then they can carry this
 581 out. But right now? At this time? We couldn't do it. We couldn't do it.

582 Mr Felix: Another thought to have is that it's good for us to open up to the world. We
 583 don't just go to one side. Okay? We open up and go to those who (1) speak
 584 English? We open up and go to those who speak French too. O::r we're talking
 585 about that but like today they said that Japanese would come in? Now it's good to

586 Mlle Felicia: Yes.

587 Mr Felix: There are many we have many Chinese coming now? Communication is
 588 the same if we go and talk to them. They (.) it doesn't work. <all laugh>

589 Mlle Felicia: Total fail?

590 F: Okay my second point about this idea is (.) okay we see many children who
 591 school French first?

592 Mr Fred: Yes.

593 F: And then they find it easy to move to English.

594 Mr Fred: Yes.

595 Mr Felix: Yes.

596 F: So we keep saying that oh it's easy. We do French first okay and then go to
 597 English.

598 Mr Fred: [Yes.]

599 Mr Felix: [Yes.]

600 F: They will pick it up. But (.) this is just my feeling but if every child in Vanuatu?
 601 Speaks French first up to Year 8?

602 Mr Felix: M-m.

603 F: Whoever teaches Year 9 goes in and says okay we do English now. Would they
 604 find it easy to switch. If every child in the class?

605 Mr Fred: Uh (.) I taught a (.) a child who (.) he came out from (.) when we were at
 606 Navutiriki. He came out from Francophone? And then he went to (.) English. He
 607 came out of Year 10? And then he did Year 11 in English. He spoke English and
 608 found it easy.

609 F: But if you all did French? Would you all be able to move together to English? Or
 610 would it be hard.

611 Mr Fred: Um. It depends. It depends on (.) maybe on choice too. What we are
 612 talking about. To (.) but it's easy. Every Francophone student I say again. Every
 613 Francophone student whatever level they are at. At the level of Year 8 Year
 614 whatever. When they move to Anglophone? There's no (.) there's no (.) there are no
 615 difficulties. None.

616 F: Do you two agree? Do you get my meaning? Like me too I don't know (.) we're
 617 not talking about ability. Like yes it's possible for a Francophone to pick up English.
 618 But if every child in the class is comfortable in French? But now the teacher just
 619 <claps hands> switches. We all just

620 Mr Fred: Come to

621 Mlle Felicia: They might struggle in English.

622 F: They would learn it. Like now as a foreign language. But suddenly in. Like last
 623 term? French? Maths was just in French noma. And then suddenly you go inside?
 624 There are some children who struggle a bit with Maths? You know at the moment (.)
 625 some are already struggling when you teach them in French.

626 Mr Fred: Yes.

627 F: Now if you changed the language? You say okay we all do English now. Do you
 628 think it would be easy to (.) just switch?

629 Mr Felix: No.

630 Mlle Felicia: No it wouldn't

631 Mr Felix: It wouldn't be easy to switch.

632 Mr Fred: Um.

633 Mr Felix: Suppose (.) like you did up to Year 8 okay Year 8? Like you take them in
 634 primary?

635 Mr Fred: Yes.

636 Mr Felix: Uh? Primary to Year 8? You do it in

637 Mlle Felicia: French.

638 Mr Felix: In French. Uh?

639 Mr Fred: Yes.

640 F: One can switch.

641 Mr Fred: Yes.

642 F: But I'm asking whether if there are thirty five in the class? They come together
 643 from primary upwards? When they reach Year 8?

644 Mr Fred: And then=

645 F: =I don't know whether the whole group could switch. Overnight. Or (.) but when
646 it's just one child yes he has to switch because

647 Mlle Felicia: No it would

648 F: Because he is the only one.

649 Mlle Felicia: I think that it wouldn't be easy to=

650 Mr Felix: =If you say in [Year]

651 Mlle Felicia: [Switch] to=

652 Mr Felix: =Yes. Because many who switch they don't switch early. They switch late.
653 (1) So that you

654 Mr Fred: Maybe (.) I think it's easy. For me it's easy. If every child that came up was
655 the same they come come come come (.) but they hear a bit of English? Then they
656 come to Year 8? For everyone to go to Year 9. Anglophone. Everyone. Moves to
657 Year 9. I think it would be easy. But English teachers (.) not with Francophone
658 teachers teaching them. But no if (.) pure English teachers teach them. That would
659 be easy.

660 Mlle Felicia: Ah-la

661 Mr Felix: No like I said today. I think at the beginning it would be a salad. <All
662 laugh>

663 Mr Fred: That's it. It (.) as it went on it would be better. (1) But that? It would be
664 easy.

665 F: Okay.

666 Mr Fred: Children (.) all children can do it. But that's it. For Anglophones to switch to
667 Francophone (.) that won't work.

668 Mr Felix: Like. If we do one only? But the easy one we start with French.

669 Mr Fred: Yes.

670 Mr Felix: We switch to English. We can't go from English and switch to French.

671 Mr Fred: M-m.

672 F: Okay we're (.) sitting in the dark here I think we should finish here. Thank you.

Appendix XVI – Interview with the Angolovo College Principal (AP) (Original)

Date: 04-11-11

Location: Principal's office

- 1 F: So fes pat hem i long saed blong skul lanwis (.) long ples ia. So Inglis long ples
2 ia. So naoia yu luk se level blong Inglis insaed long ol klas/es hem i naf? O:: yu luk
3 se i gat problem long saed blong Inglis naoia wetem ol tija o:: ol styuden o::
- 4 (1)
- 5 AP: Yes ating (1) wanem we hem i (.) olsem personal opinion blong mi?
- 6 F: M-m.
- 7 AP: Hem i:: ating bae mi save talem se standard blong Inglis hem i drop. I drop and
8 er (.) hem i supposed to be improved but somehow hem i stap decline.
- 9 F: M-m.
- 10 AP: From er (.) tija hem i tend to speak long ol styuden long (.) Bislama? (.) and er
11 communication most of the time hem i stap long (.) Bislama?
- 12 F: Iven insaed long ol classes?=
13 AP: =Sometimes iven insaed long klas. So mekem styuden hem i no save (.) um
14 express/em hem (.) confidently and (.) flow hem i expression blong hem i flow?
15 Taem hem i traem blong kambak long Inglis. From ating i jes tumas Bislama insaed
16 long (.) klasrum.
- 17 F: Be hem i kamaot long wanem oli yusum Bislama from oli luk se level blong ol
18 styuden i no naf? O:: level blong ol tija i no naf? Oli no confident o=
- 19 AP: =Um (.) sometimes oli luk se styuden hem i no hem i no andastanem (.) er
20 explanation blong olgeta long Inglis? So oli traem blong kambak blong yusum (.)
21 Bislama? (.) Blong hem i andastan. But at the same time styuden hem i affected
22 from taem hem i no save naoia hem i no save express/em hem long (.) from wanem
23 we hem i harem hem i wan Bislama i kamaot long ol tija.
- 24 F: M-m.
- 25 AP: Blong hem i Inglis (.) toktok Inglis i go long olsem expression ia bakegen? I
26 faenem i had.
- 27 F: M-m.

28 AP: Be ating wan samting tu i no gat naf praktis. Praktis blong toktok so wan i traem
 29 be i mekem wan mistake i fil se no. Mi ia mi no naf blong toktok Inglis so Bislama o
 30 lanwis blong mi i kam.

31 F: Okei afta aot saed long klas? Hem i wan samting we yumi tokbaot (.) hamas
 32 taem finis=

33 AP: =Yes ating uh (.) olsem insaed long klasrum hem i gud lelebet (.) long sense
 34 that most of e::r (.) communication hem i stap long Inglis but aot saed ia nao olsem
 35 (.) supposed to be wan praktikel ples we pipol oli practise/im Inglis?

36 F: M-m.

37 AP: But hem i no olsem? And these people. Communication between teacher
 38 student and student student (.) teacher to teacher hem i (.) jes nao hem i come to
 39 be more in Bislama than in English.

40 F: M-m. Be yu yu wis se yu save gobak long?

41 AP: Mi wis tumas sapos we i save gobak long Inglis? So that at least pipol oli save
 42 express/em olgeta. O oli save andastanem? O sapos oli ridim wan buk o wanem but
 43 at least oli andastan. But sapos oli continue blong olsem samtaem oli save rid? Be
 44 (.) blong toktok blong express/em olgeta nao hem i (.) i nogat.

45 F: So long wis blong yu hem i (.) Monday to Friday? Or Monday to Sunday? Or

46 AP: Just Monday to [Sunday.]

47 F: [Everywhere?] (.) Dormitory? Chapel?

48 AP: Everywhere.

49 F: Evri ples Inglis nomo.

50 AP: Yeah.

51 F: Afta sapos oli brekem rul ia bae oli panis ia? Yu harem se hem i pat blong
 52 hemia?

53 AP: Hem i no really ating bae panis hem i no really bae i make sense? I mean blong
 54 panisim man from lanwis. Ating (.) hem i base tumas wetem ol staf blong lid by
 55 example (.) so once hem i start/em off (.) bae yumi panisim pikinini from lanwis?
 56 Most of the time bae hem i no wok.

57 F: M-m.

58 AP: From i mas uh trenem o tijim ol tija fastaem? Olgeta oli mas fluent bifo yumi
 59 kambak long (.) adresem uh issue blong lanwis blong pikinini. Bae yumi stat wetem
 60 ol tija.

61 F: So yu luk se i gat eni ples insaed long skul blong Bislama (.) o vernacular (.) o
 62 French i sud kam antap mo? O

63 AP: Um long saed long Bislama o vernacular? Ating i gat taem blong hem? Er
64 especially taem yumi communicate wetem ol peren/s? O yumi communicate wetem
65 ol outsiders we oli kam? O yumi go aot? Long Lolowai o ol surrounding vilej? Ating
66 taem blong hem blong yumi toktok lanwis. O Bislama. But (.) within the college (.)
67 personally mi ting se hem i supposed to be lanwis of medium we i stap. We medium
68 of instruction hem i should be Inglis. And French. But French olsem i no gat noes
69 nomo long hem.

70 <both laugh>

71 F: Mi luk skul rul/s i talem French. Olsem French o Inglis. Be taem yu go long
72 chapel yu ever announce/em se bae yu mas toktok Inglis o French? O evri taem
73 hem i Inglis nomo. (1) Yu ever emphasis/em French? O

74 AP: E::r (2) once in a while. Sometimes i jes slip my mind (.) taem blong
75 emphasis/em French. But er most of the time mi emphasise long Inglis. (1) Ating
76 hem i supposed to be (.) both sides.

77 F: M-m. Be long saed blong yu (.) olsem yu yu save French? O no.

78 AP: Ating mi wan tu we mi stap skip/im klas blong French.

79 F: <laughs>

80 AP: <laughs> (1) Um mi andastanem. Smol. Blong man i toktok mi andastanem be
81 (.) blong mi mi toktok olsem mi faenem i had. Jes sam basic wan mi save.

82 F: M-m. Be yu wis se yu save French? O=

83 AP: =Yes at this time mi wis se mi save but

84 F: Blong wanem? Hem i wan useful lanwis blong yu? O=

85 AP: =I jes for communication and mi laek hao oli (.) ol Francophone oli (.)
86 communicate (.) [xx]

87 F: [blong communicate] wetem (.) olsem principal blong Faranako for
88 example?

89 AP: Yeah.

90 F: O ol Franis man we oli kam.

91 AP: Sapos wan (.) wan Franis man i kam o:: olsem (.) at least taem man i toktok o
92 yu faenem wan turis we hem i Francophone be at least yu save.

93 F: Be hem i ever hapen long laef blong yu? We yu faenem wan waetman i kam we
94 hem i no save Inglis=

95 AP: =Yes.

96 F: Yu fas long communication nao? Mas faenem nara man.

97 AP: No most of the time bae mi andastanem (.) be taem mi fas tumas bae mi Inglis i
 98 go be most of the time bae oli andastan.
 99 (1)
 100 F: Okei. [Be hemia]
 101 AP: [Basically] (.) man i toktok (.) bae mi harem save. Be blong ansa ia nao?
 102 F: M-m.
 103 AP: I had lelebet.
 104 F: Okei. Be olsem hem i wan intres blong mi. From wanem yumi evriwan yumi
 105 wantem (.) Inglis wetem French? Olsem wan i no naf. Hem i blong ol wanwan taem
 106 nomo (.) wan waetman i kam o
 107 AP: Hem i (.) hem i wan dual system we hem i stap (.) bifo i kam so:: yumi jes come
 108 in and (.) fall into that system that we have Francophone and we have Anglophone.
 109 F: M-m.
 110 AP: So (.) yumi stap go separate wei/s Anglophone oli go ia? Er Anglophone
 111 Francophone oli go. So olsem wan system we i stap? Yumi jes come in. Pipol jes
 112 come in and flow with the rest of the (1) but dis taem? Oli traem blong (.) mekem i
 113 kam. Dis yia mi trial/em wan Yia 11?
 114 F: M-m.
 115 AP: Hem i go (.) er long Yia 11 long (.) Francophone i kambak long Anglophone.
 116 Hem i wo- olsem long saed blong kambak i wok.
 117 F: M-m.
 118 AP: And already wan i stap askem finis blong hem i sanem wan blong hem.
 119 F: Ah tru? Okei.
 120 AP: So i gat intres long ol peren/s nao.
 121 F: Bae hem i kamaot long Melsisi bakegen?
 122 AP: Er hem i stap long Yia 10 but sapos hem i pas i go wea be oli wantem se hem i
 123 kam mekem Yia 11.
 124 F: Okei. Be yu save eniwan we oli start off long Anglophone? Afta oli pas i go- eh i
 125 no pas be oli switch i go long Francophone?
 126 (1)
 127 AP: Ating mi save wan? Wan but only mostly long USP level. I mean out there.
 128 F: Okei. Oli skul Inglis afta oli

- 129 AP: Skul French? Afta=
- 130 F: =Ah no.
- 131 AP: Oli switch i go long Inglis.
- 132 F: Ating i gat fulap eksampol blong (.) direction ia be yu no save wan we hem i stap
133 long Angolovo College afta i decide no. Olsem (.) Yia 7 finis? Inglis? Bae i jenis i go
134 long French.
- 135 AP: Mm mi no aware long eniwan we hem i olsem. (1) I gat oli jenis i kam=
- 136 F: =Yes evriwan mi luk se French i go long Inglis.
- 137 AP: Ples ia blong go ating nogat nomo. Probably not enough emphasis o samting
138 olsem.
- 139 F: Mi no save. From mi harem tumas nomo se (.) evriwan we i aot long French i
140 kam long Inglis oli successful (.) oli harem se i isi blong lanem Inglis?
- 141 AP: Yes.
- 142 F: Be long defren direction?
- 143 AP: Ating blong Inglis i go long French hem i had tumas blong
- 144 F: From
- 145 (1)
- 146 AP: Mi no save ating (.) basic pat blong hem daon ia (.) oli no (.) grab/em? Gud? So
147 i had long olgeta antap ia. But French? Hem i faenem i isi (.) but Inglis bae i faenem
148 i had. In general ating picture i stap olsem nao.
- 149 F: So yu I mean yu harem ol samting long curriculum ia <laughs and points to pile of
150 new curriculum statement on AP's desk> oli hipap long ples ia be (.) long saed
151 blong system ia yu yu luk se i gud se yumi maintain/em tufala system ia?
152 Anglophone Francophone? O yu wis se yumi save combine/em (.) yu no mo nid
153 blong talem se okei pikinini blong yu bae i skul (.) er (.) Inglis. Yu no nid blong jus.
154 Yu jes skul ia nao. Yu luk se which one hem i bes.
- 155 AP: Um. (2) Ating hem i dipen olsem bae (.) yumi sud allow/em ol (.) ol peren-s
156 blong jus.
- 157 F: M-m.
- 158 AP: Which one nao (.) but er (.) blong yu fosem pikinini se which (.) olsem (.) main
159 aedia biae hem i gud (.) but man hem i kamaot hem i (.) but bae yumi no (.) evri
160 pikinini bae i no go skul long France o long New Caledonia we bae French hem i
161 kam useful long olgeta?
- 162 F: M-m.
- 163 AP: Most bae oli kam probably Ostrelia Fiji (.) they need English.

164 F: So yu min se i mo gud se yu lego tufala system nomo.

165 AP: Ating hem i mo gud yumi livim i stap olsem bae oli jus.

166 F: M-m.

167 AP: Long yeah. Opinion blong mi hemia.

168 F: Be yu yu luk se i gud se=

169 A: =Olsem i gat gud saed blong hem we (.) olsem sapos oli se okei (.) yu stat lanem
 170 French gogo (.) yu switch. Wanem we oli traem blong mekem naoia? Hem i gud
 171 olsem gud saed blong hem i stap? But mi no ting se hem i necessary tumas blong
 172 evriwan i mekem.

173 F: Okei.

174 AP: Yeah.

175 F: So olsem se naoia mi luk se fulap Anglophone oli save Inglis nomo.

176 AP: Yeah.

177 F: O olsem yu yu talem se yes mi save smol be (.) be fulap Francophone oli (.)
 178 tekem Inglis. Mi no save sam nogat (.) be yu luk se i oraet sapos sam oli jes Inglis
 179 nomo?

180 AP: Yeah.

181 F: Narasaed oli jes French nomo i oraet. I no nid blong yumi evriwan yumi=

182 AP: =Yumi no nid blong (.) hol gav- I mean evri pip- (.) gavman i putum polisi se
 183 yumi kam hemia nomo.

184 F: M-m. Be long kaontri? Yu luk se i gud se yumi gat Inglis French tugeta? O::
 185 actually long kaontri tu yumi no really nidim tufala.

186 AP: U::m no hem i gat nid blong hem? Olse::m

187 F: Long saed blong

188 AP: Ating gud saed blong hem olsem bilingual. Eniwan we hem i approach/em yu
 189 wan yu save go long hem o yu (.) at least Inglis o French yu save approach/em
 190 hem. Ating that's the only purpose we::

191 F: Be hem i stap long wanwan man nomo.

192 AP: Yeah.

193 F: Be long hol kaontri olsem se sapos yumi no gat French? O yumi no gat Inglis bae
 194 i (.) hem i kosem problem long kaontri o

195 AP: Mi no ting.

196 F: Olsem sapos yumi compare long Solomon o long PNG?

197 AP: Olgeta oli gat wan lanwis oli stil

198 F: M-m.

199 AP: So hem i oraet. Fiji hem i jes gat wan lanwis (.) Inglis nomo be hem i (1) doing
200 well?

201 F: So yu harem olsem se (.) olsem ol document oli talem se yes sapos yumi gat
202 tufala tugeta i gat (.) sam benefit blong hem be (.) mi no save taem mi askem ol
203 man oli stap gobak long histri nomo se

204 AP: Er benefit? Ating benefit we gavman hem i traem blong (.) mekem hemia nao
205 olsem (1) um (1) wetem situation blong yumi? Long long Vanuatu i gat (.) i gat ol um
206 (1) yumi gat communication olsem close relations wetem ol Francophone (.)
207 kaontri/s. So:: sometimes ol taem we i gat ol dialogue between ol kaontri/s ia long
208 saed blong (.) bisnis ol samting olsem? And u::m ating oli faenem se bae i mo isi
209 sapos we:: yumi gat ol Francophone speaker (.) oli save toktok wetem ol
210 Francophone blong communication hem i isi.

211 (2)

212 F: Okei (1) m-m. Okei so naoia? Ol (.) ol man we oli sapos yumi lego system ia
213 olsem ol Anglophone i stap? Ol Francophone i stap. Which one nao hem i gat bes
214 opportunity blo::ng further stadi.

215 AP: Ating Anglophone nao hem i gat bes opportunities. Why nao olsem
216 Francophone i traem push? Aedia wan ia nomo. Main purpose biae. Hem i blong
217 oli gat equal opportunity? Ol pikinini blong yumi long Vanuatu we oli Francophone
218 oli gat equal opportunity olsem ol Anglophone. Hemia nomo main tingting biae.

219 F: Yu talem se oli push. Yu min taem oli combine/em system ia?

220 AP: No ols-

221 F: Yu talem se oli push.

222 AP: That's why oli combine/em.

223 F: Okei.

224 AP: Oli traem blong combine/em Fra- French and English? Tugeta long ol pikinini i
225 kam antap?

226 F: M-m.

227 AP: So that ol pikinini blong olgeta oli save gat that sem opportunity we (.) Inglis i
228 gat.

229 F: Okei so yu luk se (.) be yu yu agri se naoia i no really fair (.) olsem yu talem
230 Anglophone oli gat mo opportunity=

231 AP: =Yeah.

232 F: So hem i no really fair blong ol=

233 AP: =I no fair long olsem ol pikinini? Long pikinini blong yumi but (.) on the other
234 hand? Olsem mi luk long ol statistics i gat mo skul oli? Anglophone.

235 F: M-m.

236 AP: So they just (.) since Indipendens i kam oli bin faet from equality ia.

237 F: Be from wanem ol Anglophone oli gat mo opportunity. Long saed blong tertiary or
238 further stadi/s.

239 AP: From ol olsem yunivesiti bae yu faenem mo long Anglophone (.) i gat New
240 Zealand Ostrelia Fiji PNG they are all Anglophones.

241 F: So sapos yumi pusum French insaed long skul? Bae hem i help aot? O hem i
242 minim se ol Francophone oli save go long=

243 AP: =So (.) ol Francophone oli gat (.) er New Caledonia nomo (.) i gat Tahiti i bin
244 stap (.) and then France. Finis ia nao.

245 F: Be sapos yumi putum se evri pikinini hem i save French fas wan? Inglis? Bae
246 hem i mekem se naoia oli save go long yunivesiti? Bae sem yunivesiti i [stap nomo].

247 AP: [Sem
248 yunivesiti] (.) naoia bae olgeta tu oli gat opportunity ia (.) blong oli go long yunivesiti
249 we (.) ol Anglophone styuden oli stap gat access long hem.

250 F: So yu minim so (.) blong increase/im equal opportunity i min se evriwan oli mas
251 yunivesiti long Anglophone nomo.

252 AP: No hem i (.) hem i tugeta? Yeah. But mostly ating Anglophone. Olsem wanem
253 we oli traem (.) behind the scene? That's what they're trying to do. Oli traem blong
254 pusum (.) janis blong ol Francophone (.) speakers?

255 F: M-m.

256 AP: Blong i kam as far as tufala i equal so oli gat access long evri (.) further stadi/s?

257 F: Mo afta ol Anglophone oli save go long New Caledonia tu be <laughs>

258 AP: Hemia nao bae i had long ples ia wetem lanwis. But otherwise? Olgeta oli gat
259 oli wantem seek/im sem opportunity. Oli fil se (.) oli go kasem Yia 10? Samfala oli
260 kasem Yia 11? I mean Yia 13 long Lycée? Finis ia nao. Only fiu oli stap go tru.

261 F: Hemia nao.

262 AP: But the large group (.) oli left behind.

263 F: M-m.

264 AP: Which is not fair. So (.) that's why oli traem blong create/em samting so that (.)
 265 evriwan oli go long wan system? Evriwan oli gat that same opportunity long evri
 266 institution we i stap.

267 (1)

268 F: Sapos oli mekem se system ia we Inglis i stat long (.) er wanem yia mi no save
 269 Klas 4? O Klas 7 i go antap? Yu luk se bae hem i affect/em level blong Inglis nao?
 270 O

271 AP: Wari i stap long ples ia nao. Sapos yumi se okei oli lanem French fastaem?
 272 Inglis i kam antap ia. Then standard blong Inglis bae hem i affected.

273 F: Uh-uh. From yumi start off long interview yumi tokbaot level i no naf finis. So
 274 sapos i go long wan wei we=

275 AP: =Hemia fear blong ol Anglophone nao. Standard blong Angl- er Fren- Inglis
 276 speaking? Bae hem i drop from bae oli grab antap be foundation blong hem daon
 277 ia? I no gat.

278 F: [xx]

279 AP:[xx] jiam antap ia yumi ting se okei pusum i go.

280 F: M-m.

281 AP: So:: ating bae standard i go daon. Mo tu ating oli traem blong promotem mo
 282 pipol oli go long Francophone (.) saed.

283 F: Be (1) okei.

284 AP: Mi no andastanem why oli traem blong (.) mekem that (.) evriwan oli save
 285 toktok tugeta.

286 F: M-m.

287 AP: From (.) sapos yu toktok French nomo? O toktok Inglis nomo? You'll still survive
 288 you still communicate.

289 (3)

290 F: Okei. So naoia olsem se long Vanuatu yu luk se Inglis hem i (.) dominate lelebet.

291 AP: Inglis hem i dominate.

292 F: I gat more speakers blong Inglis than=

293 AP: =More speakers. More (.) I mean yeah in terms of population wise? I gat mo
 294 Anglophone speakers.

295 F: Be hem i sem mak long hol wol yu luk se (.) Inglis hem i dominate yet? O=

296 AP: =Yeah. Ating Inglis hem i still dominate.

297 F: So hem i min se ol Anglophone oli gat mo opportunity blong ol job tu?

298 AP: Yes.

299 F: O hem i jenis nao? From mi askem sam oli talem

300 AP: No

301 F: Se no i defren nao be

302 AP: No olsem (1) uh at the moment? Wanem we i stap? Olsem blong karem wan

303 job? Oli lukaotem mostly somebody who is bilingual.

304 F: M-m.

305 AP: So taem yu bilingual yu gat mo janis. Bitim yu we yu wan lanwis nomo.

306 F: By bilingual yu minim

307 AP: It means that you can talk both language.

308 F: Be yu minim Inglis (.) French nomo.

309 AP: Inglis French.

310 F: Olsem yu yu bilingual finis yu no iven skul yet be (.) yu save Lanwis wetem

311 [Bislama]

312 AP: [Yeah yeah]

313 F: Hemia bilingual finis=

314 AP: =Bilingual means English and French.

315 F: Okei. So sapos hemia olsem (.) personal opinion blong yu? Se i no really

316 necessary blong evri man oli Inglis French.

317 AP: Yes that's personally mi ting se

318 F: So yu ting se hemia i stap afektem (.) wei we yu stap putum aot lanwis long skul.

319 From olsem we yu talem se yu (.) sometimes yu forget blong talem French (.) o yu

320 wis se yu talem French. Be yu talem se yu regret se yu no save French be

321 AP: Olsem mi jes admire/em hao oli toktok oli communicate (1) but e::r (.) ating

322 F: Be long skul yu luk se (.) Inglis nao yu mas focus long hem.

323 AP: Yes jes Inglis nomo.

324 F: M-m. (2) Okei. Ating yumi stap jamjam olbaot be yumi kavremap evri topic finis. I

325 oraet. Mi luk se hemia nomo. <checks notes> Yes. Bae yumi finis long ples ia

326 nomo. Tangkiu tumas.

**Appendix xvi – Interview with the Angolovo College Principal (AP)
(Translation)**

Date: 04-11-11

Location: Principal's office

- 1 F: So the first part is about the school language (.) here. So English here. So do you
2 think now that the level of English in the classes is enough? O::r do you think there
3 is any problem in terms of English at the moment with the teachers o::r the students
4 o::r
- 5 (1)
- 6 AP: Yes I think (1) what (.) like my personal opinion is?
- 7 F: M-m.
- 8 AP: I::t's I can maybe say that the standard of English has dropped. It's dropped
9 and er (.) it is supposed to be improved but somehow it is declining.
- 10 F: M-m.
- 11 AP: Because er (.) the teachers tend to speak to the students in (.) Bislama? (.) and
12 er communication most of the time is in (.) Bislama?
- 13 F: Even inside the classes?=
14 AP: =Sometimes even inside the class. So it means students are unable to (.) um
15 express themselves (.) confidently and (.) flow how their expression should flow?
16 When they try to come back to English. Because I think it's just too much Bislama
17 inside the (.) classroom.
- 18 F: But where does this come from do they use Bislama because they see that the
19 level of the students is not enough? O::r the level of the teachers isn't enough?
20 They are not confident or=
- 21 AP: =Um (.) sometimes they see that the students do not they don't understand (.)
22 er their explanation in English? So they try and come back and use (.) Bislama? (.)
23 So that they understand. But at the same time the students are affected because
24 when they don't understand now they can't express themselves (.) because what
25 they hear is Bislama coming out of the teachers.
- 26 F: M-m.
- 27 AP: For them to English (.) to speak in English and use these expressions again?
28 They find it hard.

29 F: M-m.

30 AP: But maybe another thing is they don't have enough practice. Practice speaking
 31 so they try but they make a mistake and feel that no. I'm not good enough at
 32 speaking English so Bislama or my language comes out.

33 F: Okay and then outside class? It's something that we have talked about (.) so
 34 many times already=

35 AP: =Yes maybe uh (.) like inside the classroom it's okay (.) in the sense that most
 36 of the e::r (.) communication is in English but outside now that's (.) supposed to be
 37 a practical place where people practise English?

38 F: M-m.

39 AP: But it's not like that? And these people. Communication between teacher
 40 student and student student (.) teacher to teacher it's (.) it's now just come to be
 41 more in Bislama than in English.

42 F: M-m. But you wish you could go back to?

43 AP: I really wish that it could go back to English? So that at least people can
 44 express themselves. Or they can understand? Or if they read a book or whatever
 45 but at least they understand. But if they continue to like sometimes they can read?
 46 But (.) to speak or express themselves now it (.) they can't.

47 F: So your wish is (.) Monday to Friday? Or Monday to Sunday? Or

48 AP: Just Monday to [Sunday.]

49 F: [Everywhere?] (.) Dormitory? Chapel?

50 AP: Everywhere.

51 F: Everywhere just English.

52 AP: Yeah.

53 F: And then if they break this rule will they be punished? Do you think this is part of
 54 it?

55 AP: It's not really maybe punishment doesn't really make sense? I mean to punish
 56 someone for language. I think (.) it's really based on staff leading by example (.) so
 57 once it starts off (.) if we punish the children for language? Most of the time it won't
 58 work.

59 F: M-m.

60 AP: Because we have to train the teachers first? They must be fluent before we
 61 come back to (.) address the uh issue of the children's language. We must start with
 62 the teachers.

63 F: So do you think there is a place in school for Bislama (.) or the vernacular (.) or
 64 should French come up more? Or

65 AP: Um in terms of Bislama or vernacular? I think there is time for it? Er especially
 66 when we communicate with parents? Or we communicate with outsiders who
 67 come? Or we go out? To Lolowai or surrounding villages? I think that's the time to
 68 speak lanwis. Or Bislama. But (.) within the college (.) personally I think that it's
 69 supposed to be the language of instruction here. The language of instruction should
 70 be English. And French. But French is like there's no noise from it.

71 <both laugh>

72 F: I see that the school rules say French. Like French or English. But when you go
 73 to chapel do you ever announce that you must speak English or French? Or every
 74 time is it just English. (1) Do you ever emphasise French? Or

75 AP: E::r (2) once in a while. Sometimes it just slips my mind (.) to emphasise
 76 French. But er most of the time I emphasise English. (1) I think it's supposed to be
 77 (.) both sides.

78 F: M-m. But for yourself (.) I mean do you speak French? Or not.

79 AP: I think I'm also one that would skip French classes.

80 F: <laughs>

81 AP: <laughs> (1) Um I can understand. A little. If people speak I can understand but
 82 (.) I find it hard to speak it. I just know some basic ones.

83 F: M-m. But do you wish you knew French? Or=

84 AP: =Yes at this time I wish I knew it but

85 F: For what? Is it a useful language for you? Or=

86 AP: =Just for communication and I like the way the (.) Francophones (.)
 87 communicate (.) [xx]

88 F: [to communicate] with (.) like the principal of Faranako for
 89 example?

90 AP: Yeah.

91 F: Or Frenchmen that come.

92 AP: If a (.) a Frenchman comes o::r like (.) at least when he speaks or if you find a
 93 tourist who is Francophone then at least you can.

94 F: But has that ever happened in your life? Where you've come across a foreigner
 95 here who doesn't speak English=

96 AP: =Yes.

97 F: And are you stuck for communication? Do you have to find someone else.

98 AP: No most of the time I will understand (.) but when I get stuck then I'll use
 99 English but most of the time I will understand.
 100 (1)
 101 F: Okay. [But this]
 102 AP: [Basically] (.) when people speak (.) I will understand. But to answer?
 103 F: M-m.
 104 AP: It's quite hard.
 105 F: Okay. But like this is one thing that interests me. Why does everyone want (.)
 106 English and French? Like one isn't enough. Is it just for the occasional time (.) when
 107 a foreigner comes or
 108 AP: It's (.) it's a dual system that has been here (.) since the past so:: we just come
 109 in and (.) fall into that system that we have Francophone and we have Anglophone.
 110 F: M-m.
 111 AP: So (.) we go separate ways Anglophones go here? Er Anglophones
 112 Francophones they go there. So it's like the system that is here. We just come in.
 113 People just come in and flow with the rest (1) but at the moment? They are trying to
 114 (.) make it happen. This year I am trialling one Year 11?
 115 F: M-m.
 116 AP: He went (.) er to Year 11 in (.) Francophone and then came back to
 117 Anglophone. It wo- like it terms of coming back it works.
 118 F: M-m.
 119 AP: And already one is asking if he can send one of theirs.
 120 F: Ah true? Okay.
 121 AP: So there is interest amongst the parents.
 122 F: Will this one come from Melsisi again?
 123 AP: Er he is in Year 10 but if he passes to go wherever then they want him to come
 124 and do Year 11.
 125 F: Okay. But do you know anyone who started off in Anglophone? And then they
 126 passed to go- eh not passed but they switched to Francophone?
 127 (1)
 128 AP: I think I know one? One but only mostly at USP level. I mean out there.
 129 F: Okay. They've schooled English and then they

130 AP: Schooled French? And then=
 131 F: =Ah no.
 132 AP: They switch to English.
 133 F: I think there are many examples in (.) that direction but do you know any who
 134 have been at Angolovo College and then decided no. Like (.) after Year 7? English?
 135 They change to French.
 136 AP: Mm I'm not aware of anyone who's done that. (1) There are those who change
 137 to come here=
 138 F: =Yes all the ones I've seen have gone from French to English.
 139 AP: To go from here I don't think there are any. Probably not enough emphasis or
 140 something like that.
 141 F: I don't know. Because I hear a lot that (.) everyone who comes from French to
 142 English is successful (.) they find it easy to learn English?
 143 AP: Yes.
 144 F: But in the other direction?
 145 AP: I think for English to go to French it's really hard to
 146 F: Because
 147 (1)
 148 AP: I don't know many (.) in the basic part lower down (.) they don't (.) grab it?
 149 Well? So it's hard for them up there. But French? They find it easy (.) but English
 150 will find it hard. In general I think the picture is like that.
 151 F: So you I mean you've heard about this curriculum <laughs and points to pile of
 152 new curriculum statement on AP's desk> there's a heap of them here but (.) in
 153 terms of the system do you think it's good to maintain two systems? Anglophone
 154 Francophone? Or do you wish we could combine them (.) so we no longer need to
 155 say okay your son will school (.) er (.) English. You don't need to choose. You just
 156 go to school. Which do you think is best.
 157 AP: Um. (2) It maybe depends like (.) we should allow (.) parents to choose.
 158 F: M-m.
 159 AP: Which one (.) but er (.) forcing children which (.) like (.) the main idea behind it
 160 is good (.) but people who come out (.) but we can't (.) every child will not go and
 161 study in France or in New Caledonia where French will be useful for them?
 162 F: M-m.
 163 AP: Most will probably go to Australia Fiji (.) they need English.

164 F: So you mean it's better to just leave the two systems.

165 AP: I think it's better to leave them alone like they can choose.

166 F: M-m.

167 AP: In yeah. That's my opinion.

168 F: But do you think it's good that=

169 A: =Like it's got good sides (.) like if they say okay (.) you start learning French and
 170 then (.) you switch. What they are trying to do now? It's good like it has its good
 171 sides? But I don't think that it's really necessary for everyone to do it.

172 F: Okay.

173 AP: Yeah.

174 F: So like now I see many Anglophones who just know English.

175 AP: Yeah.

176 F: Or like you said that yes I know a little but (.) but many Francophones (.) learn
 177 English. I don't know some don't (.) but do you think it's okay if some just English
 178 only?

179 AP: Yeah.

180 F: And on the other side some just French is that okay. There's no need for all of us
 181 to=

182 AP: =We don't need (.) the whole gov- I mean all peop- (.) the government has
 183 made this policy that we become like this.

184 F: M-m. But for the country? Do you think it's good that we have English and French
 185 together? O::r actually in the country too we don't really need both.

186 AP: U::m no there is a need for it? Li::ke

187 F: In terms of

188 AP: I think the good side is like being bilingual. If anyone approaches you you can
 189 go to him or you (.) at least with English or French you can approach them. Maybe
 190 that's the only purpose tha::t

191 F: But that just rests with individuals.

192 AP: Yeah.

193 F: But for the whole country like suppose we didn't have French? Or we didn't have
 194 English would (.) that cause a problem for the country or

195 AP: I don't think so.

196 F: Like if you compare with the Solomons or PNG?

197 AP: They have one language and they are still

198 F: M-m.

199 AP: So they are okay. Fiji just has one language (.) just English but it is (1) doing
200 well?

201 F: So do you feel that (.) like the documents say that yes if we have the two together
202 there is (.) some benefit from this but (.) I don't know when I ask people they just go
203 back to history

204 AP: Er benefit? I think the benefit the government is trying to (.) reach now is like (1)
205 um (1) with our situation? In Vanuatu there are (.) there are um (.) we have
206 communication like close relations with Francophone (.) countries. So:: sometimes
207 when they have dialogue between these countries in terms of (.) business or
208 something else? And u::m I think they find that it's easier i::f we have Francophone
209 speakers (.) they can speak with the Francophones to make communication easy.

210 (2)

211 F: Okay (1) m-m. Okay so now? The (.) people who suppose we leave these
212 systems alone like we have Anglophones? We have Francophones. Which one has
213 the best opportunity fo::r further study.

214 AP: I think Anglophones have the best opportunities. Why Francophones are trying
215 to push this? There's just one reason. The main purpose behind it. It is for them to
216 have equal opportunity? Our children in Vanuatu who are Francophone to have
217 equal opportunities with the Anglophones. That's the only main thinking behind it.

218 F: You say that they are pushing. You mean combining the systems?

219 AP: No like-

220 F: You say they are pushing.

221 AP: That's why they want to combine them.

222 F: Okay.

223 AP: They are trying to combine Fra- French and English? Together for the children
224 as they come up?

225 F: M-m.

226 AP: So that their children can have that same opportunity that (.) English has.

227 F: Okay so you think that (.) you agree that at the moment it's not really fair (.) like
228 you say that Anglophones have more opportunity=

229 AP: =Yeah.

230 F: So it's not really fair for=

231 AP: =It's not fair for like the children? For our children but (.) on the other hand?
 232 Like I've seen the statistics there are more schools that are? Anglophone.

233 F: M-m.

234 AP: So they just (.) since Independence until now they have been fighting for
 235 equality.

236 F: But why do Anglophones have greater opportunity. In terms of tertiary or further
 237 studies.

238 AP: Because among the universities you will find that more are Anglophone (.) there
 239 is New Zealand Australia Fiji PNG they are all Anglophones.

240 F: So suppose we pushed French in school? Would that help? Or would it mean
 241 that Francophones could go to=

242 AP: =So (.) Francophones have (.) er just New Caledonia (.) there was also Tahiti (.)
 243 and then France. That's it.

244 F: But if we made every child know French first? English? Would that mean that
 245 now they could go to university? The same universities will [be there].

246 AP: [Same universities] (.)
 247 now they would also have these opportunities (.) to go to the universities that (.)
 248 Anglophone students have access to.

249 F: So you mean so (.) to increase the equal opportunity it means that everyone must
 250 go to Anglophone universities.

251 AP: No it's (.) it's both? Yeah. But mostly maybe Anglophone. Like what they are
 252 trying (.) behind the scene? That's what they're trying to do. They are trying to push
 253 (.) the chances for Francophone (.) speakers?

254 F: M-m.

255 AP: To come as far as making the two equal so they have access to (.) further
 256 studies?

257 F: And then Anglophones can go to New Caledonia too but <laughs>

258 AP: That's it that would be hard with the language. But otherwise? They want to
 259 seek the same opportunity. They feel that (.) they go as far as Year 10? Some reach
 260 Year 11? I mean Year 13 at Lycée? But that's it. Only a few go through.

261 F: That's it.

262 AP: But the large group (.) are left behind.

263 F: M-m.

264 AP: Which is not fair. So (.) that's why they are trying to create something so that (.)
 265 everyone will go into one system? Everyone will have that same opportunity in
 266 every institution.

267 (1)

268 F: If they make it this system in which English starts in (.) er which year I don't know
 269 Class 4? Or Class 7 upwards? Do you think this will affect the level of English? Or

270 AP: This is a concern. If we say okay they learn French first? English comes later.
 271 Then the standard of English will be affected.

272 F: Uh-uh. Because we started off the interview saying that the level was already not
 273 enough. So if it goes to one way which=

274 AP: =This is the fear that Anglophones have. The standard of Angl- er Fren- English
 275 speaking? It will drop because they will grab it up here but the foundation down
 276 there? It won't be there.

277 F: [xx]

278 AP:[xx] to jump up here we think it's okay to push it along.

279 F: M-m.

280 AP: So:: I think the standard will go down. And maybe there are also trying to
 281 promote more people to go to the Francophone (.) side.

282 F: But (1) okay.

283 AP: I don't understand why they are trying to (.) make it so that (.) everyone can
 284 speak both.

285 F: M-m.

286 AP: Because (.) if you only speak French? Or only speak English? You'll still survive
 287 you still communicate.

288 (3)

289 F: Okay. So now like in Vanuatu do you think English (.) dominates.

290 AP: English dominates.

291 F: There are more speakers of English than=

292 AP: =More speakers. More (.) I mean yeah in terms of population wise? There are
 293 more Anglophone speakers.

294 F: But is that the same in the whole world do you think that (.) English still
 295 dominates? Or=

296 AP: =Yeah. I think English still dominates.

297 F: So does this mean that Anglophones also have more opportunities for jobs?

298 AP: Yes.

299 F: Or has it changed now? Because I've asked some who say

300 AP: No

301 F: That it's different now but

302 AP: No like (1) uh at the moment? What we have? Like to get a job? They mostly

303 look for someone who is bilingual.

304 F: M-m.

305 AP: So when you are bilingual you have more chance. Than if you only have one

306 language.

307 F: By bilingual you mean

308 AP: It means that you can talk both language.

309 F: But you mean English (.) French only.

310 AP: English French.

311 F: Like you were already bilingual before you went to school (.) you knew lanwis and

312 [Bislama]

313 AP: [Yeah yeah]

314 F: That's already bilingual=

315 AP: =Bilingual means English and French.

316 F: Okay. So if it's is this then (.) in your personal opinion? That it's not really

317 necessary for everyone to know English and French.

318 AP: Yes that's personally I think

319 F: So do you think that this affects (.) the way you deal with language at school.

320 Because like you said that (.) sometimes you forget to mention French (.) or you

321 wish that you said French. You said you regret not knowing French but

322 AP: Like I just admire the way they communicate (1) but e::r (.) maybe

323 F: But at school do you think (.) it's English that you have to focus on.

324 AP: Yes just English.

325 F: M-m. (2) Okay. I think we've been jumping around but we have covered every

326 topic already. It's okay. I think that's it. <checks notes> Yes. Let's just finish here.

327 Thank you very much.

**Appendix XVII – Interview with the Collège de Faranako Principal (FP)
(Original)**

Date: 02-11-11

Location: Principal's office

- 1 F: Okei so fas kwestin blong mi hem i long saed blong skul lanwis long ples ia. So
2 hem i French long ples ia. Naoia yu luk se level blong French? Long skul long ples
3 ia? Yu luk se hem i olsem wanem. Hem i (.) naf blong ol tija oli tijim ol sabjek blong
4 ol? O (.) ol styuden oli save lan? Long French? O yu luk se naoia i gat wan problem
5 wetem French insaed long skul.
- 6 FP: Yes olsem Fiona. From er (.) lanwis olsem long French? Hem i no wan isi
7 lanwis. Olsem firstly bae yumi talem olsem. So taem we yumi kam? Sapos we ol
8 styuden we yumi wantem mekem olsem oli kasem wan gud level? Yumi mas gobak
9 long praemeri. Level nao we bae oli stat. Kindy i kam. Be tudei yumi faenemaot se
10 sam styuden naoia we oli (.) yumi gat long Yia 10 ia? Level hem i no gud tumas.
11 Bae yumi talem se hem i average blong ol oli save go. Be sam blong ol i faenem i
12 had. Teaching olsem long lanwis? Franis hem i wan lanwis we hem i had.
- 13 F: M-m. So yu luk se long hemia wan problem long saed blong lanwis stret? O
14 actually level blong evri sabjek tu i godaon. From se long Yia 10? Problem olsem
15 problem blong Maths? O no hem i French nomo.
- 16 FP: Sapos we hem i French nomo? I minim se ol narafala sabjek bae oli folem sem
17 level nomo. From taem yu toktok long lanwis ia nao? Yu express/em long olgeta
18 long ol narafala sabjek oli save andastan. Be taem olsem we lanwis yu no andastan
19 tumas finis? We hem i bae i create/em yu long evri sabjek ia. So hemia nao olsem
20 lelebet weak blong mifala long (.) long saed blong Francophone hemia nao.
- 21 F: Okei. So hemia yu specify/em Francophone long en ia? Yu luk se=
- 22 FP: =Mi emphasise nomo long Francophone.
- 23 F: Uh-uh.
- 24 FP: From teaching tudei hemia nao mi talem finis. Taem we pikinini hem i no karem
25 wan gudfala basic long stat blong edyukesen blong hem? Bae (.) bambae i faenem i
26 had afta.
- 27 F: M-m.
- 28 FP: Okei ol pikinini we mifala i gat ia oli kam long ol top-up we oli long wanwan
29 aelan. Okei wan top-up hem i wan tingting we gavman i initiate/em? Be hem i no
30 save wanem nao i nid blong mekem. I no gat wan program? I no gat wan orée we
31 bae mifala i mekem. Oli jes sakem i kam long college? Mifala i traem blong mekem

32 program blong college. So yu luk ol pikinini mifala i tekem olgeta long wan ples we
 33 (.) mifala tu i kwestinim mifala se (.) mifala i stap bae yumi go tru olsem wanem
 34 wetem ol styuden. Hem i had ia.

35 F: So yu luk se level i godaon since long taem ia nomo?

36 FP: No i jes stat long Indipendens. Taem olsem Franis hem i bin lego mifala? Hem i
 37 gud yet smol. Be taem mifala i stap kam bak olsem. Franis hem i lego mifala i no
 38 gat wan niufala (.) curriculum blong mekem se yumi go yumi save come up. Be
 39 mifala i récupe nomo. Ol curriculum hem i no blong mifala hem i kam long Europe
 40 ia. So naoia olsem situation we i stap mifala i stap luk se naoia i stap kam. I drop.
 41 Okei bae mi talem long yu wan samting from naoia taem ol pikinini oli go kasem Yia
 42 13 Yia 14? Taem oli go long pri-yunivesiti long Noumea? Oli kambak. Yu luk. Hem i
 43 minim se mifala i no mekem gud. Pikinini we hem i traem had nomo? Bambae i go.
 44 Okei yumi no compare/em. Compare/em long ol aelan blong yumi. Olsem mifala we
 45 i long college long aelan hem i had tumas blong helpem hem. Be long taon?
 46 Eksampol Lycée Montmartre? Hemia ol qualified pikinini.

47 F: Yu luk se standard longwe hem i oraet yet=

48 FP: =Standard i hae. I gat defren stand- defrens between ol collège o ol lycée we oli
 49 stap long main taon? Compare/em long olgeta long

50 F: M-m.

51 FP: Wan eksampol mi givim. Long Yia 12 long las yia? Long eksam olgeta long
 52 tufala klas long Lycée long taon oli prepare/em? Yu faenem se long Melsisi oli
 53 présent/em ating twante pikinini. Twante faef. Tu nomo i win.

54 F: Mm?

55 FP: Teti seven long (.) Teti seven o teti faef long St Michel? Fo nomo. Long
 56 Collège? Seventi faef ating olsem. Faef nomo. So yu luk? Okei. Mi mi no save ol
 57 pikinini se bambae hem i problem blong ol pikinini. Samtaem hem i problem tu
 58 blong ol tija. Sam tija oli no qualify blong tijim level ia. Yu luk? Hem i gat tu problem
 59 ia. Soit hem i problem blong ol pikinini we oli no andastan gud? Soit hem i problem
 60 blong ol tija we oli no prépare/em gud klas? O i no kasem level ia blong hem i tijim.
 61 Hemia tu hem i wan samting. Ol ressources humaines i no gat.

62 F: M-m.

63 FP: Human resource. I no gat. I no gat naf. So hemia nao olsem bambae yu luk ol
 64 defrens between ol (.) ol skul long taon? From olsem oli gat access. Ol tija oli gat
 65 access blong ol narafala samting blong karem kos blong (.) blong helpem olgeta mo
 66 long narafala samting blong lanem long ol pikinini mo long risej blong olgeta. Long
 67 eksam oli helpem olgeta. Be daon i no gat internet o email o olsem wanem.

68 F: Hemia nao.

69 FP: That's why i gat defrens. Big defrens between olgeta long aelan plus.

70 F: M-m. So yumi long aelan? Olsem yumi gat sam wei we yumi save helpem olgeta
71 long saed blong lanwis. Be ating yumitu i bin storian smol long hem finis long
72 beginning blong yia ia se (.) olsem um ol styuden oli no really toktok French tumas
73 aot saed long klasrum. We hem i olsem fastaem hem i olsem. So yu luk se from
74 wanem oli nomo yusum French aot saed? Ol tija tu samtaem oli nomo yusum
75 tumas.

76 FP: Hemia nao. Main problem se hem i lanwis ia. Trifala lanwis ia we olsem i stap
77 long konstityusen blong kaontri. Mainly? Taem we pikinini i go long wan Franis skul
78 o wan (.) ca- wan wanem ia. Wan collège blong hemia i sud maintain/em lanwis
79 blong hem blong teaching ia nao. Be mifala ol tija tu sam long ol weakness blong
80 mifala tu. Hemia nao taem mifala i toktok Bislama long olgeta? Then pikinini hem i
81 karem. So mifala i no fosem olgeta blong oli mekem wanem. Lanwis maternelle i
82 kam. Olsem lanwis blong ol tradition ia? I go miksimap wetem Franis ia. Yu harem
83 taem oli toktok long yu? Yu harem i (.) yu harem yu kolkol long hem. Expression
84 blong lanwis i nogud. Oli askem yu nomo se blong oli mekem wan samting yu no
85 andastan se be (.) samting we yumi stap lanem long skul be hem i no go insaed
86 long hed blong hem.

87 F: So yu wis se yu save putumbak wan rul we hem i Franis nomo aot saed long
88 klasrum?

89 FP: Mifala long ples ia? Mifala i bin introduce/um se bambae ol pikinini we oli kam
90 insaed long eria blong skul? Oli sud toktok long Franis o Inglis. From naoia mifala
91 olsem wa- only kaontri long Pasifik we mifala i (.) bilingual. Only kaontri long Pasifik
92 ia. Blong mifala long Pasifik hemia nao. So (.) mi ting se bambae olsem (.) sapos
93 pikinini hem i mekem wan effort blong hem i (.) i wantem se i kasem ol samting long
94 fiuja blong hem. Mi ting se hem i sud intres blong hem hem wan. Be tudei yumi
95 faenem lanwis. Hemia trifala lanwis ia finis we oli stap long konstityusen blong
96 kaontri. Min se mifala i yusum. Plus? Traditional lanwis olsem wanwan mifala oli
97 gat.

98 F: So yu olsem yu talem se long yia ia yu putum rul ia? O no. Hem i long taem bifo.

99 FP: No. Mi nomo putum from taem yumi traem putum yumi panisim? Be pikinini i no
100 andastan. I minim se yu no putum i go olsem. Okei narafala samting tu we olsem?
101 Mi mi hed blong skul be from i nidim coopération blong ol tija. Mi talem long olgeta
102 se (.) pikinini hem i stap long anda blong yumi evriwan. Yu luk wan samting we i
103 nogud? Yu correct/em hem. Be no oli no mekem. So bambae mi mi toktok toktok be
104 mi stap toktok ia? Be narafala wan i stap mekem problem long narasaed. So mi no
105 save mekem olgeta. Hemia nao main (.) wan weakness blong mifala ol tija se.
106 Supporting blong running blong skul we blong mekem se (.) yumi putum wan
107 tingting blong yumi wok long hem hem i no wok gud. That's why bambae weakness
108 blong ol pikinini oli kam bae oli kwestinim. Yes bae yumi kwestinim yumi. Mas
109 kwestinim yumi fastaem. Bifo yumi criticise/em ol pikinini. Se mifala i show/em gud
110 wan eksampol long olgeta o no. Be bae yumi talem olsem wanem.

111 F: So i minim se yu kambak long wan situation we (.) long ideal situation yumi wis
112 se yumi save mekem olsem.

113 FP: Yes mi wis se

114 F: Be reality blong hem?

115 FP: I no.

116 F: I had.

117 FP: I had.

118 F: So min se yumi no save putum rul we yumi no save enforce/em.

119 FP: Olsem blong mekem solution i kam gud? Yumi sud putum i go talem olsem (.)
 120 wan tingting nomo. Yumi talem se pikinini hem i toktok French? Hem i French. I no
 121 narafala lanwis. So hemia olsem mifala evriwan i sud wok tugeta wetem hemia
 122 blong mekem se mifala i achieve/im wanem nao mifala i wantem long en blong dei.
 123 Be taem we principal nomo i stap traem blong hemia olgeta i no mekem be bambae
 124 yumi mekem olsem wanem? Hem i had.

125 F: Be yu ting se i gat ples blong ol narafala lanwis/es insaed long skul? O yu
 126 wantem French nomo. O i gat ples blong Bislama insaed o Inglis?

127 FP: I gat (.) i gat sam subjek we yu nidim (.) from explanation hem i had lelebet long
 128 French. Olsem mi talem hem i wan lanwis we hem i had lelebet long ol pikinini? So i
 129 gat sam (.) sam subjek we i allow/em blong smol taem blong oli eksplenem long (.)
 130 se eria hem i talem olsem. Okei pikinini i andastan. Se ah okei long French oli talem
 131 olsem. So i gat subjek we (.) Bislama hem i go insaed smol. Okei eksampol bae mi
 132 talem se wan tija blong (.) blong Inglis bae i kam tijim Inglis? Long wan olsem wan
 133 Francophone skul. Bae hem i go tij long Bislama. Afta bambae hem i jes talem long
 134 Inglis hem i olsem. Pronunciation blong hem hem i olsem ia. Hem i olsem. Mi ting
 135 se wan gudfala samting. Mi mi bin karem wan expérience blong wan Pis Kop. Hem i
 136 bin wok long Melsisi ia. Olsem ol pikinini oli bin karem gud Inglis. From hem i
 137 eksplen long Bislama and then hem i (.) oli save. From Bislama hem i lelebet. Sam
 138 wod i lelebet finis we:: i olsem Inglis.

139 F: Be long saed blong Sciences Sociales? O Agriculture o

140 FP: Yes.

141 F: I gat ples blong Bislama insaed.

142 FP: Yes. Yumi talem Science. I gat sam yumi save faenem insaed. Long Sciences
 143 Sociales yu save faenem insaed. I gat sam eria we pikinini i no save andastan.
 144 Okei. Long program olsem we yumi gat? Yumi tokbaot (.) yumi no tokbaot Vanuatu
 145 o Pasifik? Yumi tokbaot fulap nara ples tu ia.

146 F: M-m.

147 FP: So blong mekem olsem se oli save andastanem se wanem ia hemia? Eksampol
 148 mi givim yu wan samting wan frontière. Long Franis oli talem ol limit blong kaontri.
 149 Be taem yu talem frontière finis oli se be hemia wanem?

- 150 F: Yes from yumi no gat long ples ia.
- 151 FP: Okei. Mi talem long olgeta se yu luk. From Vanuatu from hem i smol aelan.
 152 Solwota i krosem yumi. Be long bigfala kaontri olsem Europe? Hemia Franis i stap
 153 ia? Hemia? Oli krosem long wan samting ia nomo. Wan samting ia blong mekem se
 154 yu no krosem. Hemia nao oli kolem ol frontières. Yu luk ol pikinini oli stap olsem. Oli
 155 lukluk lukluk. Yes. Yumi no sem mak ia.
- 156 F: M-m.
- 157 FP: Taem yumi talem ol bigfala continent? Hemia nao.
- 158 F: Be hemia yu stap sapotem eni kaen lanwis nomo as long as
- 159 FP: Yes. Hemia nao pikinini i andastan hemia so yu (.) taem yu go pas long wan
 160 wod we pikinini i no save i min se Bislama yu save yusum insaed. Sapos samtaem
 161 yumi gat blong (.) blong mekem nomo se pikinini i andastan mo.
- 162 F: M-m. (2) Okei. So hemia? Yumi kam long Inglis wetem French bakegen from yu
 163 save yumi gat tufala lanwis so. Olsem long experience blong yu? Taem yu stap
 164 skul? Yu harem se yu stap lanem Inglis? Yu kasem Inglis gud long skul o (.) hemia
 165 wan samting we yufala i focus long French nomo.
- 166 FP: Okei Fiona long (.) long bifo? Olsem mifala i no gat (.) i gat Inglis long skul. Be
 167 olsem hemia i no olsem (.) hem i no go long nomol program olsem blong yumi tudei.
 168 Olsem gavman hem i (.) hem i putum i go long nasonal program blong yumi mas
 169 fosem pikinini i mas lanem. Bifo no oli no fosem tumas pikinini from (1) [(xx)]
- 170 F: [(xx)]
- 171 FP: So (.) mi mi regret. Olsem tudei mi wan we mi regret from samtaem mi no pat
 172 blong cours (.) cours blong Inglis. Be tudei mi regret from taem mi kam long position
 173 ia samtaem ol document blong gavman hem i long Inglis be (.) mi oli kam and then
 174 mi mekem effort blong mi andastan wanem long (.) long tingting blong mi.
- 175 F: Be yu harem se i had naoia blong toktok.
- 176 FP: Naoia i had blong mi toktok long hem.
- 177 F: Okei.
- 178 FP: Be yu toktok long mi? Mi andastan smol be olsem ia nao i had. Be tudei olsem
 179 yumi talem se bae yumi go long nasonal program blong yumi. Blong mekem ol
 180 pikinini blong yumi oli kam gud wan bilingual. Be tudei bae yu go long ofis olbaot ia
 181 we yu luk ol bigman we oli stap? Bae yu faenem ol Francophone bilingual. Tudei
 182 olgeta we oli stap draft/em buk ia? <points to curriculum statement on desk> Ol
 183 Francophone evriwan. Oli bilingual. So olgeta nao oli machine blong (.) blong niu
 184 curriculum blong gavman ia.
- 185 F: Be hemia taem yu talem bilingual long Vanuatu? Yu minim wanem wetem hem.
- 186 FP: Franis Inglis.

187 F: So hemia yu no minim ol (.) olsem yu yu bilingual finis. Olsem yu toktok lanwis
 188 blong yu wetem Bislama.

189 FP: Yes.

190 F: Be hem tu i bilingual be=

191 FP: =Bae mi no save se yumi olsem bilingual olsem yu save toktok lanwis blong yu?
 192 Yu toktok long Bislama. Yu toktok Franis.

193 F: Hemia nao yufala i multilingual finis bifo yu iven kasem long skul. So taem mi
 194 harem wod ia bilingual mi sapraes. Olsem i no yu nomo. Be long Vanuatu. From
 195 yumi stap tokbaot Inglis French bilingual be. Olsem yumi evriwan yumi bilingual
 196 finis.

197 FP: No be hemia nao sam blong yumi olsem (.) sam blong yumi ol Anglophone we
 198 oli skul ia oli no bilingual. From oli faenem i had Franis ia olsem ia nao. Ah Franis ia
 199 yumi no nidim. Yu luk. Be olsem bilingual yumi tokbaot hemia olsem yumi talem se
 200 tufala lanwis ia nao be. Yumi no tal- yumi no lukluk bak long hemia we Bislama.
 201 Lanwis. Hem i min se (yumi nidim tija blong) narafala lanwis finis yumi bilingual finis.
 202 Be olsem yu jes talem gud hemia nao olsem mifala i base nomo hemia long lukluk
 203 long wanem we tufala main lanwis we hem i blong tijim. Taem yu yusum tufala
 204 evriwan ia? I min se bae hem nao i qualify long (1) hem i save tufala lanwis.

205 F: Yumi stap go from tufala lanwis nomo.

206 FP: Yumi go from tufala ia nomo. From Bislama hem i wan (.) wan lanwis blong
 207 communication nomo. Hem i no gat wan samting blong writing. Olsem yumi raetem
 208 yumi raetem long own tingting blong grammaire blong yumi. Vocabulary blong yumi
 209 nomo yumi raetem. Se yu wanem. Yu wantem save wanem nao yu raetem. Be i no
 210 gat wan proper vocabulary blong bambae yumi tokbaot o yumi lukluk long hem. Se
 211 no. Wod ia yu raetem olsem wanem. Bislama hem i wan lanwis blong
 212 communication. Mifala i stap yusum from. Yu go long Santo? Narafala lanwis. So yu
 213 toktok Bislama yu save communicate wetem man Santo wetem man Ambae. Be
 214 mifala i no karem. Mifala i tokbaot bilingual long tufala main lanwis ia nomo blong
 215 teaching.

216 F: Afta? Lanwis blong yu? Olsem langue maternelle? Hemia sem samting? Yu hem
 217 i stap daon=

218 FP: =Hem i daon. Hemia i daon. Hemia mifala i no tokbaot hemia from hemia hem i
 219 wan samting we hem i olsem. Hem i nomol. Bislama olsem hem i blong
 220 communication wetem narafala fren blong yumi. Be taem olsem mi mitim man blong
 221 aelan blong mi? Olsem mitufala i toktok lanwis blong mitufala. Hemia i wan identity
 222 blong wan aelan ia. So mi man blong aelan ia mi tokbaot hemia? Mi gat hemia from
 223 hem i wan identity blong mi. So hemia nao evriwan. From olsem yumi tokbaot (.)
 224 yumi tokbaot tufala lanwis ia from hemia olsem mi mi kam bilingual long tufala main
 225 lanwis blong teaching ia.

226 F: Okei.

227 FP: O taem yumi go long wok be (.) wanem pepa i kam long Franis mi save. Hemia
 228 i kam long Fran- er long Inglis mi save. Hemia nao gavman i nidim tufala.

229 F: M-m. So yu luk se evri man long Vanuatu i gud se oli save tufala lanwis ia?

230 FP: Hemia nao olgeta we oli kam oli touch/em lelebet long ples ia oli wantem se. Ol
 231 pikinini we bambae oli kam ia (.) bambae oli kam bilingual long tufala lanwis.

232 F: Be from wanem? Wanem nao benefit blong hemia? Olsem blong karem tufala
 233 wantaem.

234 FP: Hemia nao tu mi no save ansarem yu stret nomo from (.) gavman ating i gat
 235 wan tingting blong mekem se tufala pikinini olsem (.) pikinini we i lanem tufala
 236 lanwis bambae i faenem isi samting. Long laef blong hem.

237 (2)

238 F: Be hem i no tingting blong yu. (1) Yu luk se yu survive wetem French nomo yu
 239 oraet.

240 FP: Olsem naoia olsem bae mi talem olsem ia. Mi mi stap go from evening be mi mi
 241 laekem ol pikinini blong mi oli kam olsem nao.

242 F: Uh.

243 FP: Yes hemia nao.

244 F: So pikinini blong yu oli skul (.) Inglis? No French.

245 FP: French.

246 F: Evriwan French.

247 FP: French. Be no problem oli tufala i (.) oli kasem evriwan from long (.) mi fas boe
 248 blong mi hem i go kasem Yia 14? So mi no gat problem wetem hem.

249 F: Hem i toktok Inglis tu?

250 FP: Toktok Inglis. Namba tu hem i skul long (.) Montmartre. Afta hem i finis hem i go
 251 long CNS. CNS hem i wan samting long Inglis? So hem i mekem min se sem mak.

252 F: Okei so yu nao yu wis we yu

253 FP: Mi wis blong mekem se evri pikinini olsem tingting we gavman i putum? Blong
 254 oli kam olsem.

255 F: Be yu luk se wanem nao advantage blong hem. Olsem yumi stap tokbaot yes mi
 256 harem gud. O mi praod from mi gat tufala lanwis ia be (.) i gat eni purpose blong
 257 hem? O blong (.) praod nomo.

258 FP: No olsem bae yumi talem se i gat purpose? We hem i olsem long saed blong
 259 wok? Mo bae yumi praod/em se yumi only wan kaontri olsem. Be praod bae i no go
 260 tumas. Be from hemia taem yumi travel long long (.) go long oversea? Long wanem
 261 kaontri yumi no gat eni problem from yu sakem French i kam? Yu sakem Inglis i

262 kam? Hem i wan advantage blong yumi blong yumi go long (.) yumi go long narafala
263 ples.

264 F: Hemia blong yumi evriwan? Olsem hamas man blong bae i go aot long

265 FP: Olsem.

266 F: O yumi prépare/em evri man nomo.

267 FP: Tokbaot man ia from taem we wan délégation blong gavman i go oversea?
268 Then oli lukaotem ol man we oli bilingual. Sapos we minista hem i (.) hem i
269 Anglophone? Hem i no save go long Franis wetem ol Francophone man. Hem i mas
270 karem wan bilingual man blong hem i direct/em hem long evri ting. O:: ol speech
271 blong hem? Hem nao hem i mekem. Hem i transletem. So yu luk hem i wan samting
272 we hem i helpem man blong gavman? Bae hem i wan samting tu hem i mekem
273 olsem individual wan we yu travel long narafala kaontri? Bambae yu no faenem i
274 had. I isi long yu.

275 F: So yumi stap tokbaot se (.) sapos wan man i save tufala lanwis. Sapos hem i
276 bilingual long tufala lanwis. Hem nao i save karem wan job o hem nao i save go
277 overseas. Be taem yumi no tingbaot wanwan man. Yumi tingbaot hol kaontri? I gat
278 benefit long Vanuatu? Olsem hol kaontri hem i gat tufala lanwis long hem.

279 FP: Okei. Bambae hemia nao olsem bambae taem we yumi compare/em lelebet
280 long ol narafala kaontri olsem yufala long England? Yufala i nidim Inglis nomo. (2)
281 Be mifala ating (.) mifala i praod/em ia nao olsem hemia long only kaontri long
282 Pasifik? Mifala i toktok tufala lanwis. Be blong praod/em mifala olsem yu talem finis
283 olsem ia mi no save be. Ating hemia blong (.) bae mi talem se blong hol kaontri from
284 bambae fiuja we i kam bae yumi no save.

285 F: M-m. Be long saed blong mebi long (.) ikonomi o sam-. Olsem yu luk se i gat
286 benefit long

287 FP: Yes mi ting se hem i gud. Mi ting se hem i long (.) long ikonomi bae i gud long
288 hem from ol samting we yumi kam karem i kam oversea we i stap long Inglis
289 bambae yu no faenem i had long yu from. Yu yu karem lanwis ia finis. O we i kam
290 long wan narafala lanwis? Bae yu. Okei. Long saed long naoia we yumi go long
291 seken cycle? Yu luk yu faenem (.) yumi tijim Japanese. Be naoia tudei? Sam
292 styuden blong yumi naoia oli stap long China oli stap long Japan.

293 F: M-m.

294 FP: Olsem hem i wan uh samting blong tourisme. Olsem blong yumi talem. Hem i
295 wan lanwis olsem man we i kam aot saed yumi save hemia nao ol guide blong
296 yumi. Blong helpem kaontri long (.) long saed blong tourisme. Taem we i kam tok
297 olsem (.) ol Chinese i kam oli tok lanwis? Hao nao bae yumi ansarem olgeta.

298 F: So sapos for example yumi decide tudei se (.) no. Mebi hem i expensive tumas?
299 Yumi gat tufala lanwis. Yumi lego wan nomo. Bae yumi Inglis nomo. O yumi French
300 nomo. Bae hem nao i stap create/em ol problem blong kaontri o no.

301 FP: Yes Fiona bae mi no save talem from taem we mi lukluk long buk ia? <points to
302 new national curriculum statement on desk> Tufala lanwis ia oli maintain.

303 F: M-m.

304 FP: So blong yu katemaot wan mi no ting.

305 F: Okei.

306 FP: Bambae i no possible. Ating bae i tekem taem. Be long taem (.) bae mi talem
307 long yu nomo blong taem (.) Vanuatu i jes kasem indipendens oli wantem katemaot
308 French.

309 F: M-m. Afta ol man oli maj from.

310 FP: Be oli maj from.

311 F: M-m. Be hemia nao mi askem se hem i wan samting blong olsem tingting blong
312 wanwan man nomo. Olsem pride blong hem? O hem i harem se hem i Francophone
313 hem i wan gudfala samting. O hem i gat wan material yus blong hem?

314 FP: Okei. Fiona. Mi talem wan samting naoia? Between mifala ia? Olsem naoia yu
315 lukluk long mifala. Wan Francophone wetem wan Anglophone? Oli no go tugeta ia.
316 Samting ia nao mifala i stap traem create/em yu forget/em tingting. Yumi kam yumi
317 man Vanuatu. Sapos yu talem se yumi tok Bislama yumi tok Bislama. Sapos yumi
318 tok Inglis yumi tok Inglis. Be yu nomo talem se no mi mi Francophone mifala i
319 Anglophone. Hemia nao tingting ia nao mifala i create/em. So mi ting se blong yumi
320 katemaot wan long tufala lanwis ia bae i longtaem. So bae mi talem hemia se
321 beginning taem mifala i kasem indipendens? Oli wantem katemaot hem. Be
322 demonstresen i aot gogo mekem se oli putumbak. Walter hem i putumbak. Be
323 tingting blong olgeta blong hem i kam wan (.) wan lanwis.

324 F: Okei yumi stap tokbaot hemia be (.) uh mi luk long hemia <points to curriculum
325 statement> olsem oli tokbaot (.) oli no really decide/em ansa blong lanwis yet. Oli no
326 save se bae yumi continue se bae yumi gat Anglophone longwe? Francophone
327 longwe. Bae yumi folem sem content nomo? O bae yumi joenem tufala system
328 mekem se yumi evriwan yumi skul wan (.) i gat wan type skul nomo. Yu luk se
329 which wan hem i bes ansa.

330 FP: Okei plan we gavman hem i putum i stap naoia? Pikinini hem i stret long (.) oli
331 mekem sam trial long sam skul finis naoia. Risal blong hem bambae i kamaot long
332 en blong yia ia. Okei oli tijim ol pikinini long er kindy? I kasem Klas 2. Long French.
333 Afta long Klas 2 oli swingim long Inglis. Okei blong continue blong kasem long Yia 8
334 oli lukum risal blong eksam. Okei. Long Klas 2 or Klas 4 mi no ting. Ating Klas 2.

335 F: Mi no ting se olgeta oli decide yet se bae oli jenis long wanem yia. But yes oli
336 putum sam proposal long hem.

337 FP: Yes Fiona wan trial hemia i stap. I gat tu long Banks tu long Pentecost (.) yumi
338 long Penama yumi no gat. No sore long Penama long Ambae. So hemia nao mi
339 talem se yumi no save. Bae system ia bae i wok.

340 F: Hemia nao yu luk se bae i possible blong joenem=

341 FP: =Bae mi talem long yu Fiona se yu luk naoia. System we i stap bae i longtaem.
 342 From bambae oli mekem wan trial? Mi no save ating bae i gat sam jenis insaed. So
 343 mi no save se bae oli wantem karem pikinini blong go kasem long wanem level. Afta
 344 wanem lanwis. Hemia oli no tokbaot hemia ia. Be samting we mifala i tokbaot hem i
 345 bae yu faenem long ples ia se bambae pikinini i go ia? Be oli mekem tu branch.
 346 Franis Inglis. Be nomo taem oli go kasem Yia 13? Hem i sem program.

347 F: Yes from naoia yumi go kasem Yia 10 nomo afta

348 FP: Yes hemia nao. Yumi talem se yumi ol ni-Vanuatu. Hemia nomo. System blong
 349 Anglophone Francophone o iven sapos we mi tij long Francophone yu tij long
 350 Anglophone? Long Inglis lanwis? Be yumi no tokbaot se ah yu tijim Inglis no. Hem i
 351 wan opportunité blong yumi evriwan yu wan- (.) tu lanwis nao. So system ia nao
 352 gavman i talem se naoia? Taem we yufala i go mi nomo wantem harem
 353 Francophone Anglophone. Taem olsem ia yu luk wan i go ia wan i go ia. No. Yu
 354 talem nomo se mi man Vanuatu.

355 F: Be hem i possible blong yumi ol man Vanuatu nomo be narawan i lanem evri
 356 sabjek blong hem long Inglis? Narawan i lanem evri sabjek blong hem long French?
 357 Be i no Anglophone Francophone hem i ni-Vanuatu? Be i gat sam we oli lanem long
 358 Inglis sam oli lanem long French. Hem i possible?

359 FP: Okei narafala samting nao. Oli wantem traem sam tija blong oli lanem tufala
 360 lanwis. Blong tij long Inglis. Sem taem i tij long French. Be sem sabjek. Hemia nao
 361 oli stap mekem naoia oli jes mekem long Malapoa bae hem i tri yia. Tri yia nao i
 362 nomo tu. So naoia? Niu curriculum ia oli stap traem blong tijim olgeta yangfala finis
 363 long hem.

364 F: Be sapos yumi (.) yumi kambak long fas kwestin we yumi stap tokbaot se level
 365 blong French i no naf? Yu ting se sapos yumi ademap Inglis i go insaed wetem
 366 French bae i mekem se (.) i (.) go worse nao o

367 FP: Hemia yumi no save.

368 F: Oli no ready blong lanem Biology o wanem long French? Naoia yumi wantem se
 369 yumi yusum French Inglis tugeta insaed long Biology? Bae i mekem se i (.) harder?

370 FP: No mi ting se bae i oraet. From blong Francophone blong go long Inglis i no
 371 problem long olgeta. Inglis blong go long Francophone nao bambae oli faenem. Be
 372 sapos oli putum tugeta i kam wan ples we (.) blong yumi lanem long tufala lanwis
 373 that's why mi talem long yu se oli stap traem ol tija blong mekem se i toktok sem
 374 lanwis insaed long tufala. Tufala pikinini ia. Blong putum tingting long tugeta i wan
 375 nomo. So tija i save nao se bambae hem i handle/em ol pikinini. So mi ting se sapos
 376 we olsem ia bae i oraet be ol Francophone blong oli andastanem Inglis bae i no gat
 377 problem.

378 F: Be hemia nao mi luk se (.) olsem hemia i jes tingting nomo be se sapos ol
 379 Anglophone? Oli faenem i had blong olsem accommodate/em French i go insaed?

380 Afta? Ol Francophone oli kasem Inglis hariap hem i gud? Mi luk se French nao bae i
381 godaon. From tufala saed tugeta oli focus long Inglis ia nao. French bae

382 FP: Bae yu luk naoia. Tudei? Fulap blong mifala we i toktok Franis ia oli yusum (.)
383 plante French. Naoia i toktok ia i no wan gudfala French. Plante naoia oli yus plante
384 Inglis. Bambae ating bae yumi wokem ating wan dei bambae French hem i blong
385 communication nomo. Mi olsem tingting we yumitu stap tokbaot kwestin blong yu
386 ia? Mi ting se be bae i putum longtaem. Blong andastanem hemia. Sapos we yufala
387 i andastan? Inglis we. I no nid blong gobak long French. Yumi wok long Inglis nomo.
388 So tingting we yu stap tokbaot mi ting se bae i kam tru be bae i longtaem.

389 F: Hem i no olsem wan ideal wei olsem yumi wantem se Inglis nomo be (.) yu luk se
390 naoia? Wei we tufala lanwis i stap wok tugeta olsem. Inglis i

391 FP: Inglis olsem hem i hae lelebet from sam Francophone naoia oli traem mekem
392 wei blong oli traem go long ples ia nao.

393 F: M-m. So yu luk se French. Olsem ol Francophone olsem yumi no really wantem
394 kolem ol Francophone be. Ol man we oli skul French? Yu luk se oli stap defend/em
395 lanwis blong ol ia. Oli faet from French i stap insaed.

396 FP: Mi no ting. Hem i tru olsem sam eria olsem sam skul we naoia yumi save talem
397 long taon. I gat sam eria we sam sam uh organisation blong Franis oli involve plante
398 wetem Franis oli wantem se oli mas (.) yu save Franis tu i stap biae nem mifala from
399 mane biae long hemia blong (.) maintain/em lanwis blong hem ia. Be mi luk olsem
400 bambae i (1) wan dei be ating bambae longtaem be bambae i (.) sapos kaontri hem
401 i stap go we pikinini oli stap perform gud long French? Long go pas long Inglis mi
402 ting se bae i no gat wan problem. Olsem long Calédonie. Long Calédonie wan Inglis
403 man bae i go bae i had long hem. From system?

404 F: Yes.

405 FP: Francophone.

406 F: French nomo. Okei. Be yu luk se olsem long saed (.) olsem principal. Yu luk se
407 gavman i putum eni samting we oli traem encourage/im ol Francophone skul blong
408 olsem raise/em level blong French bakegen o hemia aot saed nomo. Olsem yu
409 talem French gavman nomo i stap sapotem.

410 FP: No. Naoia? Ministri blong Edyukesen i stap traem mekem wan samting olsem
411 naoia i pusum (.) i openem wan narafala (.) Yia 12 blong rattrapage. We yumi kolem
412 long Franis. Rattrapage blong olgeta we oli (.) oli fail long eksam blong Yia 12? Hem
413 i create/em wan senta bakegen long USP naoia. Blong oli karem ol kos insaed long
414 French wetem Inglis wantaem. Blong traem mekem oli karem bak? Oli sit/im bak
415 eksam? Then continue blong go long USP sapos oli wantem.

416 F: Okei.

417 FP: So long saed blong mifala long gavman? Olsem naoia Minista we i stap hem i
418 Francophone. So naoia? Bae yu luk olgeta (.) pikinini we bambae oli go kasem en
419 long Yia 14 we oli gudfala mak? Be oli go karem skolasip long Philippine. Philippine

420 hem i wan Anglophone yunivesiti. Mi ting se blong olgeta long Francophone blong
 421 oli go oli no gat problem. Oli suitable.

422 F: Blong ol Francophone bilingual.

423 FP: Bilingual.

424 F: Be olgeta we oli toktok French nomo yu luk se i had lelebet blong=

425 FP: =No bae i had.

426 F: Blong go aot saed.

427 FP: Bae i had.

428 F: Be i gat eni naoia we oli stap go long New Caledonia?

429 FP: Hemia nao mi stap (.) program hem i stap be problem hemia nao se i

430 F: Oh yes yu talem finis.

431 FP: Level hem i no (.) tumas olgeta we oli mekem effort nomo oli stap. Olgeta we oli
 432 go pleplei tumas oli go luk defren laef stael blong ol longwe be (.) oli kambak.

433 F: So naoia olsem situation we i stap naoia yu luk se ol Anglophone oli gat
 434 advantage long saed blong skolasip? O sapos no ol Francophone oli mas bilingual
 435 fastaem. Oli jenis i go long Inglis blong stadi.

436 FP: Okei long saed blong samting ia long level blong yumi long skul? Yumi gat
 437 plante nao long ol Anglophone.

438 F: M-m.

439 FP: So system blong yumi long Anglophone olsem naoia yumi gat plante yunivesiti
 440 ova long Pasifik. More than mifala ol Francophone. Mifala i gat Calédonie nomo.

441 F: M-m. I gat Tahiti o no. Hem i nomo (.) French Poly=

442 FP: =Tahiti. Tahiti hem i no gat tumas samting. Calédonie hem i gud bitim (.) hem i
 443 develop bitim Tahiti ia. So hemia nomo. Sapos yu no gat narafala hem i finis ia nao.
 444 So naoia pikinini we hem i skul French i go long Yia 14 ia? Be oli selected i go long
 445 ol narafala Anglophone skul ia. So oli wantem kasem wan samting long laef blong
 446 olgeta? So mi ting se Inglis we oli lanem ia hem i helpem olgeta plante.

447 F: Okei. Long saed blong ol job hem i sem mak?

448 FP: Sem mak.

449 F: Yu Anglophone yu save kasem job hariap? French i no nidim?

450 FP: Yes. No olsem ia nao. Olsem mi talem nomo olsem. Naoia ol post we oli
 451 offer/em naoia tudei long saed blong job? Oli offer/em plante long ol Anglophones.
 452 Be sapos we i gat wan Francophone o bae oli talem nomo las wan sapos yu kam o
 453 yu toktok Franis o yu toktok Inglis? Hem i gud tu blong yu save apleae. So i minim se

454 bae fas priority hem i Inglis? Be narafala lanwis tu i save wok. French o narafala
 455 Bislama oli kam. Be bambae Franis bae i seken lanwis blong yu blong (1) so mi ting
 456 se hem i (.) be majorité blong yumi tudei we oli wok long samting oli olgeta Fra- er
 457 Anglophone oli kasem mo job bitim mifala.

458 F: Be stil yu (.) sapos yu gat pikinini bakegen bae yu putum hem long
 459 Francophone?

460 FP: Okei. Naoia bambae yu luk. Fiona naoia plante peren/s wan i go skul long
 461 Francophone narafala wan i

462 F: Hemia nao.

463 FP: Naoia system ia i hapen plante. Ol yangfala génération tudei. Oli wantem se
 464 hemia i skul longwe hemia i skul longwe.

465 F: So yu luk se hemia i gud?

466 FP: Hemia mi ting se hem i gud.

467 F: From (.) bae i helpem hol famle ia?

468 FP: No olsem from bambae yutufala i no faenem (.) olsem blong yufala i faenem i isi
 469 blong (.) toktok (.) famle blong (.) sapos we narawan i no kasem be narawan se
 470 yumi save kaontem blong hem yu luk. So mi ting se hemia nao peren/s. View blong
 471 olgeta ia nao.

472 (2)

473 F: Okei. Be naoia yu luk se Angloph- i gat mo Anglophone yet long Vanuatu than
 474 Francophone? Hemia i stap yet long ples ia.

475 FP: Yes. I gat plante (.) plante Anglophone skul/s. Olgeta oli sam ples long eighteen
 476 secondary skul? Mifala i eit. Yu luk? Ten defrens. So hem i wan bigfala defrens.

477 F: Be long hol wol? Yu luk se i sem mak. Olsem Anglophone i stap dominate=

478 FP: =Bae yumi talem olsem from ol lanwis we yumi toktok plante long wol hem i
 479 Inglis. Fas lanwis. Franis ating hem i kam long namba tu o namba tri.

480 F: So i min se taem yu kambak long ol Francophone skul yu stap promote/em Inglis
 481 blong helpem ol pikinini long (.) olsem long saed blong opportunity blong ol long
 482 wol? O yu stap focus long French yet. From hem i main lanwis long ples ia.

483 FP: Long olsem mi olsem (.) blong ples ia? No mi karem tugeta. Mi nao wantem
 484 mekem se (.) olsem mi talem se bilingual tufala lanwis we konstityusen i tokbaot? Mi
 485 wantem se Franis we yumi stap toktok long hem plante ia? Yu karem Inglis long
 486 sem level. Yu traem yusum hemia blong tufala tul blong yu. Blong helpem yu long
 487 hem.

488 F: Be oli gat any opportunity blong yusum skul ia? Hemia Inglis klas nomo.

489 FP: Bambae long nekis yia bambae mi gat wan tija blong Anglophone i tijim Inglis.

490 F: Uh?

491 FP: Hemia. <smiles>

492 F: Yu luk se yu harem gud from. <laughs>

493 FP: Hemia nao mi harem se.

494 F: Okei.

495 FP: Blong i traem. Bae mi givim narafala (.) sam sabjek blong hem sapos i fil blong
 496 hem i tijim then bambae i tijim.

497 F: Okei.

498 FP: Woman blong hem i stap talem finis se man blong hem bae i kam nekis yia.

499 F: Okei. So i mekem se Inglis bae i go antap? Ale French i go antap long sem taem.

500 FP: Hemia nao. Mi wantem se tufala level ia i go. From mi wantem promote/em ol
 501 pikinini blong oli go. Taem oli go kasem wan level blong oli finisim Yia 10? Then oli
 502 go long Yia 11 Yia 12? I no wan problem blong hem.

503 F: M-m.

504 FP: So pikinini hem i mas andastan se mi mi (.) i mas gat wan vision se mi wan
 505 wanem. Mi wantem kam olsem. Mi toktok plante long olgeta be

506 F: M-m.

507 FP: Be sam ating bae oli oraet.

508 F: Okei. Ating las kwestin nomo long saed blong mane. Olsem yumi no tokbaot (.)
 509 olsem yumi tokbaot aedia nomo long situation. Be yu luk se i gat eni cost blong
 510 hem? Olsem yumi maintain/em tufala lanwis o yumi karem (.) olsem evri taem
 511 training i mas tu taems o hemia? <points to curriculum statement> Yu gat French
 512 copy long desk blong yu Inglis copy long desk blong yu. Olsem naoia i tekem mane
 513 blong. I gat eni problem long saed blong hemia?

514 FP: Ol buk ia? Vanuatu gavman hem i no mekem. Ol donor aot saed oli mekem. <F
 515 laughs>

516 F: Okei so Vanuatu i no wari long

517 FP: No olsem mifala i traem help be bae mi traem givim wan eksampol. Ol tija nomo
 518 oli ranem naen handred. Budget blong edyukesen? Hem i tri billion faef handred
 519 million? Tri billion ia. Trois milliards. Be blong samfala salary nomo mifala i kakae
 520 haf finis. Mifala i kakae deux (.) tu billion. Hao nao bae gavman i divelopem long
 521 wan poen faef hemia? I no naf. So hem i nidim help.

522 F: Be yu luk se blong maintain/em tufala system i mekem se i harder o

523 FP: Yes.

524 F: From yu talem se i no naf blong developem be

525 FP: I no naf.

526 F: Sapos i gat wan system nomo bae i (.) bae i help aot o no.

527 FP: Bae mi no save talem long yu. Be from hemia nao. Mi mi no gavman. Bae mi no
 528 save talem long gavman se gavman bae i mas karem wan system ia. From ating
 529 sapos we gavman i serem gud mane blong kaontri mi ting se bae i sud oraet. Be
 530 bae yu harem plante taem tumas corruption. Sam samting ia nao unnecessary yumi
 531 spend/em mane long hem. Ol kot kes blong samting yumi waste/em mane long
 532 hem. Yu luk. Hem i se gavman hem i no control/em gud funds blong hem. Be sapos
 533 hem i control/em gud finance mi no ting se bae mifala i kasem problem long hem.

534 F: Okei.

535 FP: Long ples ia nao oli stap wet long ol donor blong oli givim mane. Sapos i serem
 536 gud mane. I folem wanem planning blong gavman we oli sud mekem ol expenses
 537 hemia nomo i no gat narafala tingting. Mi ting se bambae i oraet. Be naoia? Yu luk
 538 mifala naoia olsem bae yu faenem se yu wantem mek wanem yu mek wanem ia. Be
 539 tumas doti. Gavman i traem wan project. I no finisim. Be i lego i go blong karem
 540 narawan i kam.

541 F: Hemia nao mi luk se nekis yia bae i go bak long Yia 7 bae oli go long secondary.

542 FP: Yes oli sarem evri top-up. Oli talem plante se bae mifala i folem be afta?
 543 Gavman hem i no mekem wok blong hem ia. Olsem yumi tokbaot mane. Bae i
 544 developem olsem wanem hem i no serem gud mane blong hem. Mane blong kaontri.
 545 Bae yumi hangem rop long nek blong ol peren/s ia. (2) So hemia nao olsem yumi no
 546 gat wan gavman we i stable we i lukluk long se nation hem i nidim hemia. Yumi
 547 focus long hemia nomo? Yumi traem lego hemia. Planning blong olgeta i nogud.
 548 Sapos we wan gavman we hem i stable we hem i mekem gud samting? Mi ting se
 549 bae kaontri bae i go gud nomo. Be hem i stap long gavman blong mifala nao. Blong
 550 mekem gud wok.

551 F: <laughs> Yes i tru. (2) Okei. Ating bae mi nomo tekem up taem blong yu.
 552 Tangkiu tumas bakegen.

553 FP: Tangkiu tumas Fiona.

**Appendix xvii – Interview with the Collège de Faranako Principal (FP)
(Translation)**

Date: 02-11-11

Location: Principal's office

- 1 F: Okay so my first question is about the school language here. So that's French
2 here. Do you think that the level of French? At school here? What is it like. Is it (.)
3 enough for the teachers to teach their subjects? Or (.) for the students to learn? In
4 French? Or do you think there is now a problem with French in school.
- 5 FP: Yes Fiona. Because er (.) a language like French? It's not an easy language.
6 Like firstly we can say this. So when we come? If we want to get the students to a
7 good level? We must go back to primary. The level when they start. Kindy onwards.
8 But today we find that some students who (.) we have in Year 10? Their level isn't
9 very good. We can say that the average ones can go on. But some of them find it
10 hard. The teaching like the language? French is a language which is hard.
- 11 F: M-m. So do you think this is a problem that is directly about language? Or
12 actually has the level in every subject gone down. Like in Year 10? Is there a
13 problem like with Maths? Or no is it just with French.
- 14 FP: If it was just French? It would mean that the other subjects would just follow the
15 same. Because when you speak in the language? You express things in the other
16 subjects and they can understand. But when when you don't understand much of
17 the language? That will create problems for you in every subject. So that is like a
18 kind of weakness for us (.) for us Francophones.
- 19 F: Okay. So you just specified Francophones at the end there? Do you think that=
- 20 FP: =I emphasise just Francophones.
- 21 F: Uh-uh.
- 22 FP: Because teaching today is like I've said. When the children don't have good
23 basics at the start of their education? They (.) they will then find it hard.
- 24 F: M-m.
- 25 FP: Okay the children that we have who come from top-ups on the different islands.
26 Okay top-up is an idea that the government initiated? But it doesn't know what it
27 needs to do for it. It has no programme? There's no introduction that we can make.
28 They just throw them into the college? We are trying to do our college programme.
29 So you see we take these children from a place that (.) we are also questioning
30 ourselves about (.) how we will be able to get through with these students. It's hard.

31 F: So do you think the level has gone down since this time?

32 FP: No it just started at Independence. When like the French left us? It was still
 33 quite good. But when we came back. When the French left us we had no new (.)
 34 curriculum that would enable us to come up. We just took it over. The curriculum is
 35 not ours it comes from Europe. So now like the situation we have we've seen it
 36 happening. It's dropped. Okay I can tell you that now when children go as far as
 37 Year 13 Year 14? When they go to pre-university in Noumea? They come back.
 38 You see. It means that we are not doing well. Only the children that try hard? They
 39 can go. Okay we're not comparing. Comparing the islands. Like for us at a college
 40 on the island it's really hard to help them. But in the town? For example Lycée or
 41 Montmartre? Those are the qualified children.

42 F: You think the standard there is alright still=

43 FP: =The standard is high. There are different stand- a difference between the
 44 schools or lycées in the main town? Compared to

45 F: M-m.

46 FP: I'll give you an example. In Year 12 last year? In the exam everybody in two
 47 classes at Lycée in the town studied for it? You find that at Melsisi they entered
 48 maybe twenty children. Twenty five. Only two passed.

49 F: Mm?

50 FP: Thirty seven at (.) thirty seven or thirty five at St Michel? Only four. At Collège?
 51 Seventy five something like that. Only five. So you see? Okay. I don't know with
 52 these children whether it's a problem with the children. Sometimes it's a problem
 53 with the teachers too. Some teachers are not qualified to teach at this level. You
 54 see? There are two problems. Either it's a problem with the children who don't
 55 understand well? Or it's a problem with the teachers who don't prepare good
 56 classes? Or they haven't reached that level of teaching. That is also something. We
 57 don't have the human resources.

58 F: M-m.

59 FP: Human resources. They're not there. There aren't enough. So there you will see
 60 the difference between the (.) schools in the town? Because they have access. The
 61 teachers have access to other things to develop their courses (.) to help them and
 62 for other things to teach the children and for their research. In the exams it helps
 63 them. But down here there is no internet or email or whatever.

64 F: That's right.

65 FP: That's why there is a difference. A big difference between them on the islands
 66 and.

67 F: M-m. So for us on the islands? Like we have some ways that we can help them in
 68 terms of language. But I think you and I have talked about this a bit already at the
 69 beginning of this year that (.) like um students don't really speak French much

70 outside the classroom. While they did before they did. So why do you think they no
 71 longer use French outside? And teachers too sometimes don't use it much.

72 FP: That's it. The main problem is the language. The three languages that are in the
 73 country's constitution. Mainly? When a child goes to a French school or a (.) sch- a
 74 what's that. A school for that it should maintain its language of teaching now. But us
 75 teachers too some of the weaknesses are with us too. That's it when we speak
 76 Bislama to them? Then the children adopt this. So we don't force them in what to
 77 do. The mother tongue comes. Like the traditional language? It goes and mixes up
 78 with French. You hear when they talk to you? You feel (.) you find it unpleasant. The
 79 expression of the language is poor. They just ask you if they can do something and
 80 you don't understand but (.) it's something that we are learning in school but it
 81 doesn't go inside their heads.

82 F: So do you wish you could put back a French-only rule outside the classroom?

83 FP: Us here? We introduced the rule that when the children come inside the school
 84 area? They should speak French or English. Because now we are like one- the only
 85 country in the Pacific that's (.) bilingual. The only country in the Pacific. Out of us in
 86 the Pacific that's it. So (.) I think that when like (.) if a child makes an effort to (.) he
 87 want to get things in his future. I think that he should take an interest himself. But
 88 today we find language. There are already three languages in the country's
 89 constitution. Which means we use them. And? The traditional language that each
 90 individual has.

91 F: So you like you say that you made this rule this year? Or no. That was in the
 92 past.

93 FP: No. I no longer have it because when we try to have it and we punish them? But
 94 the children don't understand. It means that you don't do it like that. Okay something
 95 else is like? Me I am the head of the school but it needs the cooperation of
 96 teachers. I tell them that (.) the children are under all of us. You see something
 97 that's wrong? You correct it. But no they don't do it. So I'll talk and talk but I keep
 98 talking? But someone else is causing a problem on the other side. So I can't control
 99 them. That's now the main (.) one of our weaknesses as teachers. The supporting
 100 of the running of the school which is to (.) we suggest an idea for us to work towards
 101 but it doesn't work. That's why the children's weaknesses they'll come and they'll
 102 question. Yes they'll question us. We must question ourselves first. Before we
 103 criticise the children. Whether we show a good example to them or not. But what
 104 can we say.

105 F: So it means that you come back to a situation which (.) in an ideal situation we
 106 wish we could do it like that.

107 FP: Yes I wish that

108 F: But the reality?

109 FP: It can't.

110 F: It's hard.

- 111 FP: It's hard.
- 112 F: So you mean we can't have a rule that we can't enforce.
- 113 FP: Like to find a good solution? We should put it like to say (.) one thing only. We
114 say that the children speak French? It's French. It's not another language. So then
115 like we should all work together with it to make it so that we achieve what we want
116 at the end of the day. But when just the principal is trying to do it they don't do it but
117 how can we do it? It's hard.
- 118 F: But do you think there is place for other languages in the school? Or do you want
119 French only. Or is there place for Bislama here or English?
- 120 FP : There are (.) there are some subjects that you need it (.) because explanation
121 is quite hard in French. Like I said it's a language that is quite hard for the children?
122 So there are some (.) some subjects where it's allowed for a small time for them to
123 explain in (.) that this area they say it like this. Okay the children understand. That
124 ah okay in French they say it like this. So there are some subjects that (.) Bislama
125 goes inside a little. Okay an example I can give is a teacher (.) of English might
126 come to teach English? Like in a Francophone school. She might teach in Bislama.
127 And then she would just say that in English it's like this. Its pronunciation is like this.
128 It's like that. I think that's a good thing. I had an experience of a Peace Corps. She
129 worked at Melsisi. Like the children learnt good English. Because she explained in
130 Bislama and then (.) they understood. Because Bislama is a bit. There are some
131 words already tha::t are like English.
- 132 F: But in terms of Social Science? Or Agriculture or
- 133 FP: Yes.
- 134 F: Is there a place for Bislama there.
- 135 FP: Yes. If we say Science. We will find some. You can find some in Social Science.
136 There are some areas that children can't understand. Okay. In the programme we
137 have? We talk about (.) we don't talk about Vanuatu or the Pacific? We talk about
138 many other places too.
- 139 F: M-m.
- 140 FP: So get them to understand what these things are? An example I can give is
141 frontière³³. In French it's what they call the limit of a country. But when you say
142 frontière they are like what's that?
- 143 F: Yes because we don't have the same here.
- 144 FP: Okay. I will say to them look. Because Vanuatu is small islands. The sea divides
145 us. But in big countries like in Europe? That's where France is? There? They are
146 divided by something else. Something that means you can't cross it. That's what
147 they call frontières. You see the children are there. They look and see. Yes. We are
148 not the same.

³³ border

149 F: M-m.

150 FP: When you talk about the big continent? It's like that.

151 F: But then do you support any kind of language as long as

152 FP: Yes. Then the children understand it so you (.) when you go past a word that
 153 the children don't know it means that you have to use Bislama. Sometimes we have
 154 to (.) to make sure that children understand.

155 F: M-m. (2) Okay. So on this? We come to English and French again because you
 156 know we have these two languages so. Like in your experience? When you were at
 157 school? You learnt English? Did you do well in English or (.) was it something that
 158 you just focused on French.

159 FP: Okay Fiona in (.) in the past? Like we didn't have (.) there was English at
 160 school. But it wasn't like (.) it wasn't in the normal programme like we have today.
 161 Like the government (.) has put it into the national programme to force children to
 162 learn it. In the past they didn't really force it (1) [(xx)]

163 F: [(xx)]

164 FP: So (.) I regret this. Like today I'm one who regrets that I didn't always take part
 165 in lessons (.) English lessons. But today I regret this because now I'm in this
 166 position sometimes government documents are in English but (.) they come and
 167 then I have to make an effort to understand them (.) on my own.

168 F: But do you think it's hard now to speak it.

169 FP: Now it's hard for me to speak it.

170 F: Okay.

171 FP: If you spoke to me? I would understand a little but like it would be hard. But
 172 today like we say that we will go to a national programme. To make our children
 173 become good bilinguals. But today if you go into the offices all about where the
 174 directors are? You will find Francophone bilinguals. Those who are drafting this
 175 book? <points to curriculum statement on desk> They are all Francophones. They
 176 are bilingual. So they are now the machines of (.) of the government's new
 177 curriculum.

178 F: But when you say bilingual in Vanuatu? What do you mean by it?

179 FP: French English.

180 F: So you don't mean (.) like you are already bilingual. Like you speak your
 181 language and Bislama.

182 FP: Yes.

183 F: But that is also bilingual but=

184 FP: =I don't know if that is bilingual like you know your own two languages? You
 185 speak Bislama. You speak French.

186 F: That's it you're already multilingual before you start school. So when I hear the
 187 word bilingual I'm surprised. Like it's not just you. But in Vanuatu. We talk about
 188 English French bilingualism but. Like we are all bilingual already.

189 FP: No but that's some of us like (.) some of us Anglophones who go to school they
 190 are not bilingual. Because they find French hard. Ah we don't need French. You
 191 look. But for bilingual we talk about this we say these two languages but. We don't
 192 say- we don't look back to Bislama. Language. It means (we need teachers for)
 193 other languages already we are already bilingual. But like you've just explained that
 194 now but we base it only on what are the two main languages for teaching. When
 195 you use both of these? It means that this now qualifies him (1) he knows both
 196 languages.

197 F: We go for these two languages.

198 FP: We go for these two languages. Because Bislama is a (.) just a language of
 199 communication. It doesn't have a way of writing. When we write it we write
 200 according to our own idea of the grammar. We just write our vocabulary. Whatever
 201 you. You want to know whatever you write it. But it doesn't have a proper
 202 vocabulary for us to talk about or for us to look at. No. These words you write them
 203 however you like. Bislama is a language for communication. We use it because. If
 204 you go to Santo? There's another language. So if you speak Bislama you can
 205 communicate with someone from Santo someone from Ambae. But we don't count
 206 this. We talk about bilingualism in just the two main languages of teaching.

207 F: And then? Your own language? Like your mother tongue? Is that the same? Is
 208 that down there=

209 FP: =It's down there. It's down there. We don't talk about that because that is
 210 something that is like. It's normal. Bislama is like for communication with our other
 211 friends. But when like I meet someone from my island? Like we will speak our
 212 language. That's the identity of an island. So I'm from that island I'm talking about
 213 that? I've got that because it's an identity for me. So everyone. When we talk about
 214 (.) we talk about these two languages because then it's like becoming bilingual in
 215 the two main languages of teaching.

216 F: Okay.

217 FP: Or when we go to work but (.) a document comes in Fre- er in English I can
 218 understand. That's why the government needs both.

219 F: M-m. So do you think it's good for everyone in Vanuatu to know these two
 220 languages?

221 FP: That's it those people who were here they touched on this a little they want. All
 222 children (.) to become bilingual in the two languages.

223 F: But why? What is the benefit of this? Like of having both together at the same
224 time.

225 FP: That's it I can't really give you a straight answer because (.) I think the
226 government has the idea to make both children like (.) if children learn both
227 languages they will find things easy. In their lives.

228 (2)

229 F: But is that not what you think. (1) Do you feel that you survive with just French
230 and you're alright.

231 FP: Well now I can say. I'm going towards the evening now but I would like my
232 children to be like that.

233 F: Uh.

234 FP: Yes that's it.

235 F: So have your children schooled (.) English? No French.

236 FP: French.

237 F: All of them French.

238 FP: French. But there's no problem for either of them (.) they've learnt both because
239 (.) my first son went as far as Year 14? So I have no problem with him.

240 F: He speaks English too?

241 FP: Speaks English. The second one was at (.) Montmartre. And when he finished
242 he went to CNS. CNS is an English thing? So he did the same.

243 F: Okay so you wish that you

244 FP: I would like all children to be like the government have said? For them to be like
245 that.

246 F: But what do you think is the advantage of this. Like we talk about feeling good. Or
247 being proud of having these two languages but (.) is there any purpose? Or to (.)
248 just feel proud.

249 FP: No like we can say it has a purpose? Like in terms of work? And we can be
250 proud that we are the only country like this. But pride doesn't go too far. But
251 because with this when we travel to (.) go overseas? In whatever country we won't
252 have any problem because you throw some French? You throw some English? It's
253 an advantage for us when we go (.) we go to other places.

254 F: Is that for all of us? Like not many people will go out to

255 FP: Like.

256 F: Or should we prepare everyone.

257 FP: We talk about people like when a government delegation goes overseas? Then
 258 they look for people who are bilingual. If there is a minister who is (.) who is
 259 Anglophone? He can't go to France with all the Francophone people. He must take
 260 a bilingual person for him to guide him in everything. O::r his speeches? He will
 261 make them. He will translate them. So you see it's something that helps people in
 262 the government? And it's something that enables individuals to travel to other
 263 countries? So you won't find it hard. It will be easy for you.

264 F: So we are talking about (.) if a person knows both languages. If he is bilingual in
 265 these two languages. Then he can get a job or he can go overseas. But if we don't
 266 think about individual people. If we think about the whole country? Is there a benefit
 267 for Vanuatu? Like the whole country having both languages.

268 FP: Okay. On this like if we compare a bit with other countries like you in England?
 269 You just need English. (2) But we (.) we are proud of being the only country in the
 270 Pacific? That we speak two languages. But being proud as we said before like I
 271 don't know. Maybe it's (.) I can say that we don't know what the future will be for the
 272 country.

273 F: M-m. But in terms of maybe (.) the economy or some-. Like do you think there are
 274 benefits of

275 FP: Yes I think that's good. I think that for (.) the economy it's good because you
 276 won't find things that we get from overseas that are in English hard. You have the
 277 language already. Or that come in another language? You can. Okay. In terms of
 278 now as we go into the second cycle? You will find (.) us teaching Japanese. Today?
 279 Some of our students are in China and Japan.

280 F: M-m.

281 FP: Like it's to do with tourism. We can say. It's a language for when people come
 282 from outside we can have guides. To help the country (.) in terms of tourism. When
 283 they come (.) the Chinese come speaking their language? How we will answer
 284 them.

285 F: So if for example we decide today that (.) no. Maybe it's too expensive? Having
 286 these two languages. We get rid of one. We use just English. Or just French. Would
 287 that create problems for the country or not.

288 FP: Yes Fiona I can't answer that because when I look at this book? <points to new
 289 national curriculum statement on desk> They are maintaining the two languages.

290 F: M-m.

291 FP: So I don't think you can cut one out.

292 F: Okay.

293 FP: It wouldn't be possible. It would maybe take time. But when (.) let me tell you
 294 that when (.) Vanuatu was just reaching independence they wanted to cut out
 295 French.

296 F: M-m. And then they protested.

297 FP: They protested about it.

298 F: M-m. So that's what I'm asking if it just something to do with individuals' thinking.
 299 Like their pride? Because they feel that being Francophone is something good. Or
 300 does it have like a material use?

301 FP: Okay. Fiona. I can say something? Between ourselves? Like now you see us. A
 302 Francophone and an Anglophone? They don't go together. Something now that we
 303 are trying to do so you forget this idea. We become man Vanuatu. If you say that we
 304 speak Bislama then we speak Bislama. If we speak English we speak English. But
 305 you should no longer say no I'm Francophone we are Anglophone. That's the idea
 306 now that we are creating. So I think that to cut out one of these two languages
 307 would take a long time long time. So I can say that beginning with the time we
 308 reached independence? They wanted to cut it out. But the demonstration happened
 309 so they put it back. Walter put it back. But their idea was to have (.) one language.

310 F: Okay so we've talked about this (.) uh I've looked at this <points to curriculum
 311 statement> like they've discussed it but (.) they haven't really decided the answer
 312 about language yet. They don't know whether we will continue having Anglophones
 313 over there? Francophones over there. Where we would just follow the same
 314 content? Or whether to join the two systems so that we all school (.) there's just one
 315 type of school. Which do you think is the best answer.

316 FP: Okay the plan that the government has suggested now? The children come
 317 straight to (.) they are doing some trials at some schools already. Their results will
 318 come out at the end of this year. Okay they teach the children in kindy? Up to Class
 319 2. In French. After Class 2 they swing to English. Okay to continue up to Year 8 to
 320 see their exam results. Okay. Class 2 or Class 4 I don't think so. Maybe Class 2.

321 F: I don't think they've decided yet which year to change in. But yes they've put
 322 some proposals forward.

323 FP: Yes Fiona that's one trial. There are two in the Banks two on Pentecost (.) we
 324 don't have any in Penama. No sorry not Penama on Ambae. So that's what I'm
 325 saying we don't know. Whether this system will work.

326 F: That's it do you think it's possible to join them=

327 FP: =I can tell you Fiona that now. This system will take a long time. Because they
 328 will do a trial? I don't know maybe there will be some changes. So I don't know
 329 which level they want the children to get to. And then which language. They haven't
 330 talked about this. But something we've talked about you will find that when the
 331 children go through? They will make two branches. French English. But as they go
 332 up to Year 13? It will be the same programme.

333 F: Yes because at the moment we only go up to Year 10 and then

334 FP: Yes that's it. We say that we are ni-Vanuatu. That's all. The system of
 335 Anglophones and Francophones or even suppose I teach in the Francophone and

336 you teach in the Anglophone? In the English language? But we don't talk about it
337 like ah you teach English no. It's an opportunity for all of us you one (.) two
338 languages now. So the system that the government is saying now? When you go
339 around I no longer want to hear Francophone Anglophone. When this happens you
340 see one go here one go there. No. You just say I am Man Vanuatu.

341 F: But is it possible that we can be man Vanuatu but some learn all their subjects in
342 English? Others learn all their subjects in French? It's not Anglophone Francophone
343 it's ni-Vanuatu? But some learn in English and some learn in French. Is that
344 possible?

345 FP: Okay something else. They want to try having some teachers who learn both
346 languages. To teach in English. And at the same time to teach in French. But the
347 same subject. That's what they are doing they've just done this at Malapoa³⁴ it will
348 be three years. Three years rather than two. So now? This new curriculum is trying
349 to teach these young people already.

350 F: But if we (.) we come back to the first question we discussed about the level of
351 French not being enough? Do you think if we add English in there with French
352 would it make it (.) it (.) go worse now or

353 FP: That we don't know.

354 F: They are not ready to learn Biology or whatever in French? And now we want to
355 use French and English together in Biology? Won't that make it (.) harder?

356 FP: No I think that would be okay. Because for a Francophone to go to English
357 there's no problem. For English to go to Francophone now they will find it. But if
358 they put them together in one place where (.) we learn in both languages that's why
359 I say they are trying to get the teachers to speak the same language to both. Both
360 groups of children. To instil this thinking that the two become one. So teachers know
361 how to handle the children. So I think that if it was like that it would be okay for
362 Francophones to understand English it wouldn't be a problem.

363 F: But then it seems that (.) like this is just my idea but if Anglophones? They find it
364 hard to like accommodate French? And then? Francophones learn English well? It
365 seems that French will go down. Because both will focus on English. French will

366 FP: If you look now. Today? Many of us who speak French they use (.) a lot of
367 French. When they speak it's not a good French. Many now are using a lot of
368 English. I think if we keep doing this maybe one day French will just be for
369 communication. I think about what we've said about your question? I think that it will
370 be a long time. To understand this. If you understand? English so that. There is no
371 need to go back to French. We work in English only. So what you say I think it will
372 come true but a long time in the future.

373 F: It's not like an ideal way like what we want but (.) if you look at the moment? At
374 the way that the two languages work together. English is

³⁴ The Vanuatu Institute of Teacher Education is located in the same area as Malapoa (an Anglophone secondary school)

375 FP: English is like a bit higher because some Francophones are trying to find a way
 376 to go towards that.

377 F: M-m. So do you think French. Francophones like we don't really want to call them
 378 Francophones but. People who school French? Do you think they are defending
 379 their language. Are they fighting to keep French.

380 FP: I don't think so. It's true in some areas like some schools that we can mention in
 381 the town. There are some areas where some some uh French organisations that
 382 are heavily involved with French and that want people to (.) know French too are
 383 behind us because they have money behind them (.) to maintain their language. But
 384 I think like (1) one day maybe it will be a long time but (.) if the country gets to a time
 385 that children perform well in French? If it surpasses English I think that won't be a
 386 problem. Like in Caledonia. If an English speaker goes to Caledonia it will be hard
 387 for him. Because the system?

388 F: Yes.

389 FP: Is Francophone.

390 F: Just French. Okay. But do you think like (.) as principal. Do you think the
 391 government is doing anything to try and encourage Francophone schools to like
 392 raise the level of French again or is it something from outside. Like you've said the
 393 French government supports this.

394 FP: No. At the moment? The Ministry of Education is trying to do something like
 395 they are pushing (.) opening another (.) Year 12 for rattrapage³⁵. That's what we call
 396 it in French. Rattrapage for those who (.) who fail the Year 12 exams? They've
 397 created a centre at USP. So they can take courses there in French and English at
 398 the same time. So that they can come back? They can sit the exam again? Then
 399 continue to USP if they want to.

400 F: Okay.

401 FP: So for us from the government? Like at the moment the Minister who is there is
 402 Francophone. So now? If you look at all (.) the children who get to the end of Year
 403 14 with good marks? But they obtain scholarships to the Philippines. The
 404 Philippines is an Anglophone university. I think for those in the Francophone system
 405 to go they have no problem. They are suitable.

406 F: For Francophone bilinguals.

407 FP: Bilingual.

408 F: But those who only speak French do you think it's hard for=

409 FP: =No it's hard.

410 F: To go outside.

³⁵ Remedial or 'catch up' classes

411 FP: It's hard.

412 F: But are there any going to New Caledonia at the moment?

413 FP: That's what I'm (.) the programme is there but the problem is that

414 F: Oh yes you said earlier.

415 FP: The level is not (.) very good only those who make an effort stay there. Those
 416 who go and play around too much they go and see a different lifestyle over there but
 417 (.) they come back.

418 F: So now with like the situation that we have do you think that Anglophones have
 419 an advantage in terms of scholarships? Or if not do Francophones have to be
 420 bilingual first. They have to change to English to study.

421 FP: Okay for this at the level of our universities? There are many that are
 422 Anglophone.

423 F: M-m.

424 FP: So in our Anglophone system at the moment we have many universities across
 425 the Pacific. More than us Francophones. We just have Caledonia.

426 F: M-m. Is there Tahiti or not. Is that no longer (.) French Poly=

427 FP: =Tahiti. Tahiti doesn't have much. Caledonia is better (.) it's more developed
 428 than Tahiti. So that's it. If there aren't any others then that's it now. So now children
 429 who school French up to Year 14? But they are selected to go to other Anglophone
 430 institutions. So they want to achieve something in their lives? So I think that the
 431 English they learn helps them a lot.

432 F: Okay. So in terms of jobs is it the same?

433 FP: The same.

434 F: If you are Anglophone you can find a job easily? French is not needed?

435 FP: Yes. No it's like that. Like I've said. At the moment the posts that are offered
 436 today in terms of jobs? They are mainly offered to Anglophones. But if you have a
 437 Francophone or they might say for the last ones that whether you speak French or
 438 you speak English? It's also good for you to apply. So it means that the first priority
 439 is English? But the other language can also work. French or Bislama comes in. But
 440 French will be the second language for you to (1) so I think that it's (.) the majority of
 441 us today who are working are Fra- er Anglophones they get more jobs than us.

442 F: But still (.) if you had more children would you still put them in Francophone?

443 FP: Okay. Now you will see. Fiona now many parents enrol one in Francophone
 444 another one in

445 F: That's right.

446 FP: This system happens a lot these days. The young generation today. They want
 447 this one to school over here that one to school over there.

448 F: So do you think this is good.

449 FP: I think this is good.

450 F: Because (.) it will help the whole family?

451 FP: No like because the two of you won't find (.) like so that you find it easy to (.)
 452 speak (.) the family to (.) suppose one hasn't got it but the other one has we can
 453 count on him you see. So I think that this is what parents. This is their thinking.

454 (2)

455 F: Okay. But at the moment do you think Angloph- there are more Anglophones in
 456 Vanuatu than Francophones? Is that still the case here.

457 FP: Yes. There are many (.) many Anglophone schools. They have somewhere
 458 around eighteen secondary schools? We have eight. You see? Ten different. So
 459 that is a big difference.

460 F: And in the whole world? Do you think it's the same. Like do Anglophones
 461 dominate=

462 FP: =We can say that because the language that we speak most in the world is
 463 English. The first language. French maybe comes number two or number three.

464 F: So does that mean that when you come back to Francophone schools you
 465 promote English to help children with (.) like in terms of their opportunities in the
 466 world? Or do you still focus on French. Because it's the main language here.

467 FP: Like me (.) here? No I take them together. I am someone who wants to make it
 468 so that (.) like I've said bilingualism in the two languages that the constitution talks
 469 about? I would like the French that we speak a lot here? For you learn English to
 470 the same level. You try and use them as your two tools. To help you.

471 F: But are there any opportunities to use it at school? Just in English class.

472 FP: Next year I will have an Anglophone teacher teaching English.

473 F: Uh?

474 FP: That's right. <smiles>

475 F: You look pleased about that. <laughs>

476 FP: That's it I feel.

477 F: Okay.

478 FP: To try it. I will give him (.) some other subjects if he feels he can teach them.

479 F: Okay.

480 FP: His wife has already said that her husband is coming next year.

481 F: Okay. So to make English improve? And for French to improve at the same time.

482 FP: That's it. I want both levels to go. Because I want to promote the children to go.

483 When they reach the level of finishing Year 10? And then they go to Year 11 Year

484 12? They won't have a problem.

485 F: M-m.

486 FP: So the children must understand that I (.) there must be this vision of I want to

487 be whatever. I want to become like this. I talk to them a lot but

488 F: M-m.

489 FP: But some will maybe be okay.

490 F: Okay. Maybe my last question is about money. Like we haven't talked about (.)

491 like we've just talked about ideas in this situation. But do you think there is any cost

492 of this? Like of us maintaining both languages or having (.) like all training must be

493 done twice or for this? <points to curriculum statement> You have a French copy on

494 your desk and an English copy on your desk. Like this takes money to. Are there

495 any problems with this?

496 FP: These books? The Vanuatu government doesn't make them. Outside donors

497 make them. <F laughs>

498 F: Okay so Vanuatu doesn't worry about

499 FP: No like we try and help but let me try and give an example. There are about

500 nine hundred teachers. The education budget? Is three billion five hundred million?

501 Three billion. Three billion. But for our salaries we eat up half of this already. We eat

502 up two (.) two billion. How can the government develop on one point five? It's not

503 enough. So it needs help.

504 F: But do you think that maintaining two systems makes this harder or

505 FP: Yes.

506 F: Because you say it's not enough to develop but

507 FP: It's not enough.

508 F: If there was only one system would it (.) would it help or not.

509 FP: I can't tell you. But that's it. I'm not the government. I can't tell the government

510 that it should have one system. Maybe if the government spent the country's money

511 well then it should be okay. But you will hear a lot about corruption. Some

512 unnecessary things that we spend money on. Court cases for things that we are

513 wasting money on. You look. The government doesn't control its funds properly. But

514 if it controlled its finances well I don't think that we would have a problem with it.

515 F: Okay.

516 FP: They just wait for the donors to give them money. If they spent the money well.
517 If they followed whatever planning the government should make and their expenses
518 without any other ideas. I think it would be alright. But now? You see we like you
519 find that you want to do whatever you want to do something. But there's too much
520 mess. The government tries one project. It doesn't finish it. But it abandons it to
521 bring another one in.

522 F: That's it I've heard that next year they will go back to having Year 7 going to
523 secondary.

524 FP: Yes they are closing all the top-ups. They keep telling us that we have to follow
525 this but then? The government hasn't done its work. Like we talk about money. How
526 will it develop if it doesn't spend its money properly. The country's money. We're
527 hanging rope round the necks of the parents. (2) So that's it we don't have a stable
528 government that considers what the nation needs. We should focus on this? And
529 forget about that. But their planning is poor. If there was a stable government that
530 did good things? I think that the country would improve. But it depends on our
531 government. Doing their jobs well.

532 F: <laughs> Yes it's true. (2) Okay. I shouldn't take up any more of your time. Thank
533 you very much again.

534 FP: Thank you very much Fiona.

**Appendix XVIII – Interview with the Director of Policy and Planning (DPP)
(Original)**

Date: 23-02-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: The interview took place at the start of the first period of fieldwork, as I was waiting to travel to Ambae. We made several appointments but had to cancel them, because the director was called away, and because I was assured on three occasions that I would be flying to Ambae. I then found myself sitting next to him at a VanEGRA presentation, but still couldn't find a time to meet. Finally, on the day I actually did fly to Ambae, the director's secretary rang me at 7.30am to say that the director would meet me at 8.00am.

He arrived late so I had to wait a long time outside. As we walked to his office, he explained that he had had to go back home because of a family emergency and then traffic problems due to an accident. He had already started talking about the Education Language Policy team and the technical advisor in charge, before I had a chance to ask if I could start the recording. He was fine with that and just carried on talking.

The interview presented an opportunity to ask about a range of very general issues to do with language policy.

- 1 DPP: Yes hem bae i finis nao.
- 2 F: Yes hem i se se bae hem i go bak long nekis wik o afta nekis wik?
- 3 DPP: Hem i stap long ples ia klosap tu yia/s nao. Tu yia/s. Be i no finisim lanwis
- 4 polisi yet. Oli no iven gat draft blong lanwis polisi.
- 5 F: Mi luk draft i kamaot finis be::
- 6 DPP: No nogat.
- 7 F: Be hem i givim wan kopi long mi. Oli talem final draft be=
- 8 DPP: =No:: hemia ol consultation blong ol nomo.
- 9 F: Ah.
- 10 DPP: Oli go raon. Oli wokem consultation?
- 11 F: Uh-uh.
- 12 DPP: Mo oli putum tugeta wanem we oli consult long hem. But hem (.) hem i no
- 13 polisi ia.

- 14 F: M-m.
- 15 DPP: Oli nid blong yusum hemia blong putum polisi tugeta.
- 16 F: M-m. Yes mi luk document ia oli putum se hem i olsem las final proposal blong
17 mifala. I gat wan we hem i vernacular Inglis Franis. Narawan we hem i vernacular
18 Franis Inglis. Naoia hem i talem se bae oli putum tufala tugeta ia nao. Ale minista i
19 save jes jusum se bae i hemia o hemia.
- 20 DPP: No (.) krangke. Oli should not mekem hemia.
- 21 F: M-m.
- 22 DPP: Yeah from we hem i (.) yu save taem we yu (.) consult from lanwis polisi
23 olsem ia. Yu yu sud luk long plante defren samting wantaem. Yes yu sud luk long
24 which wan blong olgeta ia hem i gud blong kaontri. From every day rides on the
25 language policy. Our culture our identity (.) evri ting ia i stap long lanwis polisi.
- 26 F: M-m.
- 27 DPP: Yu no save jes come up with wan lanwis polisi and say this is just an
28 education one. There's no such thing as an educational language policy.
- 29 F: M-m.
- 30 DPP: Uh yu karem lanwis polisi (.) that's for life (.) eh so yu yusum lanwis polisi hem
31 i kam olsem blong promotem kalja blong ol pipol (.) blong promotem identity blong
32 ol pipol (.) blong promotem olgeta storian evri ting blong ol pipol. O:: yu yusum wan
33 nara lanwis we:: hem i gat nating to do wetem ol pipol.
- 34 F: M-m.
- 35 DPP: Yeah. So:: (.) the issue blo::ng hemia (.) basically first and foremost (.) oli
36 neva askem kwestin ia why (.) I mean from wanem yu mas karem ol lanwis polisi.
- 37 F: M-m.
- 38 DPP: Yeah and secondly taem we yu karem and the issue of uh (.) what are we
39 trying to do with this language policy. Hem i to do with just basically (.) uh:: blong
40 wan tul blong understanding (.) so sapos hem i jes wan tul blong bringim
41 understanding (.) bringim ol knowledge ol samting olsem? Then (.) any language
42 will do.
- 43 F: M-m.
- 44 DPP: But yeah I mean. And then taem yu bringim wanem in (.) then that's another
45 thing. So:: the issue is (.) wanem nao yu really wantem mekem wetem lanwis polisi
46 (.) What's it for.
- 47 F: M-m.
- 48 DPP: From lanwis polisi hem i stap finis. Hemia we er blong wan nasonal lanwis
49 polisi hem i stap.

50 F: M-m.

51 (1)

52 DPP: Um hemia we oli wokem (.) hemia aot saed long lanwis polisi.

53 F: M-m.

54 DPP: So (.) the issue of er contradiction (.) the issue of you know (.) wan blong
 55 nasonal wan i talem wan defren samting and then afta yu karem hemia blong
 56 edyukesen i talem wan nara samting.

57 F: M-m.

58 DPP: No. Hem i no common sense.

59 F: Be afta. Hu nao i putum se olsem tim ia i stap wok long samting ia? Olsem man
 60 ia i no jes kam nomo. Wan man i talem long hem i kam.

61 DPP: Yes (.) er (1) um (.) basically olgeta ia we oli stap long tim (.) er hem nao i
 62 kam oli jusum ol pipol blong olgeta i stap insaed. Be:: the issue is (.) taem we yu
 63 lukluk long ol samting ia (.) i gat ol preparation wok blong hemia because lanwis
 64 polisi bae i affect/em evri ting long edyukesen. (1) So the question of why the
 65 language policy which one you should choose. All of these things must be guided by
 66 some certain kind of criteria (.) we hem i sud stap (.) jes blong go toktok wetem ol
 67 pipol (.) well it's not good enough. From fulap blong ol pipol ia oli stap ia oli no gat
 68 eni aedia about (.) er (.) yu no about lanwis in terms of hao yu lanem lanwis (.) yu
 69 know (.) ol samting olsem. They just don't have that er (.) blong yu go consult
 70 wetem ol. It's like eh yu know yu karem wan (.) ah (.) yu karem wan mathematician
 71 yu go consult long olgeta ol issue to do wetem mathematics.

72 F: M-m.

73 DPP: You know.

74 F: Yes. Olgeta ia oli faenem se oli no save (.) givim wan choice too.

75 DPP: No:: nogat (.) sapos yu kam talem ol options then yu mas putum ol (.) ol (.)
 76 options we yu karem ol research findings we:: either oli sapotem options ia o oli no
 77 sapotem options ia ol samting olsem. Yu save. Yu no save jes kam talem se options
 78 wan tu tri hemia. Yu choose.

79 F: M-m.

80 DPP: It's like. You know. It's. I mean the whole idea biae long hem in terms of
 81 logical.

82 F: M-m.

83 DPP: You know. E::r i::t's it's like er:: yu wantem mekem wan samting olsem er::
 84 blong mun ah? Raket i go long mun ah? Hao blong go long mun yu go talem long
 85 pipol.

86 F: M-m.

87 DPP: It's:: uh the issue of having language policy hem i gud be:: the issue of hao
 88 blong adresem. Hao blong go about/em. Uh:: lukluk blong mekem decision. What's
 89 the international language for example.

90 (1)

91 F: M-m.

92 (1)

93 DPP: Er wanem nao hem i lanwis blong commerce.

94 F: M-m.

95 DPP: Where are you going to get the people to (.) like for example like er:: I mean
 96 why nao yumi sud putum Inglis fas wan ia for example (.) why should we put English
 97 uh:: to be one of our languages (.) from wanem?

98 F: M-m.

99 (1)

100 DPP: O from wanem French? I mean these are (.) long mi? O for example like
 101 vernacular (.) from wanem vernacular?

102 F: M-m.

103 DPP: These are (.) ol critical baseline questions we yumi sud ansarem.

104 F: M-m.

105 DPP: Uh (.) sud lukaotem ansa blong hem. Be those things aren't. Jes gohed nomo
 106 and then go tok long ol pipol ia oh we need a language policy. These are the
 107 options nao wanem nao tingting blong yu.

108 F: M-m.

109 DPP: I mean. Blong mi the whole process is to start off with is inappropriate.

110 F: M-m. Be yu yu ting se oli sud combine/em tufala (.) mekem se bilingual system?
 111 O:: yu harem se [(xx) i stap finis]

112 DPP: [(xx)] (.) blong mi? Bilif blong mi the way we mi mi
 113 lukum? Is that taem we yu luk long ol kwestin we mi stap askem ia? Yu save. Sam
 114 long ol kwestin we mi askem ia? Basically we nao yu wantem se yu karem yumi i go
 115 long hem? Why should everybody talk fluently in both English and French. (1) I
 116 mean wan kwestin we oli stap talem is this that er (.) so that yu save karem wok. I
 117 mean (.) I mean <very high intonation> honestly (.) I mean honestly (.) I was (.) yu
 118 traem tingbaot olgeta pipol we (.) how many how many long evri styuden/s ia bae oli
 119 karem janis blong go wok long overseas.

120 F: M-m.

121 DPP: How many? What percentage are you talking about. The main issue here is
 122 that pikinini i mas lan gud.

123 F: M-m.

124 DPP: Yu save. I mean blong mi that's the baseline. So basically the language only
 125 becomes a tool (.) so long mi (.) the language is not (.) olsem basically (.) it's not
 126 supposed to be the main one. Eh? The main one that's going to drive is why you
 127 use that language. I mean me basically. Mi mi go for vernacular for starting off and
 128 do a good job long vernacular.

129 (1)

130 F: M-m.

131 DPP: Olsem. French and er English no. Olsem. Tufala ia i should come later. Afta
 132 yu gat gud strong er (.) I mean the argument that (1) the argument that uh:: you
 133 need blong kam early so that er:: oli save lanem Franis early o lanem Inglis early I
 134 mean. What for? I mean <laughs> I mean honestly. I mean <high intonation> what
 135 for? Because hem i no really contribute a lot long learning blong ol pikinini.

136 F: M-m. Be hemia wan tingting nomo i stap se (.) ol man oli ting se yumi no gud long
 137 Inglis yumi mas start/em off early.

138 DPP: Yes I mean (.) be sapos hem i lanem gud lanwis blong hem? Bambaie hem i
 139 mekem i isi blong hem i lanem gud Inglis i lanem gud Franis i lanem Chinese or
 140 Japanese or whatever. Er:: I mean sapos yumi stap lukluk in terms long ol mi mi ting
 141 se wan long ol issue wan nation kaontri lanwis (.) it should become one of the
 142 options. I mean firstly they are closer to us (.) and secondly they are coming up a
 143 lot. But that's not the issue. The issue is:: yumi wantem pikinini whatever language
 144 oli lan naolia (.) they learn well. Me basically? Ol pipol oli talem se oh you've got
 145 over a hundred different languages and then hem i difficult. I mean you look at the
 146 other examples around the world. Defren ples/es oli stap faet from survival blong
 147 lanwis blong olgeta. You know. Oli stap faet long hem. Vanuatu don't even care. Oli
 148 wantem survival blong Franis and Inglis lanwis. Olsem long mi I mean that's (.)
 149 olsem long mi that's absurd uh? Olsem hem i krangke.

150 F: M-m.

151 DPP: Hem i krangke. Hem i krangke. From long mi. The whole issue is learning.
 152 Sapos yu save (.) create/em wan gud environment and gud tingting blong learning
 153 blong i promotem gud learning and all researchers oli faenemaot se you do that
 154 basically by starting off gud long lanwis blong yu. Then long mi that's the way you
 155 should go.

156 F: M-m.

157 DPP: Yu save. And whether you then branch off i go long Inglis o branch off i go
 158 long French hem i no wan (.) long mi it's not an issue. Because yumi fulap pikinini
 159 long ples ia? Oli multilinguals finis.

160 F: Yes oli tokbaot bilingual be::

161 DPP: Yes.

162 F: Oli bilingual finis=

163 DPP: =Yes yumi tokbaot bilingual we:: basically <laughs> ol pikinini ol plante blong
 164 olgeta oli tok tu tri defren lanwis/es finis.

165 F: Okei.

166 DPP: So:: I mean long mi the way we mi lukum it's the issue of (.) yumi adoptem
 167 wanem lanwis we yumi adoptem. Mek sua se that yumi mekem gud job long hem so
 168 olgeta pikinini oli karem gud samting we oli save lan from with good understanding
 169 (.) and also good reading. Yu save (.) mainly yu stap harem se yu harem save yu
 170 tok save. Be the issue blong raetem gud? No:: hemia oli no stap tingting long hem
 171 yet. But long mi (.) sapos yu really wantem ol (.) mas raetem olgeta (.) oli mas
 172 raetem gud lanwis we oli lan long hem.

173 F: M-m.

174 DPP: So blong mi the issue blong putum two or three different languages blong oli
 175 lanem fo (.) long early stage. Olgeta (.) er even though oli stap talem se no olgeta
 176 pikinini oli smol oli save lanem olgeta defren lanwis/es ia yes hem i tru. But in terms
 177 of writing?

178 F: M-m.

179 DPP: Long mi it's not like that. Yu save. Long mi hem i no olsem. So:: mi mi ting se
 180 long olgeta i mas mek sua se at least oli gud long raeting. Mas gud long raeting.
 181 Wan blong olgeta lanwis/es blong ol we oli skul long hem.

182 F: M-m.

183 DPP: Sapos oli no gud long hem then?

184 F: Yes.

185 DPP: I mean what's the use blong mi stap tok French mi stap tok Inglis. And then
 186 afta mi go long vilej/es oli no tok Inglis. And mi stap long ia we klosap evri ting is in
 187 Bislama.

188 F: M-m.

189 DPP: Mifala i go long miting. Bislama. Parliament. Bislama. Radio. Bislama. Bislama
 190 long evri ples. Be:: sapos polisi blong mifala i talem opposite? Hem i no mekem
 191 sense.

192 F: M-m.

193 DPP: Be:: so. Wanem we mi stap basically talem is. Lanwis polisi. Whatever lanwis
 194 mifala i adoptem ol pikinini oli mas gud long hem. So that olgeta oli save
 195 communicate. Oli save lan and then olgeta oli save express/em olgeta long hem.

196 But er the issue of (.) er (.) karem sam politikal argument ova long lanwis er (1) I
 197 mean no. Even just talem (.) no yu mas lanem lanwis ia for the sake of learning it (.)
 198 yumi no nid it.

199 F: M-m. Hemia nao.

200 DPP: M-m.

201 F: Be wanem tingting blong yu long saed blong Bislama insaed long edyukesen.
 202 Olsem yu talem vernacular be::

203 DPP: Bislama:: (.) Bislama long mi Bislama actually hem i (.) olsem pipol oli stap
 204 talem. Hem i dipen nao long wanem yumi minim long term blong yumi (.) wanem
 205 yumi minim by vernacular. Olsem blong mi Bislama i no vernacular. Er (3) hem i
 206 wan nasonal lanwis ye::s be:: er blong mi vernacular lanwis hem i lanwis we yu
 207 actually yu save yu karem papa blong yu (.) olgeta bifo long yu (.) go long hem.
 208 Because long mi (.) hem i show/em se hem i dip. I dip insaed long kalja.

209 F: M-m.

210 DPP: Insaed long wod/s hao oli yusum ol wod/s. Hao oli express/em olgeta. Hem i
 211 actually the way of how they grew up the way how they live the way how they yu
 212 save (.) basically the language and language the way oli express/em (olgeta long
 213 hem) is basically (.) tells us about who they are. Well er (.) that's their identity. Yes
 214 (.) be sapos yumi tekem se as er (.) ingrained in our language is our culture?

215 F: M-m.

216 DPP: Er:: (.) is that the risk yumi mas tekem?

217 F: M-m.

218 DPP: So basically mi stap talem se pipol mo kalja changes with time. Okei. It's true.
 219 Culture changes with time. But the reality is that that (.) do you want to have all
 220 those important aspects lo kalja? Do you want them changed?

221 F: M-m.

222 DPP: You you want them thrown out the window? And sapos yu stap tingting olsem
 223 se these things oli develop over thousands of years. (1) Uh (1) blong mi blong mi jes
 224 throw/em away.

225 F: M-m.

226 DPP: I mean is that good common sense thinking. I mean yumi no tokbaot er you
 227 know deep thinking just tokbaot common sense thinking. Er I mean is that okay
 228 blong mi? Blong mi er (.) mi stap uh all these things we ol bubu blong mi ol great
 229 bubu blong mi (.) bifo long hem (.) and they are nothing.

230 F: M-m.

231 DPP: What's the risal blong mi. If I throw them away I've thrown myself away.

232 F: M-m.

233 DPP: So blong mi create/em another me? Bae i tekem how many more thousands
234 of years. And hem i likely se global er vilej oli stap talem?

235 F: M-m.

236 DPP: Yumi likely nidim wan uh. <laughs> So that's er (.) so blong mi issue blong
237 lanwis hem i er (.) like (.) politically hem i sensitive long ples ia.

238 F: M-m.

239 DPP: Hem i sensitive but mi mi ting se the real questions we mifala i really nid blong
240 askem uh:: (.) was not done in the consultation.

241 F: M-m.

242 DPP: So that's (.) that's how mi lukum.

243 F: M-m.

244 DPP: That's er (.) basically what you're asking me. Mi (.) uh:: (.) yumi really wantem
245 preserve. Yumi wantem gat wan samting we ol grand/grandchildren blong mi hem i
246 save talem se yes mi wan manples.

247 F: M-m.

248 DPP: But in the next er (.) thirty forty years time? What does that mean. Taem hem i
249 talem se hem i man ples. Hem i wan (.) blong mi these are the kind of things we
250 hem i no really adresem.

251 F: M-m.

252 DPP: Olgeta i no really adresem. And er hem i sad.

253 F: M-m.

254 DPP: Yes and especially by the rate we bae mifala i save lusum ol lanwis/es blong
255 mifala sam oli (.) i tru se yumi karem handred defren lanwis/es but the reality is that
256 sam long ol lanwis/es oli spoken by a few handfuls of people.

257 F: M-m.

258 DPP: Er so:: so sapos edyukesen hem i no plem role. A key role blong traem blong
259 kipim sam long olgeta ia (.) yumi stap tokbaot heritage ia (.) yumi stap tokbaot kipim
260 yu know what is valuable to us and our value. I think yumi stap throw/em away the
261 most valuable thing here.

262 F: M-m.

263 DPP: You know.

264 F: Yes i tru ia.

265 DPP: It's er (.) be anyway. Yumi stap go on about hemia but nao issue ia about
 266 lanwis mi ting se sometimes (2) yumi mekem too much unnecessary fuss over long
 267 hem. Mifala i should be simple. Understanding se language is basically a way of (.)
 268 promoting our own culture our own identity and also promoting better learning. You
 269 know er in school so:: mifala i sud lukluk long ol hemia ia and decide rather than
 270 yusum ol narafala.

271 F: M-m.

272 DPP: So (1) yestedei yumi stap long presentation?³⁶ <quietly> Everybody is
 273 struggling. The whole question is that okay (.) because uh yumi no karem ol gud
 274 teaching (.) mebi yumi no karem ol gud syllabus o samting olsem. But that's only
 275 one side of the story.

276 F: M-m.

277 DPP: But I mean the other side of the story olgeta pikinini. Are they literate in who
 278 they are?

279 F: M-m.

280 DPP: Sapos olgeta oli no hemia (.) oli stil kipim blong olgeta o oli lus?

281 F: M-m.

282 DPP: These are the other side of the story we long mi oli just as valuable. So sapos
 283 edyukesen i no adresem ol issue ia hu (.) huia?

284 F: M-m.

285 DPP: Hu bae i adresem?

286 F: M-m.

287 DPP: Se (.) yestedei yumi stap sidaon (.) ol narasaed ia oli aot saed. <Laughs>

288 F: <laughs> Yes you tried to ask questions.

289 DPP: Aot saed long presentation so (.) not possible (.) bae i no possible. Blong mi
 290 askem.

291 F: Yes (.) Uh-uh.

292 DPP: But it's one of those things uh. Hem i no problem blong mi. Problem blong mi
 293 is:: mi always think aot saed long. And uh:: (.) and the thing is. Mi mi always wantem
 294 go down to the root (.) you know. Mi no wantem deal wetem ol branches (.) ol
 295 samting ia. No. Blong mi that's (.) er:: (.) blong mi that's not what education should
 296 be looking at.

297 F: M-m.

³⁶ VANEGR test results

298 DPP: Blong mi education should be looking at root things and then yumi adresem
 299 long ples ia. Because once yumi adresem hemia hem i sud adresem every other
 300 one. Hem i sud adresem stamba adresem er (.) ol branches ol fruits or whatever. I
 301 mean those long mi oli jes ol product blong ol stamba (.) the roots of the tree.

302 F: M-m.

303 DPP: So long mi that's why yesterday. That's the reason why mi askem ol kwestin
 304 ia. Yumi save se for everything yumi mekem karemaot wan assessment (.) the
 305 assessment must be valid.

306 F: M-m.

307 DPP: It's not only valid long content we oli lanem. It must also be valid in terms of
 308 where are the kids at. So you are going to assess them on something where (.)
 309 basically (.) olgeta pikinini (.) because of their culture and their ways olgeta oli stap
 310 long wan defren base. And then yu putum wan er assessment we (.) so long mi
 311 these are the kind of questions mi stap wantem askem. Because long mi that's what
 312 validity (.) in what we do. But we are poor <laughs> long ol lanwis/es. Be yestedei
 313 hem i givim yumi wan microscopic view uh (.) so hem i pinpoint/em (1) which is
 314 good. Hem i gud but=

315 F: =M-m hem i wansaed nomo.

316 DPP: Yes long mi hem i impoten se oli save lanwis be evriwan i save. Yu save gud
 317 lanwis but sapos (.) thinking ability blong yu. (1) Hem i no up long level we yumi
 318 ekspektem.

319 F: Yes.

320 DPP: Then the whole question of (.) <laughs> sapos for example yu really wantem
 321 se cultures to talk to communicate on that level on that upper level rather than that
 322 deep level then (.) jes blong harem nomo. Blong toktok that's enough. Be (.) um (.)
 323 be:: yumi no wantem hemia. Yumi wantem se lanwis hem i helpem yumi blong
 324 create/em wanem we yumi kolem not only active thinking but er thinking that er is
 325 below and beyond the things you see outside. Beyond what the eye sees. You think
 326 beyond that (.) long mi. Sam pipol. Mi mi stap long skul long taem. Mi go tru wetem
 327 ol pikinini we oli tijim olgeta we oli gud long lanwis. But they are not good at thinking.

328 F: Yes.

329 DPP: Oli uh (.) for me the critical point here is that how to create good thinkers?

330 F: M-m.

331 DPP: Deep thinkers. You know (.) and blong mi that's not enough. No yu should go
 332 (.) taem we yu come up wetem wan samting we thinking hem i mekem you should
 333 be able to make the right decision. You know the right choice. Uh folem ol gud
 334 tingting. You know all deep thinking. I no gud blong karem ol tingting nomo and then
 335 afta yu mekem samting else. Eh er it's er. Wanem we mi stap traem blong
 336 express/em is this the issue of languages er. Hem i deeper than just er (.) ol issues

337 ia nao. Mi ting se blong mifala long ples ia long Vanuatu because mifala i (.) for the
 338 first time we are just lukluk long ol curriculum blong mifala. Mi ting se hem i most
 339 probably appropriate time blong mifala i karem deeper thinking.

340 F: M-m.

341 DPP: Er long olgeta issues olsem so that yumi save lay/em wan foundation we (.)
 342 bae i tekem taem be yumi develop/em hem.

343 F: M-m.

344 DPP: Yes. From fulap developmen mane we blong mifala i kam from somewhere
 345 else. Basically ol samting we mifala i stap mekem (.) Vanuatu i stap pem ol teachers
 346 nomo.

347 F: Uh-uh.

348 DPP: Be in terms blong ol developmen blong ol edyukesen. Money comes from
 349 somewhere else.

350 F: M-m.

351 DPP: M-m so (.) we have to make good bring more value out of that.

352 F: M-m.

353 DPP: Be::

354 F: Be sapos yu tingbaot wanem we (.) yes hemia wan niufala polisi nomo we ol man
 355 oli stap faet from o wanem be olsem (.) sapos yumi luk se wanem nao i stap finis.
 356 Ating yu yu principal fastaem long (.) Malapoa?

357 DPP: Malapoa yes.

358 F: Olsem hemia wan eksampol se:: taem yu stap longwe i gat ol polisi insaed long
 359 skul long taem ia? We yu talem se Inglis nomo o:: i gat eni=

360 DPP: =No:: nogat.

361 F: Rul o?

362 DPP: Nogat. No. Actually mi nao mi mek se French i kam antap long ol skul/s. Long
 363 English-speaking schools. From long fastaem (.) French oli tekem kasem Yia 10.

364 F: M-m.

365 DPP: But taem mi stap long Malapoa mi wok wetem grup blong ol tija/s. Mi
 366 negotiate wetem SPBEA uh long Fiji blong mifala i introduce/um uh French. From
 367 we hem i stap insaed long konstityusen blong yumi hem i talem se either English or
 368 French. But (.) long mi. Hem i wan heritage we yumi karem i kam. So (.) mi:: mi luk
 369 olsem long taem blong we mifala between French and English. Mifala i mifala i
 370 agensem each other. I mean basically that was it before.

371 F: M-m.

372 DPP: So taem we mi kam stap long wan position we mi ting se mi save mekem
 373 samting long hem. Uh so mi girap mi mekem hemia nao. Mi mekem uh:: mi mekem
 374 hemia uh.

375 <Phone rings. He answers and says he will call the person back because he's in a
 376 meeting>

377 DPP: Independence. Oli always stap askem ol samting mi stap les long olgeta. <F
 378 laughs> But er yes. That's the issue so mi wok wetem ol tija we oli tijim French.
 379 Mifala i wok wetem SPBEA. Come up wetem wan syllabus (.) blong tijim. Karem
 380 approval blong SPBEA and then mifala i stat tijim.

381 F: Okei.

382 DPP: From mi mi luk olsem sapos yu stap tij nomo. Yu no gat wan er pis pepa wan
 383 samting we yu er aim long hem long wan level. Bae ol pikinini ol English-speaking
 384 skul oli no tekem French serious nating.

385 F: M-m.

386 DPP: So:: and also mi ting se (.) blong introduce/um uh French just long Yia 7 8 9
 387 10? And then after yu stop long ples ia. Er long mi hem i no naf. Blong ol pikinini oli
 388 catch up so sapos yumi lengthen/em taem? Then olgeta oli save catch up. So
 389 hemia nao that's why mi that's why olgeta oli stap offer/em nao i go kasem Yia 13.

390 F: Okei.

391 DPP: Yeah hemia nao from ol effort long that taem.

392 F: Okei hemia long wanem yia.

393 DPP: Naentin seventi uh:: eit?

394 F: Uh?

395 DPP: Hem i no longwe (.) eh uh seventi eit? Around er around seventi er eiti naenti.
 396 No mi kam long Malapoa long naentin naenti (.) tu. Naenti tu naenti fo. Long naenti
 397 fo mi stap long Malapoa. So samwea long naenti samwea long naenti (.) sikis naenti
 398 seven naenti eit. Around that time.

399 F: Okei.

400 DPP: So yes (.) so that's how mifala i introduce/m uh French. Blong ol English-
 401 speaking schools.

402 F: Yes.

403 DPP: Hemia long Malapoa nomo.

404 F: Okei.

405 DPP: But because eni ting Malapoa i mekem ol nara skul/s [oli mekem.]

406 F: [Oli mekem.] Yes mi luk
 407 se Angolovo College yes oli offer/em kasem long Yia (.) naoia oli go long Form 7
 408 mekem se oli offer/em long Form 7 tu.

409 DPP: Yes.

410 F: SPBEA yes.

411 DPP: Yes. Hol aedia long hem is olsem. Mi tekem se mifala i stap pem lip-service
 412 long hem nomo.

413 F: M-m.

414 DPP: Oli talem se:: (.) language is olsem ia. Be:: the reality is that oli no mekem eni
 415 ting long hemia. So that's the reason why mi mi pusem hemia.

416 F: Okei.

417 DPP: Naoia? Taem mi lukum ol pikinini we oli start/em off long that taem? I gat fiu
 418 nomo. I gat fiu pikinini nomo so mi yusem that tingting se (.) wanem we:: yumi bin
 419 karem we i become wan pat blong laef blong yumi. Because long colonial taem?
 420 Yumi karem Inglis yumi karem French. So:: hem i wan samting we yumi karem i
 421 kam. Yumi no sud tekem away evri ting. I gat sam gud samting. And er those good
 422 things mifala i mas kipim. Mifala i mas kipim from we:: mi talem long olgeta se
 423 tingting hem i olsem se yu karem wanem we hem i blong yu i stap. Hem i er
 424 form/em base. And then afta yu luk around. Wanem we yu karem i defren long hem
 425 you look around elsewhere. And olgeta we yu karem elsewhere yu karem hemia i
 426 kam blong complement/em wanem we yu yu gat.

427 F: M-m.

428 DPP: Yeah? So wetem er global vilej uh phenomenon kaen samting olsem hem i
 429 impoten.

430 F: M-m.

431 DPP: So:: that's the reason why. So (.) naoia fulap oli stap talem se mi stap
 432 agensem French. Be olgeta ia oli we oli stap luk antap nomo.

433 F: M-m.

434 DPP: Yeah sapos mi agensem French? Bae mi no mekem hemia. So:: the reason
 435 why French hem i spread plante long ol Inglis skul/s i go kasem Yia 13? That's why
 436 mi mi mekem taem mi stap long Malapoa.

437 F: Ah okei.

438 DPP: Mi mi no agensem French (.) agensem lanwis. Be from tingting blong mi se oli
 439 mas gud long wan lanwis fastaem.

440 F: Yes.

441 DPP: And then afta oli spread i go long nara lanwis. So long mi that kaen tingting i
 442 no jenisim mi yet.

443 F: Okei.

444 DPP: Hem i no jenis yet.

445 F: Uh-uh.

446 F: Kwestin blong mi yumi tokbaot ol polisi long skul olsem hemia tufala lanwis/is
 447 blong edyukesen.

448 DPP: Yeah.

449 F: Be ol nara wan we oli stap insaed long skul. Bislama wetem ol vernacular.

450 DPP: Yeah.

451 F: I gat eni polisi long secondary=

452 DPP: =Yeah well basically? Oli no stap allow/em long ol English speaking skul oli
 453 no stap allow/em Bislama long skul. And yumi save se hemia wan uh (.) wan (.) wan
 454 tingting blong bifo we hem i stap.

455 F: M-m.

456 DPP: Nao hol aedia biae long hemia we olsem long taem blong mi we mi mi stap
 457 uh. Stap putum hemia i stap in place for few reasons. One is this that (.) fulap blong
 458 ol pikinini we oli kam long skul (.) oli no stap tok Inglis long kaos.

459 F: M-m.

460 DPP: So wea nao opportunity blong olgeta i practise/im Inglis? And yumi save se
 461 sapos yu no tok long wan lanwis? Jes talem se yu save? I mean (.) that's I mean.
 462 Bae i ded. Yu save? Yu wantem karem fluency long hem yu wantem karem se yu
 463 embed/em mo long yu blong helpem yu blong raetem evri ting ia? Hem i kam tru
 464 long tingting. Most long ol samting oli kam tru long speaking. So sapos olgeta
 465 pikinini ia oli nid blong go long further edyukesen blong olgeta? Olgeta oli nidim wan
 466 lanwis we olgeta oli no able blong olgeta raet nomo long hem be oli mas fluent we
 467 oli toktok long hem tu. From sapos oli no gud blong toktok long hem? Hemia i no gat
 468 guarantee we bambae olgeta i fluent tu long raeting. Blong hem.

469 F: Yes.

470 DPP: So from reason ia nao mifala i mekem se uh:: Inglis long skul? Yu mas tok
 471 long hem. From we (.) basically it's the only time we olgeta i gat blong tok long hem.

472 F: M-m.

473 DPP: And taem we oli gohed long Bislama? Hem i go aot long skul boundary finis.

474 F: Yes.

475 DPP: Bislama nomo i continue long hem. So the issue blong hem i:: bildim up hem
 476 long lanwis we hem i eksam long hem we hem i raetem. So hem i wan issue we mi
 477 stap argue wetem USP long hem long bifo. From USP oli talem se (.) mifala i no
 478 lukum reason why yufala i no tijim Bislama. Tijim Bislama. We hem i stret. Mi mi no
 479 agensem hemia. But. Oli contradict/im olgeta. From we oli toktok gohed finis? Oli
 480 mekem ol eksam blong olgeta se yu mas gud long Inglis bifo yu go long USP.

481 F: M-m.

482 DPP: You know. I mean long mi yu talem wan samting be yu wokem defren
 483 samting. And that's hypocrite. Olsem so. Mi mi argue wetem plante blong olgeta
 484 long hem. And olgeta oli talem se no. Sapos yu gud long yu raetem. Bae i save
 485 helpem. Be yumi save. And yumi save se sapos yu no save tok long wan lanwis (.)
 486 the issue blong yu save raetem gud? Hem i no really isi tu. Unless you grow up long
 487 hem. Hem i become part blong laef we yu grow up long hem. So (.) sapos yu no
 488 tijim gud lanwis mekem se yu raet gud long hem? Hao nao bae yu transletem hemia
 489 i go long wan defren lanwis blong yu raet gud long hem? Hem i no isi.

490 F: M-m.

491 DPP: So:: long mi? I really:: olsem putum mi long. This is how mi stap ting long that
 492 taem ia. Mi stil gat tingting olsem (.) is this. Bae mi mi wan e::r (.) giaman man?
 493 Sapos mi talem long ol pikinini se you have a future (.) long edyukesen blong yu
 494 save go on long further schooling blong yu. But mi no prepare/em hem mi no putum
 495 hem long ol samting we hem i nid blong go. So naoia yu luk long ol yunivesiti yu
 496 mas pasem certain level blong lanwis bifo yu go in. Sapos yu no pasem yu no go in.
 497 And that long USP hem i very unfair long ol pikinini.

498 F: M-m.

499 DPP: Why? Because oli save se institution blong yumi and olgeta oli stap long ples
 500 blong yumi? And Bislama i promotem oli promotem be evri eksam blong olgeta evri
 501 samting blong olgeta? Everything is in English.

502 F: M-m.

503 DPP: So I mean so long mi? I mean (.) what are you telling people.

504 F: Mm.

505 DPP: That. Be mi mi agri wetem olgeta in the sense that in terms of learning a
 506 language? Sapos yu lanem wan lanwis gud and sapos yu tijim gud Bislama? Then
 507 olgeta bae oli save. It's true. But how far?

508 (1)

509 F: Yes.

510 DPP: I mean. Just as far as USP? (1) USP hem i wiling blong mekem se (.) Bislama
 511 hem i kam er lanwis blong assessment blong olgeta? But (1) is that all? Olsem
 512 wanem long ol nara institutions?

513 F: Yeah.

514 DPP: Long ol nara yunivesiti/s. Elsewhere. Olsem wanem blong yu go aot into the
515 global village.

516 F: M-m.

517 DPP: Being part as a (.) thinker as an educationist or as a (.) you know. You (.) you
518 become part long ol samting we i stap hapen raon. Apart from just (.) yumi long ples
519 ia.

520 F: M-m.

521 DPP: So. Mi mi no disagree. Er:: blong yusum Bislama olsem. But taem we hem i
522 kam to its limitation. Of limiting kids. Just to where they are at. Rather than allowing
523 them you know olsem oli talem uh uh no limit uh?

524 F: M-m.

525 DPP: to the world?

526 F: Yes.

527 DPP: Long mi? Er that is a problem. Long mi that's a problem. That's the reason
528 why long that taem mi mi putum strong. Se since this is the only opportunity we ol
529 pikinini oli save lanem Inglis and oli save speak long Inglis. And the opportunity to
530 get out into the world? Or to go further? Hem i actually in English.

531 F: M-m. So actually yu nao yu olsem principal yu putum polisi i stap o=

532 DPP: =No.

533 F: Samting i kam long ministri=

534 DPP: =No.

535 F: O olsem=

536 DPP: No::? Long that taem polisi blong tok long lanwis ia hem i stap long taem finis.

537 F: M-m.

538 DPP: Hem i:: long bifo finis. Taem mi stap styuden yet.

539 F: Yes.

540 DPP: Be long that taem? Long that taem they are smart. Olsem. Mi ting back during
541 the British time. Oli letem mifala blong tok long Bisla- (.) long lanwis.

542 F: M-m.

543 DPP: Oli stopem Bislama. Be oli letem mifala blong toktok lanwis. Wetem Inglis. (1)
544 Hemia nao. And uh that's (.) not just only logical. (1) Uh:: Hemia ia hem i research
545 proven too. (1) Se yu gud long lanwis blong yu <laughs> bae i helpem yu. (1) So

546 maybe that could be one of the reason why yu lukum olgeta bifo (.) we oli kamaot
547 stret long vilej i kam long skul? Oli tok better English than fulap blong olgeta naoia
548 we olgeta oli skul gud (.) Yu traem karem sam long olgeta nao hu go long skul. I
549 mean. (1) Sam blong olgeta yu tok long olgeta oli rather tok long mi long Bislama
550 than tok long Inglis. (1) Be taem we yu luk long ol olfala? (1) Long olfala blong bifo?
551 Uh (.) oli tok gud Inglis.

552 F: M-m.

553 DPP: Oli tok gud Inglis. Be olgeta ia? Oli kamaot stret long lanwis blong olgeta?
554 Stret long. And mi ting se hem i sem mak long French tu. Ah:: we naoia olsem (.) i
555 tru long saed blong save i kam antap plante be (.) in terms long lanwis? Mi luk
556 olsem se i drop plante.

557 F: M-m.

558 DPP: Mi luk se i drop plante i drop plante. Mi no agensem Bislama at all. Or eni
559 lanwis blong yumi yusum as (.) er medium of instruction. Be:: mi mi ting se sam long
560 ol decision we yumi mekem like for example bae i really openem up wol blong hem?
561 O bae i limit/im wol blong hem.

562 F: M-m.

563 DPP: Yu save? Be sapos yumi save mekem sam samting we i openem up wol? Wol
564 blong olgeta? Then.

565 F: M-m.

566 DPP: At this moment? English (.) is the international language.

567 F: M-m.

568 DPP: And hem i lanwis blong ikonomi. Yu save? So:: so blo::ng that few we olgeta
569 oli gat janis blong oli mekem? Mi ting se yumi sud givim opportunity long. (1) But jes
570 blo::ng er tijim ol lanwis? And then at the end of it (.) you're limiting the kids?

571 F: M-m.

572 DPP: Mi ting se hem i wan grave mistake.

573 F: Be yu luk se evri secondary school oli stap folem sem tingting nomo o? Hem i
574 olsem dipen long principal o::

575 DPP: Yes hem i dipen long principal wetem komyuniti be mi mi ting se bigfala
576 problem is this that skul/s olgeta oli no mekem naf awareness. And olgeta oli no
577 mekem naf effort. Blong talem long ol pikinini the reason why you do something.

578 F: Yes.

579 DPP: Okei. Long mi? Oli tekem for granted. And sam oli iven talem mas tok Inglis
580 nomo. But ol pikinini? I think subconsciously oli se why? Why we should tok long
581 Inglis?

582 F: M-m.

583 DPP: Mi ting se ol er skul/s? And er mebi Ministri blong Edyukesen tu? Mifala i no
 584 stap mekem naf effort. Blong ta- blong eksplenem long. From long mi? Once wan
 585 pikinini o peren/s oli kasem gud reason why you are doing something. Oli ting se
 586 hem i wan natural samting nomo we hem i foldaon we i gat goodness long olgeta (.)
 587 insaed long hem? Bae oli mekem.

588 F: Yes.

589 DPP: So. Mi spend/em taem. Blong talem long ol pikinini why yu mas tok long Inglis.
 590 From we insaed long mi? Mi rather se mi talem long hem se yu tok long lanwis
 591 blong yu. <laughs> Olsem. Basically? That. Be mi no save talem aot hemia long
 592 skul.

593 F: M-m.

594 DPP: Be mi kipim hemia we i bifo. Yu save tok long lanwis blong yu. Olsem mifala
 595 long bifo. Long British Secondary School? Yu tok long lanwis blong yu. The only
 596 time we oli stopem blong yu no tok long lanwis blong yu i sapos yu gat ol nara fren
 597 we oli stap klosap long yu we olgeta oli gat defren lanwis.

598 F: Yes.

599 DPP: Yes. Hem i jes common sense. From nogud yu stap tokbaot long samting ol
 600 pikinini i se yu stap tokbaot ol samting nogud about ol.

601 F: Yes i tru.

602 DPP: Yes. Be (.) I mean oli folem common sense. And that is olsem. So mi kipim. I
 603 see no reason why blong jenisim wan samting we hem i wok. And hem i gud. Be
 604 just because we are in the year (.) yumi go ova long millennium finis yumi stap long
 605 new millennium so we need to change some of these things. No. Olsem oli stap
 606 talem se i have to be up with the times you know. I mean blong mi these are not
 607 these kind of arguments you know. I mean tekem (.) yumi tekem overboard you
 608 know. Be long bifo? The reason why mi kipim olgeta is from hemia. Be long lukluk
 609 long mi taem mi stap long skul? Is that skul i neva eksplen. Yumi no eksplenem long
 610 olgeta why. I mean. Mi ting se they have a right to know why.

611 F: Yes i tru.

612 DPP: Then sapos olgeta oli no save (.) long mi? Mi stap waste/m uh taem blong
 613 yumi from we bae pikinini sapos subconsciously? Hem i no lukum risen why yumi
 614 mekem? Then long mi? Automatically? Bae hem i no karem that drive and that
 615 motivation blong hem i lanem. Yu save blong hem i become pat long hem.

616 F: M-m.

617 DPP: Er plante taem yumi stap ting se uh mi mi tok olsem olsem olsem? Hem that's
 618 what's going to motivate you. Long mi mi ting se that's not always the good way of
 619 motivation. Mi ting se the best way of motivation is from within. And for that to
 620 happen? Hem i mas karem understanding. Long why i mekem samting. Sapos hem

621 i no harem? Long mi hem i wan problem. So it's er (.) that's how mi lukum ol
 622 samting long skul. So yu luk long skul hem i quite strict. Long pipol hem i strict. But
 623 mi always talem long olgeta why mi mekem samting. Because let's face it these are
 624 our clients. Yumi talem <laughs> long olgeta se you come in here this is what you're
 625 going to get long skul. This is what I am going to make you get at school. So (.) hem
 626 i wan heavy responsibility blong mek sua se they get that. So mi girap mi (.) uh
 627 teachers. When teachers play up? I let them know. And mi karem olgeta mi tok long
 628 olgeta. Mi talem long olgeta se yu mekem hemia bae yumi no save fulfil/im hemia.
 629 And yumitu stap long ples ia from pikinini. So sapos yumitu no mekem hemia? Bae
 630 yumitu fail/em olgeta. And sapos yumitu fail/em olgeta? Then mebi yumitu i no sud
 631 stap long ples ia. Because sapos yu ting long hem long nara wei? It's like this. The
 632 kid? Hem i nomo (.) hem i no gat that kind high thinking yet. So therefore evri ting
 633 about hem ia? Hem i trastem yu. Hem i kam long skul trusting you. Having faith in
 634 you. You know. That yes you know. Yu save helpem hem. But sapos hem i kam
 635 long skul and you don't do your best? You know. You've not only let somebody
 636 down? But you've let the country down. You've let the village down. You've let the
 637 island down. You've let the province down. And taem we yu ting olsem ia? It
 638 becomes a really heavy responsibility. Very heavy. That's why mi get sometimes
 639 very unhappy we mi save se teachers are not there. Olgeta oli no mekem gud
 640 lesson plans blong ol. Olgeta oli no tekem the time to find out the kids. So that
 641 becomes a problem to me. So oli ting se mi stap kros? No. The reason why mi fil
 642 that tired is because (.) mi always ting that's the right thing. You know? I can really
 643 see that kid. I see that kid's family. I see the kid's village. That kid's island. Province.
 644 And then ultimately mi lukum kaontri. So if I don't invest properly in that kid? I've
 645 actually let all of those ones down. And sapos mi letem olgeta ia daon? Then I
 646 should (.) I mean to be honest I mean <laughs>. I should not be there. I should er.
 647 But this is the sem kaen tingting ia we mi karem long ol lanwis/es. Long ol skul.
 648 Long rul/s long ol skul/s. And also (.) problem nao is to do wetem developmen blong
 649 ol yang pipol. The problem is a lot of people don't know. Er olgeta oli no save the
 650 human development. And because they don't know that they. Like a small kid. Bae
 651 hem i mo (.) sapos yu yu mekem wan samting a little bit heavy for him to respond. A
 652 physical samting but the more the kid grows up? The more they respond to what
 653 they think. To what's inside them. So taem we yu no tekem hemia into consideration
 654 yu apply/em sem kaen samting we yu apply/em long ol smol pikinini? You must
 655 expect a clash. You must expect rebellion. Yu ekspektem hemia. So mi stap lukum
 656 hemia. Wan samting blong ol skul/s? Is that they don't see that. Like to me. A bigger
 657 kid? You give him as much responsibility as you can. Let them run with it? And you
 658 are there to guide? To facilitate? You know you coach. You monitor. You don't do
 659 that to the little kid. Not the little kid. So that's why taem mi lukum ol rul/s o samting
 660 long skul? And how they apply it in school? Some of these things oli become mo
 661 hindrance. Er to the development of the individual. So no wonder when they go
 662 home they still sit there and they expect you give me this. You do this for me. Why
 663 because you treat them like that at school. You know oli kam long skul you don't
 664 give them the opportunity to rule. You don't give them the opportunity to do
 665 something. Everything you decide for them. It's one of the problem of schools. We
 666 mi stap lukum long ol skul/s. So that's why mi (.) I run school differently. Mi stap
 667 long Epi? Teach the kids who run the farm? They run everything they have. They
 668 are the ones who do it. They come up and they tell me oh we need to do this.

669 Olgeta we oli lukaotem fam oli oh fens blong mifala i no go long ples ia. And then
670 I'm like okay so what are you going to do about it? Yufala nao committee blong.
671 What are you going to do about it. Oh we're going to do this. When? Oh we're going
672 to do that this time. No yu no save mekem long taem ia from hemia taem blong skul.
673 So when are you going to do it? Oh we'll do it at this time. So okay. So mi mi
674 facilitate/em nomo. Mi guide/em nomo. And mi givim olgeta mane. And then I make
675 sure they make money out of what they do. So olgeta oli (.) they look into it. So they
676 make (.) so sam long olgeta pikinini ia? They are directors now. Sam long ol pikinini
677 ia are running big things in the government. But it's a different way of approaching
678 er a school. You know. And the teachers are encouraging. Teachers. Anybody
679 come up with a good idea. Anything. School will support you. You just have to take
680 the lead. We will support you. Taem yu mekem olsem ia you see the rich potential
681 that er (.) that exists in a school. Mi mi lukum skul/s as a (.) the potential in a
682 school? Is enormous. I mean you've got these teachers with a lot of talents. With a
683 lot of know-hows. You know the problem is however these teachers make the best
684 out of it. Sapos yu mekem hemia? Oh the sky olsem mi stap talem the sky.

685 (1)

686 F: The sky's the limit.

687 DPP: Yeah the sky is the limit.

688 F: Yes be yu luk se hem i depend plante long wanwan tija o wanwan principal.

689 Olsem yu nao yu stap talem se okei hemia wei blong mi.

690 DPP: Yes.

691 F: Be ol narawan i stap oli gat guidance long hem.

692 DPP: Yes be yu mas. Olsem long mi? Yu mas wetem ol tija/s. Olsem yu mas talem
693 long olgeta olsem tingting long ol miting/s. You know this is how mi tingting. And
694 these are the reasons why mi tingting olsem. Nao yu olsem wanem.

695 F: M-m.

696 DPP: Yu gat eni other tingting? Yu save and then oli sakem. From we sapos yu no
697 karem ol pipol we oli helpem yu blong implement/em? You're in trouble.

698 F: Be hemia olsem se principal i save mekem wetem ol tija/s blong hem.

699 DPP: Yes.

700 B: Afta i gat eni structure in place we olsem yufala long ministri yu stap mekem
701 wetem ol principals. Mi luk se hemia nao wan break long system ia.

702 DPP: Yes. Long bifo mifala i gat. Be (.) New Zealand nao i stap fund/em. Long
703 (Economy AP) program blong olgeta long bifo.

704 F: Okei.

705 DPP: Yeah be afta? I no olgeta be mifala nao i katem.

706 F: Uh?

707 DPP: Yes. I katem about five (.) five or six years ago. We mifala nomo i katem. Mi tu
708 mi no aware long hem be mi mi stap wok long olgeta program ia. And program ia
709 hem i actually from tingting olsem (.) se principal nao? Hem nao i save either
710 allow/em samting blong hapen? O hem i blokem. So the key person long eni skul/s
711 is the head teacher or the principal. So tingting we i stap is that we focus on that
712 one. From we blong focus long ol narawan hem i no really isi. Hem i expensive.

713 F: M-m.

714 DPP: And also tingting se you focus on that one because hem nao bae hem i focus
715 long ol narawan so therefore ol talent ol save and olgeta skills ol samting ia? Hem i
716 apply/em longwe and then afta bae hem i mekem i better from we this issue blong ol
717 man ples i ranem ol samting oli mekem ol samting. So that was the reason. Um
718 mifala i wok wetem New Zealand naoia? For about ten years long hemia. Be
719 unfortunately taem oli katem (.) uh olsem argument blong mi wetem er olgeta long
720 that taem is this. Ten years is not enough blong yu bildimap base. Long kaontri. Be
721 ol pipol we oli stap long ol samting ia olgeta nao oli stap long ol decisions. Long ol
722 key decisions. Olsem Roy Obed. Jean-Marie Virelana we i stap long Teachers
723 College ia. You just name them. Fulap long ol key players we oli led by ol principals
724 we oli go tru long ol samting ia we mifala i wokem. And that was the way we hem i
725 set up hem i set up blong in such a way that the local capacity yu givim hem
726 opportunity blong hem i developem hem hem wan. Yu save. From we tingting i bin
727 stap bifo se this kaen ia we yumi kam yumi se okei. This is the way it's done. And
728 then yumi go tru long hem mi lukum se i no wok.

729 F: M-m.

730 DPP: So mifala i jenisim i luk the other way around. Blong yu talem long hem se
731 come on. You are in. You are in this position now. What can you do? And then?
732 Wanem nao yu karem difficulties long hem. Wanem nao yu nidim help long hem.
733 Then. We'll help you. So that's the program hem i set up olsem. Yes hem i set up
734 olsem. So yu (.) mifala i mekem fiu samting. Wan? Is this that yu givim uh olgeta fas
735 er the opportunity blong oli bildimap confidence blong olgeta. Yu save. Not the
736 opportunity blong oli bildimap confidence blong somebody else. And then when that
737 somebody else hem i no stap? And then hem i go rong.

738 F: Yes.

739 DPP: So there was quite a lot of thinking ongoing. So um the program we hem i set
740 up i olsem. So yu lukum olgeta olsem. Ol pipol we oli lidim naoia olsem nao. Ol
741 principals we oli stap naoia we oli lidim ol big skul/s. Wetem olgeta long ol jioj/es we
742 ol jioj/es i stap pulum olgeta i gobak blong lukaotem ol educational (.) blong ol
743 jioj/es? Hemia olgeta we oli involve long program ia.

744 F: Okei.

745 DPP: Be naoia that's some years ago. And sore tumas long nekis phase blong hem
746 we mifala i bin mekem i no bin wok aot is from program hem i stop is the next phase

747 is that mifala i start/em off. Mekem wanem we mifala i kolem ol mentoring principals.
748 Olsem ol key principals. And mifala i setemap olgeta long ol provins. So yu? It
749 doesn't matter whether English or French skul i stap klosap long yu sapos yu
750 French Inglis (.) French skul speaking er principal be evri skul we i stap klosap long
751 yu? Yu nao yu responsible.

752 F: Yes.

753 DPP: Blong olgeta. Blong helpem olgeta long administration ol issues olsem. And er
754 mi mi sad nomo blong talem se mifala i no bin go on mo. Mekem hemia hem i wok
755 gud. From we sapos program hem i stil go on and hemia hem i wok gud? Oh mi
756 talem long yu. You'll have people at the spot we olgeta i save respond. Oli save
757 respond long nid. And that's the best way blong lan. Blong olgeta pipol we oli stap
758 long ol positions ia. Ol principals. Then mifala i start/em off blong wok wetem olgeta
759 blong praemeri.

760 F: Yes.

761 DPP: So program blong hem hem i set up. Blong wok wetem praemeri wetem (.)
762 lesson learnt long wanem we mifala i bin no wokem stret long hemia blong ol
763 principals. So i sapos blong go long praemeri. Be program ia i cut off. So i stop/em
764 hemia. So naoia wetem VERM program we mifala i gat? Hemia we oli stap talem se
765 management blong ol skul and ol training ol samting long skul long ol finance ol
766 samting olsem ia. Sapos mifala i bin continue long program ia? Bae ol samting ia
767 bae oli ready taem mifala i go long program ia. Be naoia? The way we hem i
768 approach naoia? Hem i no sem mak. So the way we mi mi stap lukum. Sapos mifala
769 i no continue blong karem input. Bae=

770 F: =M-m.

771 DPP: Bae (.) from we mifala i no lan. From olgeta samting we ol principals oli bin go
772 tru long hem. So mi sore blong talem nomo se those principals naoia oli stap. Once
773 olgeta oli stat blong retire and get out of the way? Oli finis and get out of the way?
774 We don't have another (.) another batch of er people.

775 F: Yes.

776 DPP: But the whole idea behind the training is (.) you (.) you know yourself. If you
777 don't know yourself long sam eria mifala i putum sam samting blong helpem yu
778 blong yu (direct yourself) yu wan. From tingting se sapos somebody else i talem se
779 yu no gud long hemia? Normally hem i no isi blong person i jenis. But sapos an
780 individual hem i luk save se yes. Ah. Samting we mi sud mekem be mi no mekem.
781 From mi no really save hao blong mekem. Then long ples ia nao then hem i mekem.
782 Okei mi nidim help long ples ia. So yumi come in blong helpem hem. So hem i wok
783 along the idea se a person change from within? And the best person to change him
784 or her is himself. So hemia nao mifala i wok along and mi mas talem se hem i wok.
785 Hem i wok gud. Hem i tekem taem.

786 F: Yes.

787 DPP: Be mi luk se hem i wok. Long wei we mi lukum. So yu lukum olsem. <lowers
788 voice and points across the quadrangle> Naoia hem i wan daerakta. Hem i wok
789 long ples ia. Yu luk hem? Hem i wan long olgeta we hem i no training. It's just a few
790 long ol principals we oli stap long ol big schools? We olgeta oli go tru long ol training
791 ia.

792 F: Okei. Be i gat sam blong ol document=

793 DPP: =Yes yes yes.

794 F: O ol directives we oli stap go longwe blong talem long ol principal. Olsem even
795 though ol training i no stap gohed yet be i gat sam guidance we i stap go out long ol
796 skul/s.

797 DPP: Yes mifala i kam up wetem ol handbooks. Uh and mifala i cautious long ol
798 handbooks be mifala i produce/um. Ol handbooks we i givimaot long olgeta. And ol
799 handbooks ia oli go long ol eria/s ia we olgeta principal i faenem difficulty long hem?
800 And wetem sam samples er blong ol samting blong hao yu wokem. Be iven wetem
801 hemia mi faenem se a lot of principals oli stil faenem difficulty wetem. So this idea or
802 wanem we mifala i setemap? And sapos mifala i bin go on long ples i go kasem
803 hemia gudfala monitoring and mentoring and coaching?

804 F: Yes.

805 DPP: Sapos mifala i bin go long ples ia? Bae hemia bae olsem. Olsem mi still (.)
806 hamas yia nao. Mi still fil (.) fil se basically mifala i no mekem wanem we mifala i
807 build up gogo gogo taem we mifala i just about ready blong mifala i stap long ples
808 ia. Mi stap long plan blong mekem and then afta they se nogat nomo. Mekem mi
809 sore from this issue of er cascading a lot of training? Mifala i olsem basically mifala i
810 stap start/em off. Mifala i stap blong bildim base. And then afta olgeta ia nao bae oli
811 cascade/em i godaon long ol narawan? And then afta bae i go into ol tija/s. So
812 olgeta tija/s basically bae olgeta i karem ol training ia bifo hem i (.) so sapos hem i
813 kam to be a head teacher. O hem i kam to be a department head? And then afta
814 deputy principal and then afta principal? All of these things would be part of long
815 laef blong ol pikin- ol tija/s taem oli go tru long skul. So taem we yu karem wan
816 somebody yu mekem hem principal? Yu no save talem se that person must have no
817 training. Hem i karem wan life training tru long process taem we hem i stap tij.

818 F: Yes.

819 DPP: So that was (.) that was (.) so mifala i wantem mekem se the training actually i
820 kam samting olsem. You don't do it because yu karem yu blong tu wik/s and then
821 afta givim mi this training. No. You go through this training for however many years.
822 So yu mekem se hem i pat blong yu. So taem we yu kam wan principal.

823 F: Yes.

824 DPP: Yu kam wan principal. (1) Mi stil karem (.) it's okay but mi stil karem a lot of
825 reservation about oh when you become a principal then we'll give you a crash
826 course on how we (.) one month. Or two month. Mi still that one. That's okay
827 provided yu karem for life.

828 F: Be yu luk se i gat (.) i gat wan copy blong guidelines ia we yu ting se mi save
829 karem?

830 DPP: Yeah.

831 F: O bae mi askem long sekretari blong yu.

832 DPP: No mi gat sam long ol. Mi karem sam blong ol outdated handbooks ia.

833 F: I oraet.

834 DPP: Mi mi finis long hem longtaem finis.

835 F: Olsem blong luksave nomo.

836 DPP: Yes. <walks over to bookshelf> Yu wantem French o Inglis?

837 F: Tufala tugeta bae i gud. <laughs>

838 DPP: Mi no save se mi gat Inglis.

839 F: Sapos wan nomo i oraet.

840 DPP: Sapos no?

841 F: Sapos yu gat wan long tufala saed i oraet nomo from bae mi save luk se=

842 DPP: =No hemia.

843 F: Mi stap wokbaot karem ol document ia. Ah tangkiu tumas. Hemia naentin naenti
844 eit uh?

845 DPP: Yes.

846 F: Hem i latest one o=

847 DPP: =Latest one ia nao. From mi mi finis long hem longtaem finis.

848 F: Oh hem i gud ia.

849 DPP: Ol samting ia mifala i wokem taem mi mi stap principal yet.

850 F: M-m yes. Hemia i gud from olsem (.) hem i wan smol pat nomo be mi harem wan
851 i talem se narafala training i stap pat blong hem. Be hemia olsem at least mi save
852 luk nao se wanem nao (.) wanem nao i stap long pepa long fored blong olgeta.

853 DPP: Yeah. Be olsem problem blong mi is this that (.) olsem (.) iven wanem we
854 mifala i stap wokem naoia? Problem blong mi is that mi mi stap minim that ol nomol
855 tingting biae long risen/s why we do things? Mifala i no stap tingting gud long hem.
856 Olsem. Long mi? Yumi lan from what we have seen. What has happened. You
857 know. So hemia ia i sud givim yumi wei blong lukluk. Then afta yumi yusum hemia
858 ia olsem bases blong yumi go long ol big programmes blong yumi olsem. From
859 once yumi go long ol big programmes and go out basically for just doing the activity.

860 It's olsem sore blong talem be mi ting se sometimes it's a waste of money. A waste
861 of time. Waste of energy. We at the end of the day people don't actually change.

862 F: Yes.

863 DPP: Yu save. So therefore yumi tokbaot continuity be yumi giaman. Continuity will
864 never be.

865 F: M-m.

866 DPP: And yumi save. Yeah so. Be mi ating (.) min wan samting we i stap long mi
867 about anything to do with work and school or anything is that people have the
868 potential. Yu save. And because olgeta oli karem potential the key to unlocking this
869 potential and improving on this potential is blong andastanem olgeta and how best
870 to do with the environment we i stap.

871 F: M-m.

872 DPP: That. Sapos yumi no consider/em ol samting olsem?

873 F: Yes.

874 DPP: Bae. <phone rings but he doesn't answer> And mi ting se mifala i no stap
875 tekem naf taem blong sidaon. Work it out. Discuss/em. Debate/em. Ah mi disagree
876 wetem yu. <laughs> Mi disagree wetem yu. These are the kind of things uh? And (.)
877 uh mifala i stap busy long run here. Run there. Run here. It's busy busy busy. And
878 normally it is too much busyness. Sometimes for the sake of just doing an activity.

879 F: Yes.

880 DPP: Mi stap talem from we plante taem mi no stap slip gud long naet from ol
881 samting olsem. From we long skul? Olsem mi get yus long hem. Mi get yus long
882 skul. Blong skul mi always lukum is this programme working. Wanem nao ol saens
883 long hem i se i tru se ol samting ia naoia i stap show/em long mi se i olsem o no.
884 Sapos hemia i stap go olsem ia nao. Wanem nao mi mas interfere. Wanem nao mi
885 mas blong mek sua (.) yu save. So ol samting ia so. Evri taem we mi stap mekem ol
886 training wetem ol principal mi always stap talem long olgeta se the major work blong
887 ol principals is the thinking part.

888 F: M-m.

889 DPP: Yu save. Yu mas lukluk long ol options. Yu mas (.) sapos yu no karem
890 information long hem you find the information. That's why taem mi stap long skul
891 when mi mi no gat information ia? I'd do something. I'd make a small research. Find
892 out about it. So mi no save sidaon se uh but there's no research exists. No I mean
893 I've been equipped with that. Yu save. So even though we don't know the details of
894 the stage. Know the particular details? But a lot of something you don't need that.
895 You need all you need is that the general (.) it's pointing in the right direction and
896 then yu save mekem decision.

897 F: M-m.

898 DPP: Accordingly. And ol saens oli stap around us. If only we can er talem se okei
 899 that saens means this. Yu save. O sapos nomo but hem i wan bigfala issue uh.
 900 Hem i wan big issue olsem mifala i mekem ol gud programme we i stap go on. Ol
 901 gud wan. Be long mi? The real issue olsem as far as I am concerned the real issue
 902 is this that it's are you actually helping those individuals to perform at the maximum
 903 ability that they are able to. Yeah. Because only when you reach that then yu save
 904 talem se yes. Hem i save do/im samting. Yes. But sapos hem i no kasem that level
 905 and that stage of thinking. Hem i save karem this skill. Hem i save karem that skill.
 906 But it's only limited to that way of thinking we hem i gat. Because sapos nomo?
 907 Finis ia nao.

908 <phone rings again but he doesn't answer>

909 F: Yes. Mi harem se mi stap (.) mi mi save sidaon ful dei storian wetem yu be=

910 DPP: =No be=

911 F: =No be mi harem se mi tekem up tumas taem blong yu. Mi luk phone blong yu ol
 912 man oli wantem toktok wetem yu.

913 DPP: <He answers phone, speaks briefly and hangs up again.>

914 F: I oraet bae mi nomo disturb/em yu. Bae yumi finis long ples ia.

915 DPP: No be mi mi laekem. The reason why mi stap spend/em a lot of time wetem ol
 916 pipol we oli stap mekem sam wok? Risej? It's because mi mi wantem ol tingting. Oli
 917 go wea. So aot long evri ting? Mi always long hemia because a lot of man ples?
 918 Olgeta oli no stap tingting se it is really important blong yumi capture/em ol tingting
 919 ol samting ia we bae oli stap. Mebi wan dei somebody bae i pikimap wan buk
 920 olsem. Bae i luk tru long. Huh! Ah okei. Oh!

921 F: Yes i tru.

922 DPP: Samting ia i stap bifo finis. Afta yumi stap waste/em taem blong yumi blong
 923 traem hemia.

924 F: Yes. Olsem taem mi mekem olsem risej blong mi finis bae mi olsem sanem ol
 925 copy i kam long ples ia.

926 DPP: Yes be long mi? Issue blong lanwis?

927 F: M-m?

928 DPP: I olsem. At this stage? We have already developed ourselves long tufala
 929 lanwis the way we are. Mi no (.) long wei blong mi? Mi no biliv se wan niu wei bae
 930 hem i really helpem yumi. Long wei we mi mi lukum is this that wanem we mifala i
 931 gat naoia? Sapos mifala i mekem smol minor adjustment long hem bae hem i help.
 932 Like for example olgeta English speaking schools? Yu introduce/um French blong
 933 ples we hem i appropriate blong learning blong ol pikinini whatever that level may
 934 be. And then afta karem gudfala teaching blong olgeta ia? Then that will. So it
 935 doesn't have to just be French. It can be another language as well. Sem samting
 936 wetem (.) sapos hem i wan French speaking school? Oli sud continue wetem. And

937 then afta yumi introduce/um Inglis long appropriate ples blong hem. Mi stap talem
938 olsem from we the place we yu introduce/um tufala? For the sake of long
939 edyukesen hem i gud blong yu introduce/um tufala long sem level. But for the sake
940 long tufala defren lanwis/es ia nao? I don't think that both have to be at the same
941 level. Yeah. So long ples ia mi ting se ol samting we mifala i really nid blong
942 faenemaot be mi save se bae mifala i no mekem. Be mi stap talem long yu tingting
943 blong mi. Yeah. And then Bislama? We need to find about where Bislama comes in.
944 But mi no save jenisim tingting blong mi se (.) vernacular (.) must come in.

945 F: Yes.

946 DPP: And hem i mas kam in. Mi no wari whether i cost/em mifala o what is not an
947 issue. Mi long mi value in terms of that one hem i more important than what money
948 you can spend on it. <laughs> Olsem. That's how mi tekem.

949 F: Uh-uh.

950 DPP: Money will never be olsem (.) sapos somebody i kam talem long mi naoia se
951 (.) Ooh! Eh! Bae i sas! We are already wasting so much money anyway. Doing
952 unnecessary things in this country. Yu save? Long mi mi no save substitute/um the
953 value that er like the value that we have. That will build up my grandfathers and
954 those before oli karem from bifo and oli kam. Through time olgeta oli kam up i se
955 these are the values that are important. Yu save. Oli bin kam up wetem oli bin
956 maintain/em oli bin kipim. And bae yumi stupid sapos yumi go aot i mekem wan
957 rabis samting we bae i throw all those things down the drain. just because mi talem
958 olsem se ah be hem i expensive. O because yu karem ol handred defren lanwis/es i
959 no isi blong mekem. Mi ting se blong mi that is (.) well put it this way. It's irrelevant
960 argument when it comes to the real value. Yu save the real value. So sapos ol
961 vernacular oli left out? Er basically blong talem olsem se Vanuatu has shot itself. It
962 has killed itself. So maybe they should change the name. Vanuatu my land. They
963 should change the name to something else. Sapos vernacular hem i no blong hem.

We had to finish at this point and turn the recording off, although he was still talking as we left the building.

**Appendix xviii – Interview with the Director of Policy and Planning (DPP)
(Translation)**

Date: 23-02-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: The interview took place at the start of the first period of fieldwork, as I was waiting to travel to Ambae. We made several appointments but had to cancel them, because the director was called away, and because I was assured on three occasions that I would be flying to Ambae. I then found myself sitting next to him at a VanEGRA presentation, but still couldn't find a time to meet. Finally, on the day I actually did fly to Ambae, the director's secretary rang me at 7.30am to say that the director would meet me at 8.00am.

He arrived late so I had to wait a long time outside. As we walked to his office, he explained that he had had to go back home because of a family emergency and then traffic problems due to an accident. He had already started talking about the Education Language Policy team and the technical advisor in charge, before I had a chance to ask if I could start the recording. He was fine with that and just carried on talking.

The interview presented an opportunity to ask about a range of very general issues to do with language policy.

- 1 DPP: Yes he's about to finish now.
- 2 F: Yes he said he's going back next week or the week after?
- 3 DPP: He's been here almost two years now. Two years. But he hasn't finished the
- 4 language policy yet. They don't even have a draft of a language policy.
- 5 F: I've seen a draft has come out bu::t
- 6 DPP: No it hasn't
- 7 F: Be he's given me a copy. It says final draft but=
- 8 DPP: =No:: that's just their consultations.
- 9 F: Ah.
- 10 DPP: They've been round. They held consultations?
- 11 F: Uh-uh.
- 12 DPP: And they've put together what they've consulted about. But that (.) that's not a
- 13 policy.

14 F: M-m.

15 DPP: They need to use that to put a policy together.

16 F: M-m. Yes I saw the document they put that it's like our last final proposal. There
 17 is one which is vernacular English French. The other one which is vernacular
 18 French English. Now it says that they will put the two together. Okay the ministers
 19 can just choose whether it's this one or that one.

20 DPP: No (.) it's crazy. They should not do that.

21 F: M-m.

22 DPP: Yeah because it's (.) you know that when you (.) consult about language
 23 policy like that. You should look at many different things at the same time. Yes you
 24 should consider which one of them is good for the country. Because every day rides
 25 on the language policy. Our culture our identity (.) everything depends on that
 26 language policy.

27 F: M-m.

28 DPP: You can't just come up with a language policy and say this is just an
 29 education one. There's no such thing as an educational language policy.

30 F: M-m.

31 DPP: Uh you keep language policy (.) that's for life (.) eh so you use the language
 32 policy it becomes like to promote people's culture (.) to promote people's identity (.)
 33 to promote all their stories and everything. O::r you use another language tha::t has
 34 nothing to do with the people.

35 F: M-m.

36 DPP: Yeah. So:: (.) the issue wi::th it (.) basically first and foremost (.) they never
 37 asked the question why (.) I mean why you must have language policies.

38 F: M-m.

39 DPP: Yeah and secondly when you have them and the issue of uh (.) what are we
 40 trying to do with this language policy. It's to do with just basically (.) uh:: a tool for
 41 understanding (.) so suppose it's just a tool to bring understanding (.) bring
 42 knowledge things like that? Then (.) any language will do.

43 F: M-m.

44 DPP: But yeah I mean. And then when you bring whatever in (.) then that's another
 45 thing. So:: the issue is (.) what do you really want to do with a language policy (.)
 46 What's it for.

47 F: M-m.

48 DPP: Because there is already a language policy. The one which er for there is a
 49 national language policy.

50 F: M-m.

51 (1)

52 DPP: Um the one they are doing (.) that's outside the language policy.

53 F: M-m.

54 DPP: So (.) the issue of er contradiction (.) the issue of you know (.) one for the
 55 national one it says one thing and then you take this one for education it says
 56 something else.

57 F: M-m.

58 DPP: No. That's not common sense.

59 F: But then. Who decided that like this team would work on this thing? Like this man
 60 didn't just appear. Someone told him to come.

61 DPP: Yes (.) er (1) um (.) basically those people who are in the team (.) er he came
 62 and they chose the people to be included. Bu::t the issue is (.) when you look at
 63 everything (.) there was this preparation work because the language policy will
 64 affect everything in education. (1) So the question of why the language policy which
 65 one you should choose. All of these things must be guided by some certain kind of
 66 criteria (.) which should be there (.) just to go and speak with the people (.) well it's
 67 not good enough. Because many of these people they're there they don't have any
 68 idea about (.) er (.) you know about language in terms of how you learn languages
 69 (.) you know (.) things like this. They just don't have that er (.) for you to go and
 70 consult with them. It's like eh yu know you take an (.) ah (.) you take a
 71 mathematician you go and consult with them about issues to do with mathematics.

72 F: M-m.

73 DPP: You know.

74 F: Yes. They found that they were unable (.) to give a choice either.

75 DPP: No:: they didn't (.) if you come and say these options then you must give (.)
 76 some (.) options that you take research findings tha::t either they support these
 77 options or they don't support these options or something like that. You know. You
 78 can't just come and say that the options are one two three that's it. You choose.

79 F: M-m.

80 DPP: It's like. You know. It's. I mean the whole idea behind it in terms of logical.

81 F: M-m.

82 DPP: You know. E::r i::t's it's like er:: you want to make something like er:: for the
 83 moon ah? A rocket to go to the moon ah? How to get to the moon you go ask the
 84 people.

85 F: M-m.

86 DPP: It's:: uh the issue of having language policy is good bu::t the issue of how to
 87 address it. How to go about it. Uh:: factors to make a decision. What's the
 88 international language for example.

89 (1)

90 F: M-m.

91 (1)

92 DPP: Er what is the language of commerce.

93 F: M-m.

94 DPP: Where are you going to get the people to (.) like for example like er:: I mean
 95 why we should put English first for example (.) why should we put English uh:: to be
 96 one of our languages (.) for what reason?

97 F: M-m.

98 (1)

99 DPP: Or why French? I mean these are (.) for me? Or for example like vernacular (.)
 100 why vernacular?

101 F: M-m.

102 DPP: These are (.) the critical baseline questions that we should answer.

103 F: M-m.

104 DPP: Uh (.) should look for the answers to. Be those things aren't. Just go ahead
 105 and then go tell the people oh we need a language policy. These are the options
 106 now what do you think.

107 F: M-m.

108 DPP: I mean. For me the whole process is to start off with is inappropriate.

109 F: M-m. But do you think they should combine the two (.) make it a bilingual
 110 system? O::r do you feel that [(xx) there already]

111 DPP: [(xx)] (.) for me? My belief the way I see
 112 it? Is that when you consider these questions that I am asking? You know. Some of
 113 these questions that I'm asking? Basically where do you want to take us to? Why
 114 should everybody talk fluently in both English and French. (1) I mean one question
 115 that they keep saying is this that er (.) so that you can get work. I mean (.) I mean
 116 <very high intonation> honestly (.) I mean honestly (.) I was (.) you try and think
 117 about the people who (.) how many how many of all these students will have the
 118 chance to go and work overseas.

119 F: M-m.

120 DPP: How many? What percentage are you talking about. The main issue here is
 121 that children must learn well.

122 F: M-m.

123 DPP: You know. I mean for me that's the baseline. So basically the language only
 124 becomes a tool (.) so for me (.) the language is not (.) like basically (.) it's not
 125 supposed to be the main one. Eh? The main one that's going to drive is why you
 126 use that language. I mean me basically. I go for vernacular for starting off and do a
 127 good job in the vernacular.

128 (1)

129 F: M-m.

130 DPP: Like. French and er English no. Like. These two should come later. When you
 131 have good strong er (.) I mean the argument that (1) the argument that uh:: you
 132 need to come early so that er:: they can learn French early or learn English early I
 133 mean. What for? I mean <laughs> I mean honestly. I mean <high intonation> what
 134 for? Because that doesn't really contribute a lot to children's learning.

135 F: M-m. Be that's one opinion that's there that (.) people think that we are not good
 136 at English so we must start it off early.

137 DPP: Yes I mean (.) but suppose he learns his language well? Then it will make it
 138 easy for him to learn good English to learn good French to learn Chinese or
 139 Japanese or whatever. Er:: I mean suppose we think in terms of I think that one of
 140 the issues a national country language (.) it should become one of the options. I
 141 mean firstly they are closer to us (.) and secondly they are coming up a lot. But
 142 that's not the issue. The issue is:: we want children whatever language they learn (.)
 143 they learn well. Me basically? People say that oh you've got over a hundred
 144 different languages and then it's difficult. I mean you look at the other examples
 145 around the world. Different places are fighting for the survival of their languages.
 146 You know. They are fighting about it. Vanuatu don't even care. They want the
 147 survival of French and English languages. Like for me I mean that's (.) like for me
 148 that's absurd uh? Like it's crazy.

149 F: M-m.

150 DPP: It's crazy. It's crazy. Because for me. The whole issue is learning. If you can
 151 (.) create a good environment and good thinking about learning to promote good
 152 learning and all researchers have found that you do that basically by starting off well
 153 in your language. Then for me that's the way you should go.

154 F: M-m.

155 DPP: You know. And whether you then branch off and go to English or branch off
 156 and go to French that's not (.) for me it's not an issue. Because we many children
 157 here? They are multilingual already.

158 F: Yes they talk about bilingual bu::t

159 DPP: Yes.

160 F: They are bilingual already=

161 DPP: =Yes we talk about bilingual whe::n basically <laughs> children many of them
162 speak two three different languages already.

163 F: Okay.

164 DPP: So:: I mean for me the way I see it it's the issue of (.) we adopt whichever
165 language we adopt. Make sure that we do a good job with it so children get good
166 things that they can learn from with good understanding (.) and also good reading.
167 You know (.) mainly you hear that you understand you speak. But the issue of
168 writing well? No:: that they don't think about yet. But for me (.) if you really want
169 them (.) must write them (.) they must write well in the language that they learn in.

170 F: M-m.

171 DPP: So for me the issue of putting two or three different languages for them to
172 learn (.) at the early stage. They (.) er even though they say no small children can
173 learn all these different languages yes that's true. But in terms of writing?

174 F: M-m.

175 DPP: For me it's not like that. You know. For me it's not like that. So:: I think that for
176 they must make sure that at least they are good at writing. Must be good at writing.
177 One of the languages that they study in.

178 F: M-m.

179 DPP: If they are not good in it then?

180 F: Yes.

181 DPP: I mean what's the use of I speak French I speak English. And then I go to the
182 villages they don't speak English. And I'm here where almost everything is in
183 Bislama.

184 F: M-m.

185 DPP: We go to meetings. Bislama. Parliament. Bislama. Radio. Bislama. Bislama
186 everywhere. Bu::t if our policy says the opposite? It doesn't make sense.

187 F: M-m.

188 DPP: Bu::t so. What I'm basically saying is. Language policy. Whatever language
189 we adopt children must be good at it. So that they can communicate. They can learn
190 and then they can express themselves in it. But er the issue of (.) er (.) having some
191 political argument over language er (1) I mean no. Even just saying (.) no you must
192 learn this language for the sake of learning it (.) we don't need it.

193 F: M-m. That's it.

194 DPP: M-m.

195 F: But what do you think about Bislama in education. Like you've said vernacular
196 bu:t

197 DPP: Bislama:: (.) Bislama for me Bislama actually it's (.) like people say. It depends
198 on what we mean by this term we use (.) what we mean by vernacular. Like for me
199 Bislama is not a vernacular. Er (3) it's a national language ye::s bu:t er for me
200 vernacular language it's a language that you actually you can you take from your
201 father (.) those before you (.) go to them. Because for me (.) it shows that it's deep.
202 It's deep inside the culture.

203 F: M-m.

204 DPP: Inside the words how people use the words. How they express themselves.
205 It's actually the way of how they grew up the way how they live the way how they
206 you know (.) basically the language and language the way they express themselves
207 in it is basically (.) tells us about who they are. Well er (.) that's their identity. Yes (.)
208 but if we take it that er (.) ingrained in our language is our culture?

209 F: M-m.

210 DPP: Er:: (.) is that the risk we must take?

211 F: M-m.

212 DPP: So basically I keep saying people and culture change with time. Okay. It's
213 true. Culture changes with time. But the reality is that that (.) do you want to have all
214 those important aspects of culture? Do you want them changed?

215 F: M-m.

216 DPP: You you want them thrown out the window? And if you think like this it means
217 that these that things develop over thousands of years. (1) Uh (1) for me for me just
218 throw it away.

219 F: M-m.

220 DPP: I mean is that good common sense thinking. I mean we're not talking about er
221 you know deep thinking just talking about common sense thinking. Er I mean is that
222 okay for me? For me er (.) I keep uh all these things that my grandparents my great
223 grandparents (.) before them (.) and they are nothing.

224 F: M-m.

225 DPP: What's the result for me. If I throw them away I've thrown myself away.

226 F: M-m.

227 DPP: So for me to create another me? It will take how many more thousands of
228 years. And it's likely that the global er village they keep saying?

229 F: M-m.

230 DPP: We likely need a uh. <laughs> So that's er (.) so for me the issue of language
 231 it's er (.) like (.) politically it's sensitive here.

232 F: M-m.

233 DPP: It's sensitive but I think that the real questions we really need to ask uh:: (.)
 234 was not done in the consultation.

235 F: M-m.

236 DPP: So that's (.) that's how I see it.

237 F: M-m.

238 DPP: That's er (.) basically what you're asking me. I (.) uh:: (.) we really want to
 239 preserve. We have something that my grand-grandchild can say that yes I'm from
 240 here.

241 F: M-m.

242 DPP: But in the next er (.) thirty forty years time? What does that mean. When he
 243 says that he is from here. He is (.) for me these are the kind of things that he has
 244 not really addressed.

245 F: M-m.

246 DPP: They have not really addressed this. And er that is sad.

247 F: M-m.

248 DPP: Yes and especially by the rate that we can lose our languages some will (.) it's
 249 true that we have a hundred different languages but the reality is that some of these
 250 languages are spoken by a few handfuls of people.

251 F: M-m.

252 DPP: Er so:: so if education doesn't pay a role. A key role in trying to keep some of
 253 these (.) we talk about this heritage (.) we talk about keeping you know what is
 254 valuable to us and our value. I think we are throwing away the most valuable thing
 255 here.

256 F: M-m.

257 DPP: You know.

258 F: Yes it's true.

259 DPP: It's er (.) but anyway. We keep going on about this but now the issue about
 260 language I think that sometimes (2) we make too much unnecessary fuss over it.
 261 We should be simple. Understanding that language is basically a way of (.)
 262 promoting our own culture our own identity and also promoting better learning. You
 263 know er in school so:: we should look at these things and decide rather than using
 264 the other things.

265 F: M-m.

266 DPP: So (1) yesterday we were at the presentation?³⁷ <quietly> (Everybody is
 267 struggling). The whole question is that okay (.) because uh we don't have good
 268 teaching (.) maybe we don't have good syllabus or something like that. But that's
 269 only one side of the story.

270 F: M-m.

271 DPP: But I mean the other side of the story the children. Are they literate in who
 272 they are?

273 F: M-m.

274 DPP: If they are not (.) are they still keeping this or are they losing it?

275 F: M-m.

276 DPP: These are the other side of the story which for me are just as valuable. So if
 277 education doesn't address these issues then who (.) who?

278 F: M-m.

279 DPP: Who will address them?

280 F: M-m.

281 DPP: But (.) yesterday we were sitting there (.) these other things were outside.
 282 <laughs>

283 F: <laughs> Yes you tried to ask questions.

284 DPP: Outside the presentation so (.) not possible (.) it's not possible. For me to ask.

285 F: Yes (.) Uh-uh.

286 DPP: But it's one of those things uh. This is not my problem. My problem i::s I
 287 always think outside of. And uh:: (.) and the thing is. I always want to go down to the
 288 root (.) you know. I don't want to deal with the branches (.) things like this. No. For
 289 me that's (.) er:: (.) blong mi that's not what education should be looking at.

290 F: M-m.

291 DPP: For me education should be looking at root things and then we address this.
 292 Because once we address these we should address every other one. We should
 293 address the roots address er (.) the branches fruits or whatever. I mean those for
 294 me they are just the products of the roots (.) the roots of the tree.

295 F: M-m.

³⁷ VANEGR test results

296 DPP: So for me that's why yesterday. That's the reason why I asked those
 297 questions. We know that for everything we do conduct an assessment (.) the
 298 assessment must be valid.

299 F: M-m.

300 DPP: It's not only valid in the content they are learning. It must also be valid in terms
 301 of where are the kids at. So you are going to assess them on something where (.)
 302 basically (.) the children (.) because of their culture and their ways they are at a
 303 different base. And then you create an er assessment that (.) so for me these are
 304 the kind of questions I want to ask. Because for me that's what validity (.) in what we
 305 do. But we are poor <laughs> at languages. But yesterday she gave us a
 306 microscopic view uh (.) so she pinpointed (1) which is good. It's good but=

307 F: =M-m it's just one side.

308 DPP: Yes for me it is important that they know language but everyone knows. You
 309 know language well but if (.) your thinking ability. (1) It is not up to the level that we
 310 expect.

311 F: Yes.

312 DPP: Then the whole question of (.) <laughs> suppose for example you really want
 313 cultures to talk to communicate on that level on that upper level rather than that
 314 deep level then (.) just to understand. To speak that's enough. But (.) um (.) bu:t we
 315 don't want that. We want language to help us create what we call not only active
 316 thinking but er thinking that er is below and beyond the things you see outside.
 317 Beyond what the eye sees. You think beyond that (.) for me. Some people. I was at
 318 school at the time. I went through with children who were taught and were good at
 319 language. But they are not good at thinking.

320 F: Yes.

321 DPP: Oli uh (.) for me the critical point here is that how to create good thinkers?

322 F: M-m.

323 DPP: Deep thinkers. You know (.) and for me that's not enough. No you should go
 324 (.) when you come up with something from that thinking you should be able to make
 325 the right decision. You know the right choice. Uh follow good ideas. You know all
 326 deep thinking. It's no good just taking the ideas and then you do something else. Eh
 327 er it's er. What I'm trying to express is this the issue of languages er. It's deeper
 328 than just er (.) these issues. I think that for us here in Vanuatu because we (.) for the
 329 first time we are just looking at our curricula. I think that it is most probably the
 330 appropriate time for us to promote deeper thinking.

331 F: M-m.

332 DPP: Er on these issues like so that we can lay a foundation which (.) will work
 333 when we develop them.

334 F: M-m.

335 DPP: Yes. Because much of the development money we have comes from
 336 somewhere else. Basically the things we are doing (.) Vanuatu is just paying the
 337 teachers.

338 F: Uh-uh.

339 DPP: But in terms of the development of education. Money comes from somewhere
 340 else.

341 F: M-m.

342 DPP: M-m so (.) we have to make good bring more value out of that.

343 F: M-m.

344 DPP: Bu::t

345 F: But if you consider what (.) yes this is just a new policy that people are arguing
 346 about or whatever but like (.) if we look at what we have already. I think you were
 347 principal first at (.) Malapoa?

348 DPP: Malapoa yes.

349 F: So that's an example tha::t when you were there did you have policies in the
 350 school at that time? That you said it should be English only o::r were there any=

351 DPP: =No:: there weren't.

352 F: Rules or?

353 DPP: No. No. Actually I was the one who developed French in schools. In English-
 354 speaking schools. Because at first (.) they took French until Year 10.

355 F: M-m.

356 DPP: But when I was at Malapoa I worked with a group of teachers. I negotiated
 357 with SPBEA uh in Fiji for us to introduce uh French. Because it says in our
 358 constitution that either English or French. But (.) for me. It is a heritage that we have
 359 brought here. So (.) I:: I think about the past when we were between French and
 360 English. We were against each other. I mean basically that was it before.

361 F: M-m.

362 DPP: So when I took on a position where I thought I could do something with it. Uh
 363 so I went and did that. I did uh:: I did that uh.

364 <phone rings. He answers and says he will call the person back because he's in a
 365 meeting>

366 DPP: Independence. They always keep asking things I'm tired of them. <F laughs>
 367 But er yes. That's the issue so I worked with the teachers who taught French. We
 368 worked with. Came up with a syllabus (.) to teach. Got approval from SPBEA and
 369 then we started teaching it.

370 F: Okay.

371 DPP: Because I think like if you just teach. You don't have a er piece of paper
 372 something that you er aim for at a level. The children at English-speaking schools
 373 won't take French seriously at all.

374 F: M-m.

375 DPP: So:: and also I think that (.) to introduce uh French just in Year 7 8 9 10? And
 376 then after you stop there. Er for me that's not enough. For children to catch up so if
 377 we lengthen the time? Then they can catch up. So that's it that's why I that's why
 378 they offer it now up to Year 13.

379 F: Okay.

380 DPP: Yeah that's it because of the efforts during that time.

381 F: Okay which year was that.

382 DPP: Nineteen seventy uh:: eight?

383 F: Uh?

384 DPP: It was no the time (.) eh uh seventy eight? Around er around seventy er eighty
 385 ninety. No I came to Malapoa in nineteen ninety (.) two. Ninety two ninety four. In
 386 ninety four I was at Malapoa. So somewhere in the nineties somewhere around
 387 ninety (.) six ninety seven ninety eight. Around that time.

388 F: Okay.

389 DPP: So yes (.) so that's how we introduced uh French. For English-speaking
 390 schools.

391 F: Yes.

392 DPP: That was just at Malapoa.

393 F: Okay.

394 DPP: But because anything Malapoa does the other schools [do.]

395 F: [Do.] Yes I see that
 396 Angolovo College yes they offer it up to Year (.) now that they go up to Form 7 so
 397 they offer it at Form 7 too.

398 DPP: Yes.

399 F: SPBEA yes.

400 DPP: Yes. The whole idea of it is this. I think that we were just paying lip-service to
 401 it.

402 F: M-m.

403 DPP: They say tha::t (.) language is like this. Bu::t the reality is that they weren't
 404 doing anything with it. So that's the reason why I pushed that.

405 F: Okay.

406 DPP: Now? When I see children who started off at that time? There were just a few.
 407 There were just a few children so I used that idea that (.) wha::t we have brought
 408 that has become a part of our lives. Because from the colonial time? We've got
 409 English we've got French. So:: it's something that we have brought forward. We
 410 shouldn't take everything away. There are some good things. And er those good
 411 things we must keep. We must keep them becau::se I told them that the idea is like
 412 you keep what is yours already. That er forms the base. And then you look around.
 413 To get things other than that you look around elsewhere. And those things that you
 414 get elsewhere you take them to complement what you already have.

415 F: M-m.

416 DPP: Yeah? So with the er global village uh the phenomenon like that it's important.

417 F: M-m.

418 DPP: So:: that's the reason why. So (.) now many have said that I am against
 419 French. But these people are just looking up here.

420 F: M-m.

421 DPP: Yeah if I was against French? I wouldn't have done this. So:: the reason why
 422 French has really spread in English schools up to Year 13? That's why I did it when
 423 I was at Malapoa.

424 F: Ah okay.

425 DPP: I am not against French (.) against the language. But in my opinion they must
 426 be good at one language first.

427 F: Yes.

428 DPP: And then they can expand to other languages. So for me that kind of idea I
 429 haven't changed it yet.

430 F: Okay.

431 DPP: It hasn't changed yet.

432 F: Uh-uh.

433 F: My question is we are talking about school policies like the two languages of
 434 education.

435 DPP: Yeah.

436 F: But other ones inside the schools. Bislama and the vernaculars.

437 DPP: Yeah.

438 F: Are there are policies at secondary=

439 DPP: =Yeah well basically? They are not allowed at English speaking schools they
 440 don't allow Bislama at school. And we know that this is an uh (.) an (.) an idea from
 441 the past that's still here.

442 F: M-m.

443 DPP: Now the whole idea behind it like at the time when I was there uh. We put that
 444 in place for few reasons. One is this that (.) many of the children that come to school
 445 (.) they don't speak English at home.

446 F: M-m.

447 DPP: So where is the opportunity for them to practise English? And we know that if
 448 you don't speak a language? Just say that you know it? I mean (.) that's I mean. I
 449 will die. You know? You want to have fluency in it you want to have it so that it is
 450 embedded more in you to help you to write everything? It comes through in thinking.
 451 Most things come through in speaking. So if these children need to go to further
 452 education? They need a language that they can't just write in but they must also be
 453 fluent when they speak it. Because if they are not good at speaking it? There is no
 454 guarantee that they will be fluent either in writing. In it.

455 F: Yes.

456 DPP: So for this reason we made it that uh:: English at school? You speak it.
 457 Because (.) basically it's the only time that they have to speak it.

458 F: M-m.

459 DPP: And when they go ahead in Bislama? They already are outside the boundary.

460 F: Yes.

461 DPP: They just continue in Bislama. So the issue i::s building them up in the
 462 language that they will write their exams in. So that is an issue that I have kept
 463 arguing with USP in the past. Because USP says (.) we see no reason why you
 464 don't teach Bislama. Teach Bislama. Which is fine. I am not against that. But. They
 465 contradict themselves. Because when they've gone on about this? They make their
 466 exams so that you must be good at English before you go to USP.

467 F: M-m.

468 DPP: You know. I mean for me you say one thing but you do a different thing. And
 469 that's hypocritical. Like so. I have argued a lot with them about it. And they say no. If
 470 you are good at writing it. It will help. But we know. And we know that if you cannot
 471 speak in a language (.) the issue of you writing it well? That is not really easy either.
 472 Unless you grow up with it. It becomes part of the life that you grow up with. So (.) if
 473 you don't teach a language well so that you write it well? How will you translate this
 474 to go to a different language to write well in it? It is not easy.

475 F: M-m.

476 DPP: So:: for me? It really:: makes me. This is how I was thinking at that time. I still
 477 think like this (.) which is this. I will be e::r (.) a liar? If I tell the children you have a
 478 future (.) in your education you can go on to further schooling. But I don't prepare
 479 them I don't give them the things that they need to go. So now you see for the
 480 universities you must pass a certain level in language before you go in. If you don't
 481 pass it you can't go in. And that from USP is very unfair to the children.

482 F: M-m.

483 DPP: Why? Because they know that it is our institution and they are located in our
 484 place? And Bislama is promoted they promote it but all their exams everything?
 485 Everything is in English.

486 F: M-m.

487 DPP: So I mean so for me? I mean (.) what are you telling people.

488 F: Mm.

489 DPP: That. But I agree with them in the sense that in terms of learning a language?
 490 If you learn a language well and if you teach Bislama well? Then they will know. It's
 491 true. But how far?

492 (1)

493 F: Yes.

494 DPP: I mean. Just as far as USP? (1) Is USP willing to make (.) Bislama a language
 495 of assessment? But (1) is that all? What about all the other institutions?

496 F: Yeah.

497 DPP: At other universities. Elsewhere. How will you go out into the global village.

498 F: M-m.

499 DPP: Being part as a (.) thinker as an educationist or as a (.) you know. You (.) you
 500 become part of things that happen around you. Apart from just (.) us here.

501 F: M-m.

502 DPP: So. I don't disagree. Er:: with using Bislama like this. But when it comes to its
 503 limitation. Of limiting kids. Just to where they are at. Rather than allowing them you
 504 know like they say uh uh no limit uh?

505 F: M-m.

506 DPP: to the world?

507 F: Yes.

508 DPP: For me? Er that is a problem. For me that's a problem. That's the reason why
 509 at that time I made it clear. That since this is the only opportunity that children have

510 to learn English and to speak in English. And the opportunity to get out into the
 511 world? Or to go further? This is actually in English.

512 F: M-m. So actually you as the principal you put this policy in place or=
 513 DPP: =No.

514 F: Something came from the ministry=
 515 DPP: =No.

516 F: Or like=
 517 DPP: No::? At that time the policy to speak in this language had been there for a
 518 long time already.

519 F: M-m.

520 DPP: It wa::s done in the past already. When I was still a student.

521 F: Yes.

522 DPP: But at that time? At that time they are smart. Like. I think back during the
 523 British time. They let us speak in Bislama- (.) in lanwis.

524 F: M-m.

525 DPP: They stopped Bislama. But they let us speak lanwis. With English. (1) That's
 526 it. And uh that's (.) not just only logical. (1) Uh:: That is research proven too. (1) That
 527 if you are good in your language <laughs> that will help you. (1) So maybe that
 528 could be one of the reason why you see people before (.) who came straight from
 529 the village to school? They speak better English than many of those now who do
 530 well at school (.) you try and take some of those who go to school now. I mean. (1)
 531 Some of them you speak to them they would rather talk to me in Bislama than
 532 speak in English. (1) But when you look at the old people? (1) Old people from
 533 before? Uh (.) they speak good English.

534 F: M-m.

535 DPP: They speak good English. But these people? They came straight from their
 536 language? Straight to. And I think that it's the same in French too. Ah:: that now like
 537 (.) it's true in terms of knowledge it's come up a lot but (.) in terms of language? I
 538 see that it's dropped a lot.

539 F: M-m.

540 DPP: I see that it's dropped a lot it's dropped a lot. I am not against Bislama at all.
 541 Or us using any language as (.) er medium of instruction. Bu::t I think that some of
 542 the decisions that are made like for example will this really open up the world for
 543 them? Or will it limit the world for them.

544 F: M-m.

545 DPP: You know? But if we can do something that will open up the world? World for
546 them? Then.

547 F: M-m.

548 DPP: At this moment? English (.) is the international language.

549 F: M-m.

550 DPP: And it is the language of economy. You know? So:: so fo::r that few who have
551 the chance to make it? I think that we should give them the opportunity to. (1) But
552 just to:: er teach languages? And then at the end of it (.) you're limiting the kids?

553 F: M-m.

554 DPP: I think that this is a grave mistake.

555 F: But do you think every secondary school follows the same approach or? Does it
556 like depend on the principal o::r

557 DPP: Yes it depends on the principal and the community but I think that the main
558 problem is this that schools don't make enough awareness. And they don't make
559 enough effort. To tell the children the reason why you do something.

560 F: Yes.

561 DPP: Okay. To me? They take it for granted. And some they even say speak
562 English only. But the children? I think subconsciously they say why? Why should we
563 speak in English?

564 F: M-m.

565 DPP: I think that er schools? And er maybe the Ministry of Education too? We don't
566 make enough effort. To te- to explain to them. Because for me? Once a child or his
567 parents understand the reason why you are doing something. They will think that it
568 is just a natural thing that falls down and that it is good for them? They will do it.

569 F: Yes.

570 DPP: So. I spent time. Telling the children why you must speak English. Because
571 inside me? I would rather that I told them that you speak your language. <laughs>
572 Like. Basically? That. But I can't say that in school.

573 F: M-m.

574 DPP: But I kept it like before. You can speak your language. Like us before. At the
575 British Secondary School? You speak your language. The only time that they
576 stopped you speaking your language was if there were other friends nearby who
577 had a different language.

578 F: Yes.

579 DPP: Yes. That is just common sense. Because otherwise you might be talking
 580 about something and other children might say you're saying something bad about
 581 them.

582 F: Yes that's true.

583 DPP: Yes. But (.) I mean they followed common sense. And that was like that. So I
 584 kept it. I see no reason to change something that works. And it's good. But just
 585 because we are in the year (.) we have already passed the millennium we are in the
 586 new millennium so we need to change some of these things. No. Like they keep
 587 saying that we have to be up with the times you know. I mean for me these are not
 588 these kind of arguments you know. I mean taking (.) we take them overboard you
 589 know. But before? The reason why I kept them is because of that. But in my
 590 experience when I was at school? Is that the school never explained. We never
 591 explain why to them. I mean. I think they have a right to know why.

592 F: Yes it's true.

593 DPP: Then if they don't know (.) for me? I am wasting uh our time because if the
 594 children subconsciously? They don't see the reason why we do it? Then for me?
 595 Automatically? They won't have that drive and that motivation to learn. You know for
 596 it to become part of them.

597 F: M-m.

598 DPP: Er often we think that uh I say this and this and this? That's what's going to
 599 motivate you. For me I think that that's not always the good way of motivation. I
 600 think that the best way of motivation is from within. And for that to happen? There
 601 must be understanding. Of why they do things. If they don't get it? For me that is a
 602 problem. So it's er (.) that's how I see things at school. So you see that at school it's
 603 quite strict. For people it is strict. But I always tell them why I am doing something.
 604 Because let's face it these are our clients. We tell <laughs> them that you come in
 605 here this is what you're going to get at school. This is what I am going to make you
 606 get at school. So (.) it is a heavy responsibility to make sure that they get that. So I
 607 get up I (.) uh teachers. When teachers play up? I let them know. And I take them
 608 and I reprimand them. I tell them that if you do this we will not be able to fulfil that.
 609 And you and I are here because of the children. So if we don't do this? We will fail
 610 them. And if we fail them? Then maybe we should not be here. Because if you think
 611 about it in another way? It's like this. The kid? He doesn't (.) he does not have that
 612 kind of high thinking yet. So therefore everything around him? He trusts you. He
 613 comes to school trusting you. Having faith in you. You know. That yes you know.
 614 You can help him. But if he comes to school and you don't do your best? You know.
 615 You've not only let somebody down? But you've let the country down. You've let the
 616 village down. You've let the island down. You've let the province down. And when
 617 you think like that? It becomes a really heavy responsibility. Very heavy. That's why
 618 I sometimes get very unhappy when I know that teachers are not there. When they
 619 don't make their lesson plans carefully. When they don't take the time to find out
 620 about the kids. So that becomes a problem to me. So they think that I'm cross? No.
 621 The reason why I feel that tired is because (.) I always think that's the right thing.

622 You know? I can really see that kid. I see that kid's family. I see the kid's village.
623 That kid's island. Province. And then ultimately I see the country. So if I don't invest
624 properly in that kid? I've actually let all of those ones down. And if I let all of them
625 down? Then I should (.) I mean to be honest I mean <laughs>. I should not be
626 there. I should er. But this is the same kind of idea that I have about languages. At
627 schools. About school rules. And also (.) the problem is to do with the development
628 of young people. The problem is a lot of people don't know. Er they don't know
629 about human development. And because they don't know that they. Like a small kid.
630 He will (.) if you do something a little bit heavy for him to respond. A physical thing
631 but the more the kid grows up? The more they respond to what they think. To what's
632 inside them. So when you don't take that into consideration you apply the same kind
633 of thing that you apply to small children? You must expect a clash. You must expect
634 rebellion. You expect that. So I look at that. An issue with schools? Is that they don't
635 see that. Like to me. A bigger kid? You give him as much responsibility as you can.
636 Let them run with it? And you are there to guide? To facilitate? You know you
637 coach. You monitor. You don't do that to the little kid. Not the little kid. So that's why
638 when I see rules or something at school? And how they apply it in school? Some of
639 these things they become more of a hindrance. Er to the development of the
640 individual. So no wonder when they go home they still sit there and they expect you
641 give me this. You do this for me. Why because you treat them like that at school.
642 You know they come to school you don't give them the opportunity to rule. You don't
643 give them the opportunity to do something. Everything you decide for them. It's one
644 of the problems of schools. That I see at schools. So that's why I (.) I run school
645 differently. When I was at Epi? Teaching the kids who run the farm? They run
646 everything they have. They are the ones who do it. They come up and they tell me
647 oh we need to do this. The ones who look after the farm they say oh our fence
648 shouldn't be here. And then I'm like okay so what are you going to do about it? You
649 are the committee for it. What are you going to do about it. Oh we're going to do
650 this. When? Oh we're going to do that this time. No you can't do it at that time
651 because that is the time for school. So when are you going to do it? Oh we'll do it at
652 this time. So okay. So I just facilitate them. I just guide them. And I give them
653 money. And then I make sure they make money out of what they do. So they (.)
654 they look into it. So they make (.) so some of those children? They are directors
655 now. Some of those children are running big things in the government. But it's a
656 different way of approaching er a school. You know. And the teachers are
657 encouraging. Teachers. Anybody come up with a good idea. Anything. School will
658 support you. You just have to take the lead. We will support you. When you do it like
659 that you see the rich potential that er (.) that exists in a school. I see schools as a (.)
660 the potential in a school? Is enormous. I mean you've got these teachers with a lot
661 of talents. With a lot of know-hows. You know the problem is however these
662 teachers make the best out of it. If you do that? Oh the sky like I keep saying the
663 sky.

664 (1)

665 F: The sky's the limit.

666 DPP: Yeah the sky is the limit.

667 F: Yes but you see that it depends a lot on individual teachers or individual
668 principals. Like you keep saying okay that was my way.

669 DPP: Yes.

670 F: But the other ones do they have guidance.

671 DPP: Yes but you must. Like for me? You must with teachers. Like you must tell
672 them these kind of things in meetings. You know this is how I think. And these are
673 the reasons why I think this. Now you do it like this.

674 F: M-m.

675 DPP: Do you have any other ideas? You know and then they give them. Because if
676 you don't have the people to help you implement it? You're in trouble.

677 F: But it's like the principal can do it with his teachers.

678 DPP: Yes.

679 F: And then is there any structure in place that you at the Ministry have with the
680 principals. I feel that this is a break in the system.

681 DPP: Yes. Before we had one. But (.) New Zealand was funding it. In their
682 (Economy AP) program before.

683 F: Okay.

684 DPP: Yeah but after that? It wasn't them but us who cut it.

685 F: Uh?

686 DPP: Yes. It was cut about five (.) five or six years ago. We were the ones who cut
687 it. I was also not aware of it but I was working on these programmes. And this
688 program was actually from the idea (.) that a principal? He is the one who can either
689 allow something to happen? Or to prevent it. So the key person in any school is the
690 head teacher or the principal. So the idea at the time was that we focus on that one.
691 Because focusing on other people is not very easy. It is expensive.

692 F: M-m.

693 DPP: And also the idea that you focus on that one because he will then focus on the
694 others so therefore the talents the knowledge and the skills these things? He can
695 apply them over there and then he can do something better because this issue of
696 local people running things and doing things. So that was the reason. Um we were
697 working with New Zealand? For about ten years on it. But unfortunately when they
698 cut it (.) uh like my argument with the others at that time is this. Ten years is not
699 enough to build up a base. For the country. But the people who were in these roles
700 they made the decisions. The key decisions. Like Roy Obed. Jean-Marie Virelana
701 who was at the Teachers College. You just name them. Many of the key players
702 who were led by the principals who went through these things we had made. And
703 that was the way it was set up it was set up in such a way that the local capacity you

704 give someone the opportunity to develop himself. You know. Because the idea that
705 had been there before was this kind of we come and we say okay. This is the way
706 it's done. And then we go through with it I saw it didn't work.

707 F: M-m.

708 DPP: So we changed it to look the other way around. To say to him come on. You
709 are in. You are in this position now. What can you do? And then? What difficulties
710 are you having with it. What do you need help with. Then. We'll help you. So that's
711 the programme it was set up like that. Yes it was set up like that. So you (.) we did a
712 few things. One? Is this that you give people first er the opportunity for them to build
713 up their own confidence. You know. Not the opportunity to build the confidence of
714 somebody else. And then when that somebody else isn't there? And then it goes
715 wrong.

716 F: Yes.

717 DPP: So there was quite a lot of thinking ongoing. So um the programme was set
718 up like that. So you see those like that. People who are leaders now are like this.
719 The principals who are now leading the big schools. And those in the churches who
720 the churches have pulled in to go back and look after the institutions (.) of the
721 churches? Those are the ones who were involved in this programme.

722 F: Okay.

723 DPP: But now that's some years ago. And sadly its next phase that we had made
724 that didn't work out because the programme stopped is the next phase that we
725 started off. Creating what we called mentoring principals. Like the key principals.
726 And we set it up in each province. So you? It doesn't matter whether an English or
727 French school is nearby whether you are French English (.) French school speaking
728 er principal but every school that is near you? You now are responsible.

729 F: Yes.

730 DPP: For them. To help them with administration and issues like that. And er I am
731 sad to say that we did not go on further. To make that work well. Because if the
732 programme was still going on and had worked well? Oh I'm telling you. You'd have
733 people at the spot who can respond. They could respond to need. And that's the
734 best way to learn. For the people who are in these positions. Principals. Then we
735 could start to work with those in primary.

736 F: Yes.

737 DPP: So a programme for this was set up. To work with primary with (.) the lessons
738 learnt from what we had not got right with the principals. So it should have gone to
739 primary. But the programme was cut off. So it stopped. So now with the VERM
740 program we have? Where they keep saying school management and training
741 everything at schools with the finance and these things. If we had continued with
742 that programme? Then all these things would have been ready to go on to this
743 programme. But now? The way it is approached now? It is not the same. So the
744 way I see it. If we don't continue to have input. Then=

745 F: =M-m.

746 DPP: Then (.) because we haven't learnt. From the things that the principals have
 747 been through. So I'm sorry to say that those principals who are there now. Once
 748 they start to retire and get out of the way? When they leave and get out of the way?
 749 We don't have another (.) another batch of er people.

750 F: Yes.

751 DPP: But the whole idea behind the training is (.) you (.) you know yourself. If you
 752 don't know yourself in some areas we put something there to help you to (direct
 753 yourself) on your own. Because the idea is that if somebody else tells you that you
 754 are not good at something? Normally it is not easy for a person to change. But if an
 755 individual recognises that yes. Ah. There is something that I should do but I'm not
 756 doing. Because I don't really know how to do it. Then in this area then he does it.
 757 Okay I need help with this. So we come in to help him. So it works along the idea
 758 that a person changes from within? And the best person to change him or her is
 759 himself. So that's how we worked along and I must say that it worked. It worked
 760 well. It took time.

761 F: Yes.

762 DPP: But I think it worked. The way I saw it. So you see. <lowers voice and points
 763 across the quadrangle> Now he is a director. He works here. You see him? He is
 764 one of those who has no training. It's just a few of the principals who are at the big
 765 schools? Who have been through this training.

766 F: Okay. Are there any documents=

767 DPP: =Yes yes yes.

768 F: Or directives that go out to tell principals. Like even though the training no longer
 769 goes ahead but is there any guidance that goes out to schools.

770 DPP: Yes we came up with handbooks. Uh and we were cautious about handbooks
 771 but we produced them. The handbooks that we gave out to them. And these
 772 handbooks dealt with the areas that principals were finding difficulty with? And with
 773 some samples er of things of how you do it. But even with this I find that a lot of
 774 principals still find difficulty with it. So this idea or whatever that we set up? And if
 775 we had gone on from there onwards to reach that good monitoring and mentoring
 776 and coaching?

777 F: Yes.

778 DPP: If we had reached that? Then it would have been like that. Like I still (.) it's
 779 been how many years now. I still feel (.) feel that basically we haven't done what we
 780 were building up on and on until we were just about ready for us to be at this place. I
 781 was still on the plan to do it and then they just said no. So I'm annoyed about this
 782 issue of er cascading a lot of training? We like basically we started it off. We built
 783 the base. And then these people are cascading it downwards to these other ones?
 784 And then it will go into the teachers. So the teachers basically if they had had the

785 training before (.) so to become a head teacher. Or to become a department head?
786 And then deputy principal and then after principal? All of these things would be part
787 of long life of chil- teachers as they go through school. So when you take somebody
788 and make him principal? You can't say that that person has no training. He has had
789 life training through the process when he has been teaching.

790 F: Yes.

791 DPP: So that was (.) that was (.) so we wanted to make it so that the training
792 actually became something like that. You don't do it because you take you for two
793 weeks and then after give me this training. No. You go through this training for
794 however many years. So you make it so that it is part of you. So when you become
795 a principal.

796 F: Yes.

797 DPP: You become a principal. (1) I still have (.) it's okay but I still have a lot of
798 reservation about oh when you become a principal then we'll give you a crash
799 course on how we (.) one month. Or two month. I'm still that one. That's okay
800 provided you take it for life.

801 F: But do you think there is (.) a copy of these guidelines that you think I could take?

802 DPP: Yeah.

803 F: Or I could ask your secretary.

804 DPP: No I have some. I have some of the old outdated handbooks.

805 F: That's okay.

806 DPP: I've finished with them a long time ago.

807 F: Like just to look at.

808 DPP: Yes. <walks over to bookshelf> Do you want French or English?

809 F: Both together would be good. <laughs>

810 DPP: I don't know if I have English.

811 F: If there's only one that's alright.

812 DPP: If not?

813 F: If you only have one side that's okay because I can see=

814 DPP: =No here it is.

815 F: I'm walking around taking all these documents. Ah thank you very much. This is
816 Nineteen ninety eight uh?

817 DPP: Yes.

818 F: Is this the latest one or=

819 DPP: =That's the latest one there. Because I finished with this a long time ago.

820 F: Oh this is good.

821 DPP: I was doing these things while I was still principal.

822 F: M-m yes. This is good because (.) this is just a small part but I've heard someone
823 say there is some other training. But this means at least I can see what (.) what is
824 on the paper in front of them.

825 DPP: Yeah. But like the problem for me is this that (.) like (.) even what we are
826 doing now? The problem for me is that I mean that the normal thinking behind the
827 reasons why we do things? We don't think carefully about them. Like. For me? We
828 learn from what we have seen. What has happened. You know. So this should give
829 us a way to see. Then we use this as bases for us to go to our big programmes.
830 Because once we go to the big programmes and go out basically for just doing the
831 activity. It's like sad to say but I think that sometimes it's a waste of money. A waste
832 of time. Waste of energy. We at the end of the day people don't actually change.

833 F: Yes.

834 DPP: You know. So therefore we talk about continuity but we lie. Continuity will
835 never be.

836 F: M-m.

837 DPP: And we know. Yeah so. But I think (.) I mean one thing that I feel about
838 anything to do with work and school or anything is that people have the potential.
839 You know. And because they have potential the key to unlocking this potential and
840 improving on this potential is to understand them and how best to deal with the
841 environment we have.

842 F: M-m.

843 DPP: That. If we don't consider things like this?

844 F: Yes.

845 DPP: Then. <phone rings but he doesn't answer> And I think that we don't take
846 enough time to sit down. Work it out. Discuss it. Debate it. Ah I disagree with you.
847 <laughs> I disagree with you. These are the kind of things uh? And (.) uh we are
848 busy running here. We run there. Run here. It's busy busy busy. And normally it is
849 too much busyness. Sometimes for the sake of just doing an activity.

850 F: Yes.

851 DPP: I say this because I often don't sleep well at night because of these things.
852 Because at school? Like I got used to it. I got used to school. At school I was always
853 considering is this programme working. What is the science that says it's true that
854 these things show me that it's like this or not. If it's this then this will happen now.

855 What must I do to intervene. What must I do to make sure (.) you know. So these
 856 things so. Every time I did training with principals I always told them that the major
 857 work for principals is the thinking part.

858 F: M-m.

859 DPP: You know. You must look at the options. You must (.) if you have no
 860 information on it you find the information. That's why when I was at school when I
 861 had no information? I'd do something. I'd make a small research. Find out about it.
 862 So I couldn't sit down and say uh but there's no research exists. No I mean I've
 863 been equipped with that. You know. So even though we don't know the details of
 864 each stage. Know the particular details? For a lot of things you don't need that. You
 865 need all you need is the general (.) it's pointing in the right direction and then you
 866 can make a decision.

867 F: M-m.

868 DPP: Accordingly. And there is science around us. If only we can er say okay that
 869 science means this. You know. Or if not but it's a big issue uh. It is a big issue like
 870 we made good programmes that still go on. Good ones. But for me? The real issue
 871 like as far as I am concerned the real issue is this that it's are you actually helping
 872 those individuals to perform at the maximum ability that they are able to. Yeah.
 873 Because only when you reach that then can you say yes. He can do something.
 874 Yes. But if he hasn't reached that level and that stage of thinking. He can have this
 875 skill. He can have that skill. But it's only limited to that way of thinking that he has.
 876 Because if not? That's it now.

877 <phone rings again but he doesn't answer>

878 F: Yes. I feel that I (.) I could stay here all day storying with you but=

879 DPP: =No but=

880 F: =No but I feel I am taking up too much of your time. I see your phone people
 881 want to speak to you.

882 DPP: <he answers phone, speaks briefly and hangs up again>

883 F: It's okay I won't disturb you further. Let's finish here.

884 DPP: No but I like it. The reason why I spend a lot of time with people who are doing
 885 some work? Research? It's because I want ideas. Where are they going. So out of
 886 everything? I always think this because a lot of local people? They don't think it is
 887 really important for us to capture these ideas and things that will happen. Maybe
 888 one day somebody will pick up a book like this. Will look through. Huh! Ah okay. Oh!

889 F: Yes it's true.

890 DPP: Something that was here already. And then we are wasting our time trying
 891 that.

892 F: Yes. When I have finished this research I will send a copy here.

893 DPP: Yes but for me? The issue of language?

894 F: M-m?

895 DPP: It's like. At this stage? We have already developed ourselves in two
896 languages the way we are. I don't (.) in my opinion? I don't believe that a new way
897 will really help us. The way I see it is this that what we have now? If we make small
898 minor adjustments to it this will help. Like for example English speaking schools?
899 You introduce French at the stage that it is appropriate for children to learn
900 whatever that level may be. And then when they have good teaching? Then that
901 will. So it doesn't have to just be French. It can be another language as well. The
902 same with (.) if it's a French speaking school? They should continue with it. And
903 then we introduce English at an appropriate stage for it. I say this because
904 introducing both? For the sake of education it's good for you to introduce both at the
905 same level. But for the sake of two different languages? I don't think that both have
906 to be at the same level. Yeah. So on this I think that what we really need to find out
907 but I know that we won't do this. But I'm telling you what I think. Yeah. And then
908 Bislama? We need to find out where Bislama comes in. But I can't change my mind
909 that (.) vernacular (.) must come in.

910 F: Yes.

911 DPP: And it must come in. I don't care whether it costs us or what is not an issue.
912 For me value in terms of that one is more important than what money you can
913 spend on it. <laughs> Like. That's how I see it.

914 F: Uh-uh.

915 DPP: Money will never be like (.) if somebody comes and tells me now that (.) Ooh!
916 Eh! It will be expensive! We are already wasting so much money anyway. Doing
917 unnecessary things in this country. You know? For me I cannot substitute the value
918 that er like the value that we have. That will build up my grandfathers and those
919 before that they bring forward from before. Through time they come up saying these
920 are the values that are important. You know. They have come up with them they
921 have maintained them and kept them. And we are stupid if we go out and do
922 something terrible and throw all those things down the drain. Just because I say like
923 ah but it's expensive. Or because you have a hundred different languages it's not
924 easy to do. I think that for me that is (.) well put it this way. It's an irrelevant
925 argument when it comes to the real value. Yu know the real value. So if the
926 vernaculars are left out? Er basically it means that Vanuatu has shot itself. It has
927 killed itself. So maybe they should change the name. Vanuatu my land. They should
928 change the name to something else. If the vernaculars are not in there.

We had to finish at this point and turn the recording off, although he was still talking as we left the building.

Appendix XIX – Interview with the Director of Basic Education (DBE) (Original)

Date: 27-10-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: The interview was arranged on the day, so I gave the director my initial letter of request to read first (French version – although he said quickly that he read both languages). He seemed to read it very thoroughly and he nodded along as he read it.

- 1 F: Okei so fas pat hem i long saed blong tufala lanwis ia nao. Ol principal lanwis/es.
- 2 DBE: Yeah.
- 3 F: Um long saed blong yu yu ting se Inglis mo Franis? Olsem naoia insaed long ol
4 skul/s (.) oli yusum long same way o i gat standard i sem mak nomo? Standard hem
5 i oraet. I gat eni issue wetem Inglis mo Franis insaed long skul/s.
- 6 DBE: Yeah. Ating fas samting mi save talem long hemia? Olsem. Bifo olsem mi.
7 Mifala bifo hem i ol Franis man ol Inglis man oli tijim mifala. (2) Be tudei? Ol ni-
8 Vanuatu nomo oli tijim tufala lanwis ia. Blong mi i no mekem sense tumas. Uh? I no
9 mekem sense olsem ia. Se <laughs> ol Franis man oli tijim ol pikinini blong ol
10 Franis man? Oli yusum Franis lanwis. Ol Inglis man oli tijim ol pikinini blong ol Inglis
11 man. Oli yusum Inglis.
- 12 F: M-m.
- 13 DBE: Be ol man Vanuatu? Oli yusum Franis o Inglis lanwis blong tijim ol pikinini
14 blong ol man Vanuatu we lanwis blong olgeta i defren. Ating hemia hem i already
15 wan difficulty. (1) Er afta? Olsem yumi talem tu se wan foreign lanwis? Yumi
16 maintain/em nomo taem yumi practise/im. Be taem yu no practise/im automatically
17 yu stap lusum. So mi talem hemia? Yu tekem ol tija/s we oli stap long ol remote
18 ples. The only time we oli yusum Inglis or French hem i insaed long klasrum nomo.
19 Aot saed oli no gat janis. And automatically oli lusum tufala lanwis ia? Therefore oli
20 stap tijim poor lanwis i go long ol pikinini. Hemia hem i consideration blong mi.
- 21 F: M-m. So wanem nao ansa long hem? I mean yumi no save karem bak ol
22 expatriate tija naoia o=
- 23 DBE: =Yumi no save karem bak ol aot- (.) yes. Wan- (.) ansa blong hemia hem i
24 because konstityusen hem i provide se language of instruction hem i must be in
25 French and in English. But er context blong Vanuatu? Hem i defren. Vanuatu hem i
26 wan multilingual kaontri. We have over hundred languages. But we have to learn
27 only in English and French. Which hem i gud be mi ting se i gat sam samting we
28 yumi save consider/em hem. Um ating wan samting mifala i lack long hem long

29 Ministri blong Edyukesen long level blong ol tija/s? Er hem i hao mifala i manage/im
 30 ol tija/s. But at the same time hao mifala i lack in-service training blong ol tija/s. Um
 31 from my point of view? Mifala i gat sam training about (.) training i go long ol tija/s.
 32 Be i no gat training especially i go long lanwis. Or some kind of assignment samting
 33 olsem blong mekem (.) ol tija/s oli maintain/em ol lanwis ia. So mi stap luk se (.) ol
 34 ti- firstly ol tija/s oli nomo master/em Inglis o French lanwis. Taem we oli no
 35 master/em then oli stap tijim bad lanwis long tufala ia. Um mi ting se solution blong
 36 hemia hem i yumi sud mekem sam mo training. From yumi no save karem sam ol
 37 Inglis man i kam nomo from yumi save hemia.

38 F: Hemia nao.

39 DBE: Um blong yumi mekem se yumi lift/emap standard blong edyukesen ia. From
 40 er (.) hem i (.) hem i wan bigfala challenge. Olsem i stap bigfala challenge in the
 41 sense that taem yu karem level blong Yia 12? Tudei? Hem i (.) i lo bitim level blong
 42 Yia 10 long taem we mifala i stap skul. I minim se bifo mifala i master/em better
 43 lanwis than hemia. Okei. I save gat er (.) mi mi stap harem olsem ia. Why mifala bifo
 44 i (.) i master/em mo Inglis and French and then mifala i kipim. Er mifala i go long
 45 skul mifala i bigwan finis. Uh. We have an age of er sometimes seven eight years
 46 we go to school. We have already mastered our mother tongue.

47 F: M-m.

48 DBE: Then mifala i go long skul maybe that is the reason why mifala i harem i isi.
 49 But tudei? Pikinini? Long point of view blong mi? Taem hem i kasem three to four
 50 years? Hem i statem blong lanem lanwis blong hem? O Bislama whatever? Hem i
 51 no save gud yet. Ale i go long kindy. Ale i mekem hem i lanem wan defren lanwis
 52 uh?

53 F: M-m.

54 DBE: We i no blong hem. And er mi ting se hemia nao hem i er bigfala difficulty long
 55 hao nao long edyukesen i should be.

56 F: Be long taem blong yu yu lanem French from day one o yu lanem vernacular
 57 fastaem.

58 DBE: No. Mifala i lanem French from day one.

59 F: French nomo. Yu neva yusum vernacular insaed long klasrum.

60 DBE: No.

61 F: O Bislama tu.

62 DBE: No. Hemia nao mi talem se mi mi go long skul mi master/em lanwis blong mi
 63 finis. Whereas tudei? Olsem smol kids oli go long kindy o whatever oli no master/em
 64 lanwis blong olgeta yet. So ating hemia nao yu- long Ministri i wantem se sapos
 65 yumi save introduce/um ol vernacular ia?

66 F: M-m.

67 DBE: Blong oli master/em blong helpem olgeta blong lanem Inglis mo French. Nao
68 the big (.) ating yu bin gat information long hemia finis long ol risej we oli faenemaot
69 se (.) mifala i go long skul Inglis mo French. But the use of these two language hem
70 i very small. Long hom. Ating one percent or two percent out of the population. Then
71 hem i stap putum yumi long wan kwestin se be why yumi go skul long Inglis mo
72 French. From yumi nidim blong go long ol aot saed uh? Long Vanuatu.

73 F: M-m.

74 DBE: Aot saed. Nao. One of (.) wan blong olgeta solution hem i we mi mi stap
75 tingting long hem? Taem pikinini hem i kasem difficulty long (.) difficulty long French
76 mo Inglis? Yumi tend always tend to find the solution in those two language. Be
77 yumi neva tingting further blong maybe the (.) the solution may be in the vernacular
78 language. Mi no save hao. Be we should find the difficulty there. Nao taem mi stap
79 mekem uh sam risej blong mi mi faenemaot se most long ol lanwis long Vanuatu oli
80 gat similar structure olsem French lanwis. Very few structure blong olgeta oli olsem
81 Inglis lanwis. So taem bae yu harem ol pikinini oli toktok Inglis mo French? Oli
82 yusum structure blong lanwis o blong Bislama. Oli yusum gud. But this is not the
83 standard French or standard English. So hao nao bae yumi mekem ol pikinini oli
84 yusum standard French mo standard English. Um narafala (.) narafala samting long
85 saed blong teaching blong lanwis ia? Hem i (.) i gat yet long skul tudei. I gat yet we
86 sam skul oli gat er very strong rul blong forbid/im ol pikinini blong oli no toktok
87 lanwis.

88 F: M-m.

89 DBE: Be oli mas tok Inglis and French. Hemia hem i oraet. Be samting hem i no
90 mekem sense long mi? Taem yu stop/em pikinini blong i toktok Ingli- er lanwis blong
91 hem long skul? But yu allow/em hem blong hem i tok er rabis Inglis mo rabis
92 French.

93 F: M-m.

94 DBE: Long mi i no. Then i no yus. I no yus blong (.) mi prefer blong pikinini i toktok
95 lanwis blong hem than hem i tok rabis French mo rabis Inglis.

96 F: Okei. Be Bislama? Sapos oli toktok Bislama long skul hem i? Hem i gud?

97 DBE: Um. (2) Bislama (1) hem i wan threat long Inglis lanwis. Folem opinion blong
98 mi. Be hem i no wan threat long French. Um because taem oli tok Bislama? Then
99 taem oli traem blong yusum Inglis oli miksimap from hem i pidgin Inglis nomo.
100 Olsem blong mi hem i hemia mi luk fulap. Mi faenemaot se fulap long ol Inglis skul
101 ol pikinini oli no tok Inglis aot saed long (.) iven ol tija/s. Oli no tok aot saed.
102 Whereas ol French skul? Ol tija oli tok French. Be problem blong olgeta nao taem
103 oli nomo mekem bae oli and er (.) yes issue blong lanwis. Teaching of language
104 long skul/s blong yumi? Mi ting se hemia ol bigfala challenge ia nao.

105 F: M-m.

106 DBE: Nao. Vanuatu hem i wan (.) bae mi talem wanem (.) influenced by (.) um
107 environment blong hem hem i Inglis. That is the reason why mifala long French i

108 pikimap. It's everywhere. Be hem i rare blong yu faenem wan (.) enviro- French
 109 environment blong olgeta long Inglis speaking oli pikimap. That's why bae ol taem
 110 olgeta long Inglis oli talem se i had blong olgeta i pikimap French.

111 F: Yes from oli no harem French tumas. Aot saed long=

112 DBE: =Oli no harem French tumas.

113 F: Be i gat eni polisi in ples naoia blong improve/um either second language or third
 114 language. Olsem Inglis insaed long ol Anglophone skul o French insaed long ol
 115 Anglophone skul. Tufala lanwis insaed long ol Francophone skul.

116 DBE: Yeah ating ol samfala staf ia oli bin wok long hem. Blong come up wetem wan
 117 edyukesen uh lanwis polisi. Be ating ol bos oli no fil (.) confident blong mifala i go
 118 about hemia. Mifala i go about polisi ia. Mo mebi the policy itself is er (.) mifala i
 119 grup/um trifala lanwis ia. O tri o how many languages. Inglis French Bislama and
 120 vernacular? I go wantaem hem i very (.) bae oli talem se hem i wan risk. Uh? From
 121 theoretically? Wanem hem i hapen se blong yu master/em wan narafala lanwis yu
 122 mas master/em wan first. Very. Be long wei we hao polisi hem i set up ating hem i
 123 no (.) hem i no fil confident long hem. That is how why. Be i gat wan narafala (1) i
 124 gat wan narafala uh (.) finding we mifala i mekem? Hem i (.) hemia mifala i gat pruf
 125 long hem. Er long sam ples/es sam pikinini oli go skul long French. Sam peren/s oli
 126 wantem ol pikinini blong olgeta oli go skul long Inglis. But from i no gat Inglis skul
 127 around they have to put their oli putum pikinini blong olgeta i go long (.) French. Ale
 128 taem oli skul i go oli bigwan smol? Kasem Klas 3 or Klas 4? We oli save live by their
 129 own ale oli karemaot oli putum long wan Inglis skul i long wea. So mifala i
 130 faenemaot se long ples ia taem wan pikinini i lanem Inglis longwe? Inglis blong hem
 131 hem i better than olgeta we oli stat skul long Inglis.

132 F: M-m.

133 DBE: So=

134 F: =Yu ting se i from wanem. Yes mi harem fulap stori nao oli talem sem samting.
 135 Be=

136 DBE: =Mi no (.) Mi ting se taem we mi stap tokbaot bilingualism hem i olsem ia nao.
 137 Yu save tok tufala lanwis be really yu wantem kam wan olsem bilingual you have to
 138 er fluent in one language first. Be <laughs> blong hemia blong talem se from
 139 wanem oli go olsem ia mi no save be fulap pikinini oli olsem ia nao.

140 F: M-m.

141 DBE: Er mebi (2) from structure blong lanwis we oli lanem? Mo mebi from
 142 environment blong lanwis oli save pikimap isi? Mo oli yusum lanwis ia long structure
 143 blong ol narafala lanwis. Like myself. Er mi? Ol man we oli toktok gud Inglis oli
 144 talem se taem mi raet Inglis Inglis blong mi hem i better than ol collègue blong mi
 145 we oli skul Inglis.

146 F: M-m.

147 DBE: Er mi stap ting se uh mi mi raet Inglis? Mi yusum French structure. Lanwis
 148 blong French. Yeah so mebi hemia nao.

149 F: So yu ting se hem i no really possible blong ol (.) ol pikinini we oli skul Inglis
 150 fastaem ale oli muv i go long French bae oli neva kasem.

151 DBE: Mi ting se bae i had. Bae i had nomo from environment we i no provided long
 152 olgeta blong oli save pikimap.

153 F: M-m.

154 DBE: Whereas French i go long Inglis i no gat problem.

155 F: Be yu save eni eksampol blong ol Anglophone olsem oli skul Inglis nomo? Ale be
 156 oli save toktok French tu.

157 DBE: Yeah. I gat sam ia.

158 F: Okei.

159 DBE: And er (.) taem mi harem (.) mi stap (.) i gat wan. Hem i tok very good French.
 160 And then er mi askem hem se (.) you make me question (.) yu mekem mi mi
 161 kwestinim. From wanem ol English speaking oli stap talem se i very hard long
 162 olgeta. Hao nao yu come to (.) so hem i kam blong confirm/em wanem mi stap
 163 talem. Hem i stap yus blong wok wetem ol Franis man? So hem i expose long
 164 Franis lanwis therefore hem i pikimap. Hem i pikimap. So mi ting se environment tu
 165 hem i count uh?

166 F: Yes.

167 DBE: Environment hem i count so (1) olsem naoia uh i stap kam better. I kam better
 168 from we TV i kamaot long French. So especially ol pikinini oli pikimap French. Tru
 169 long TV mo long (.) ol skul/s ol centre schools uh? We mifala i introduce/um
 170 narafala lanwis i go long narafala.

171 F: M-m.

172 DBE: So whether i French o Inglis? Pikinini i pikimap very easily tufala lanwis. Mi
 173 ting se hem i a little commitment blong mifala nomo. Blong mekem se ol pikinini oli
 174 pikimap.

175 F: Okei.

176 DBE: Mi luk olsem sam blong mifala. Olsem wan toktok we mifala i stap talem long
 177 Vanuatu se taem yu bon French be yu no wantem save long Inglis o taem yu skul
 178 Inglis yu no wantem save long French. Be hem i wan kwestin blong attitudes. (2) Be
 179 mi ting se sapos evriwan hem i gat sem gol hem i wantem tingbaot ol pikinini i no (.)
 180 mifala i no tingbaot mifala. Olsem filing blong mi se taem mifala i stap tokbaot fiuja
 181 blong pikinini? Mifala i stap base/em plante blong mifala. Uh hemia nao mi luk. Be
 182 sapos mifala i forget/em mifala. Bae mifala i tok more about pikinini mebi mifala i
 183 save=

184 F: =Be yu luk se ol attitude oli stap jenis naoia o no. Oli mi Francophone mi nidim
185 Franis nomo o=

186 DBE: =Ating long (.) long ol rural eria/s (.) attitude i jenis finis. Honestly speaking mi
187 save talem olsem ia olsem folem lukluk mo opinion. Blong ol rural eria/s? O long ol
188 pipol we oli no skul tumas oli luk save hemia. Be i gat sam bunch blong ol very few
189 intellectual pipol nomo i had blong. (1) Mi no save why. Be i had blong oli accept/em
190 o oli go along. This is hao mi mi luk.

191 F: So taem yufala i sidaon olsem lanwis polisi tim? I gat sam we oli skul French sam
192 oli skul Inglis. Yu faenem se yufala i stap faet from=

193 DBE: =No.

194 F: Olsem [French]

195 DBE: [Ating long] tim i no gat problem insaed long tim. Uh evri memba blong tim
196 oli (.) oli andastanem. Be olsem i gat samfala we oli (.) hemia nao mi talem se sam
197 pipol oli no too sure? Samfala pipol oli no andastanem. Be sam oli jes olsem mi
198 talem hemia. They don't like this language.

199 F: Be wanem nao problem. Oli fraet se bae oli lusum opportunity blong ol sapos
200 nara lanwis hem i kam antap mo o=

201 DBE: =No? Uh (2) mi ting se. No mi no ting se hemia. Mi ting se attitude ia hem i
202 kamaot from we (2) oli save hemia nomo nao.

203 F: M-m.

204 DBE: Taem oli save hemia nomo oli ting se hemia nao. There is no other narafala
205 wei.

206 F: M-m.

207 DBE: Mi ting se hemia hem i (.) hem i poen we. From my point of view.

208 F: M-m.

209 DBE: Yes. Be taem sapos yu save tu? Then bae yu luk se i yu gat hemia. Afta yu
210 gat hemia. Be taem yu save wan? Yu gat hemia nomo nao. So i very hard. So they
211 say (.) um (.) mi mi save mekem laef blong mi long wan lanwis nomo. I don't need
212 the other language. This is how.

213 F: M-m.

214 DBE: Yes.

215 F: So long saed blong lanwis polisi nao? Olsem hem i?

216 DBE: Lanwis polisi? Long purpose we mi andastanem? (2) Polisi ia hem i blong
217 wan? Hem i blong yumi unite/em ol pipol oli become wan tugeta. Still today we say
218 Francophone Anglophone. We speak English. We. Hemia nao lanwis polisi i
219 wantem karemaot barrier ia. Between the two. And we take those two people and

220 they become one. Only one ni-Vanuatu. Hemia wan. Er second er tingting long
 221 hem? Hem i blong er yumi reduce/um (.) yumi mekem ol skul/s long Vanuatu oli
 222 become only one school. Tudei hem i gat tu. I gat Inglis narasaed. French
 223 narasaed.

224 F: M-m.

225 DBE: So hao nao yumi karemaot Inglis mo French ia? But in one school pikinini oli
 226 lan long tufala lanwis ia wantaem. This is how mi luk. Decision lanwis polisi i
 227 wantem mekem hemia nao. Instead blong yu go ia yu go ia. Yu go long wan skul ale
 228 yu karem tufala sem taem.

229 F: So hemia tingting blong yu tu? Olsem hem i no jes blong man we hem i lidim tim.
 230 Hemia yufala evriwan yu really wantem se wan system nomo i no gat tufala saed.

231 DBE: Yeah. Wan system. But how we do it i gat defren wei blong hem uh? Olsem i
 232 gat wan suggestion i bin kamaot sam yia/s i pas longtaem finis. We oli talem se i
 233 gud blong ol praemeri ol pikinini oli go skul long praemeri long French. Then oli
 234 switch i go long secondary long Inglis. Hemia i save wok tu. Hem i save wok. From
 235 hem i master/em wan lanwis finis. Mo aedia ia hem i olsem samfala kaontri long wol
 236 olsem samfala (.) i no kaontri (.) samfala kaontri be samfala individual/s long wol oli
 237 go tru long hemia. Then yumi go. Yumi nid blong luk er context blong Vanuatu to fin-
 238 to fin- blong faenem wan stret strategy blong lanwis.

239 F: M-m.

240 DBE: Olsem. Mifala long Vanuatu? Mifala i no save adoptem ia system ia
 241 immersion.

242 F: M-m.

243 DBE: I no possible. Because long haos mifala i toktok lanwis blong mifala o
 244 Bislama. Sapos mifala i tok wan lanwis long haos okei be mifala i go immerse long
 245 narafala lanwis uh? Se hem we mifala i tok long hemia bae mifala i go immerse long
 246 hem. Wan (.) wan (.) wan concept we mi ting se ol man Vanuatu oli save (.) oli save
 247 adoptem hem i hemia nao. Oli lanem wan lanwis oli build the lanwis ia blong lanem
 248 narafala lanwis. So mifala i gat almost fo lanwis nomo. Olsem mi taem mi go
 249 oversea mi stap talem toktok ia se mi evri dei mi tok fo lanwis. Mi tok lanwis blong
 250 mi long haos. Bislama long rod? Inglis mo French long ofis.

251 F: So wanem nao fiuja blong lanwis polisi ia? Hem (.) from mi ridim final report
 252 blong (.) Novemba long las yia?

253 DBE: Yeah.

254 F: Be since long taem ia mi no really harem tumas.

255 DBE: Ating (.) long taem ia mifala i no gat DG. Blong i tekem mifala i (.) i go. (2)
 256 Afta? Mifala i gat wan. Hem i acting nomo be taem hem i lus mifala i stap smol
 257 nogat DG. So naoia mi ting se mifala i gat wan DG nao be naoia hem i stap long (.)
 258 long han blong hem nao blong hem i talem wanem nao mifala i go for.

259 F: Okei.

260 DBE: Yes.

261 F: So hemia las information blong yu.

262 DBE: Yeah.

263 F: I jes ripot i gohed i no gat wan samting since long ripot ia nao. Hem i jes.

264 DBE: Yeah.

265 F: Wet long decision nomo.

266 DBE: Yeah. Yumi nidim decision making nomo.

267 F: Okei.

268 DBE: Otherwise no.

269 F: So yu yu stap sapotem aedia we i gat (.) yu talem se i gat fulap lanwis long
270 praemeri so yu start off long vernacular. Afta bae oli go long French. Inglis.

271 DBE: Yes.

272 F: Insaed long praemeri.

273 DBE: Olsem ol proposal ia oli (.) mifala i bin consult/em ol pipol long hem. I gat we i
274 proposed wan be (.) i gat tu. Tu insaed we ol pipol blong Vanuatu oli (.) oli traem
275 blong maintain/em tufala be wan ia? Oli no wantem. I gat namba tri ia oli no
276 wantem.

277 F: Okei.

278 DBE: Tri ia hem i (1) fas wan hem i introd- early introduction of English and French?
279 Mo (.) narafala hem i yu stat off wetem ol vernacular. Mi ting se hemia wetem ol
280 vernacular mifala i no gat problem tumas. We have so many languages but we have
281 some major languages we i kavremap bigfala eria. Olsem Shefa Province insaed i
282 gat (.) oli save skul long wan lanwis. Oli gat ol smolsmol wan. Be i gat sam wan?
283 Sam evriwan i toktok long hem.

284 F: M-m.

285 DBE: So hem i long (xx). Ol smolsmol wan ia? Be from i gat er (.) i gat tu samting in
286 er like (2) i gat ol concept ia yumi mas consider/em tu uh?

287 F: M-m.

288 DBE: Yumi save skul long sam lanwis. Then automatically bae ol smol lanwis ia bae
289 oli lus.

290 F: M-m.

291 DBE: So kaontri i mas decide. Wanem blong mekem. Yumi choose/um sam? O
 292 yumi maintain/em evriwan for the sake of maintaining a culture. From hem i very
 293 important ol lanwis blong mifala. Ating long level blong edyukesen? Mifala i lukluk
 294 plante? Blong er wanem. Long learning uh? Blong ol pikinini.

295 F: M-m.

296 DBE: From fiuja blong hem anyway. But er in terms of maintaining our culture? Hem
 297 i wan very important area too.

298 F: M-m. Yu (.) blong wanem aelan?

299 DBE: Mi blong Ambae.

300 F: Ah tru? <laughs> Blong wanem saed West?

301 DBE: West Ambae.

302 F: West Ambae okei.

303 DBE: Mi save se yu stap long Is.

304 F: Yes hemia nao. Mi no realise/m se yu blong Ambae.

305 DBE: Yes.

306 F: Be hem i min se yu yu blong wan lanwis we hem i sef.

307 DBE: Yes. So (2) blong mi hem i very important. Blong mifala ol pikinini oli
 308 maintain/em lanwis blong olgeta. From tru long lanwis ia nao oli maintain/em culture
 309 blong olgeta.

310 F: M-m.

311 DBE: And hem i very hard (.) taem yu mekem wan kastom seremoni? Yu mas tok
 312 long lanwis. Lanwis nomo from each wod hem i gat mining blong hem. Be taem yu
 313 tok long Bislama o (.) i had blong yu express/em yu.

314 F: M-m. I tru yes.

315 DBE: Yes. So mi ting se i stap. I gat wan er Bislama nomo we evri man i tok long
 316 hem? Be majority blong ol pipol oli no convinced yet blong yumi yusum insaed long
 317 klasrum.

318 F: M-m.

319 DBE: Be mi ting se uh lanwis ia nao yumi sud developem. Bislama.

320 F: M-m.

321 DBE: Insaed long klasrum yumi developmen gud? Yumi come up wetem ol spelling.
 322 Ol grammar blong hem gud? Then we can use this one. Because hem i wan (.)
 323 wanem ia (.) vehicular language from north to south we mifala i andastanem hemia.

324 F: So blong yusum olsem medium of instruction o?

325 DBE: Yes. Yeah.

326 F: Blo::ng olsem praemeri? Secondary?

327 DBE: Yeah.

328 F: Evriwan.

329 DBE: O sapos yumi mekem blong praemeri be at least hem i kam olsem ol er lanwis
 330 blong secondary blong (1) from at the moment tudei mifala i tok Bislama? We speak
 331 bad Bislama. It's not really Bislama. From Bislama ia hem i ol Inglis wod nomo.
 332 Most the time? Oli no minim eni ting long mifala <laughs>. So i gud blong come up
 333 wetem (.) real Bislama.

334 F: Okei.

335 DBE: Yes.

336 F: So long saed blong Inglis mo French aot saed long (.) olsem from wanem yumi
 337 nidim tufala lanwis nao.

338 DBE: Long ples ia?

339 F: Olsem yumi talem se yumi nidim Inglis mo Franis. Evriwan i mas bilingual. Be
 340 from wanem.

341 DBE: Ating it's er (1) Hem i kam long (2) long histri. Blong nation. (2) Bifo taem
 342 mifala i stap long condominium? Then tufala paoa i putum Inglis mo French but
 343 taem we mifala i kam long indipendens? We have to make a choice. Have to make
 344 a choice so mi stap tingbaot ol lida/s long taem ia. Taem blong oli raetem
 345 konstityusen? Oli discuss/em plante yes. Oli argue. Some of them say yumi lego
 346 Franis yumi yusum Inglis. Some of them say no yumi lego Inglis yumi yusum Franis.
 347 So oli bin argue plante? Be wanem hem i gud se they come (.) oli kam long wan
 348 agrimen. Blong (.) oli talem olsem ia. Oli talem se ol Franis man oli go finis. Ol Inglis
 349 pipol bae oli go. Be from yumi? Tufala lanwis ia i stap bae yumi adoptem. Olsem
 350 lanwis blong Vanuatu. So French English in Vanuatu today? Is not a language for
 351 French or English. It's also Vanuatu language.

352 F: M-m.

353 DBE: Therefore? Mifala i maintain/em long edyukesen system ia long konstityusen.
 354 Blong oli stap olsem language of instruction long tingting se (.) the only two Vanuatu
 355 language we i save karem yu i go aot saed. Because ol narawan oli no save go aot
 356 saed. So mekem se mifala i maintain/em hemia.

357 F: Be i min se (.) olsem (.) hem i helpem yu taem yu save tufala tugeta o sapos wan
 358 nomo i naf? Yu save go aot saed wetem wan lanwis nomo.

359 DBE: Wan i naf. Be taem yu gat tufala tugeta hem i wan advantage. Long (.) blong
 360 yu? Mo hem i mekem gud long yu tu. Be taem yu gat wan nomo hemia mi stap

361 talem. Taem yu stap wetem wan nomo? Yu no luk (.) yu no luk ol advantage blong
 362 narawan mo wanem i save mekem. Olsem for example sapos yu (.) yumi save tu
 363 lanwis? Tufala Inglis French? Yu gat mo er broad vision? You accept more easily
 364 whatever happen in the two language? Rather than have one. It's hard to accept the
 365 other one.

366 F: M-m.

367 DBE: Um. Tekem eksampol olsem blong mi? Tufala lanwis i helpem mi plante.
 368 Samtaem? Mi raet long French gogo? Mi nomo save hao blong (.) olsem mi fas nao
 369 mi no save hao blong continue? Mi switch i go long Inglis mi faenem ansa blong
 370 hem. And vice versa.

371 F: M-m.

372 DBE: Olsem hem i (.) isi uh? Then? Tufala lanwis ia hem i save mekem (.) hem i
 373 save reduce/um cost blong (.) blong public service blong mifala.

374 F: M-m?

375 DBE: At the moment you have to employ two people for the same job. One for
 376 English one for French. For example mifala long edyukesen? Taem yu tokbaot ol
 377 inspector? Yu tokbaot tu inspector. One for English school wan blong French skul.
 378 Be sapos wan person hem i (.) i tok tufala lanwis ia? Then we reduce the post to
 379 one nomo.

380 F: M-m.

381 DBE: So bae hem i (.) bae hem i help plante blong reduce/um cost uh?

382 F: M-m.

383 DBE: So yes.

384 F: So hem i gud blong Vanuatu from i=

385 DBE: =Hem i gud blong Vanuatu.

386 F: Be i gud blong wanwan man tu? O hem i wan samting long scale blong kaontri
 387 nomo.

388 DBE: Yeah. Ating i gud blong wanwan man. Be yumi encourage/im yumi wantem
 389 promote/em. Se tufala i stap. So promotion or encouragement ia i sud kamaot long
 390 (.) um polisi ia? But in fact long (.) mi ting se long konstityusen? Hem i provided
 391 finis. Be until tudei mifala i no wok folem konstityusen. Mi minim olsem ia. Long
 392 konstityusen hem i talem se yu raet long man long lanwis we hem i comfortable long
 393 hem. In other words hem i talem se you must be bilingual finis. From sapos yu
 394 wantem raet long wan (.) er French speaker? Yu mas raet long French ia nao.
 395 Therefore yu yu mas save hemia. So mi ting se konstityusen i provide/m finis be
 396 wanem blong mekem naoia blong enforce/em wanem we (.) um konstityusen i
 397 mekem. I talem. So far i gat sam indication? Mifala i talem be blong go further blong
 398 enforce/em. Ating nogat.

399 F: Be yu luk se ol Anglophone ol Francophone. Olsem yumi stap tokbaot tufala saed
400 yet. Oli gat equal opportunity naoia long Vanuatu o i gat imbalance yet.

401 DBE: No. I gat imbalance yet long sense se (2) um (2) long sense se access mo (.)
402 mo wanem ia? Long saed blong French i stap kam better nao. I stap improve. Better
403 than before. Be taem yu kamaot yu go long (.) uh social life outside? Problem hem i
404 se hem i more English than in French so samtaem i had. Ol French speaking i had.
405 Yu no gat choice. Yu mas lanem er Inglis o yu mas kasem Inglis blong wok nao.
406 From most of the business. Most of the offices. I stap long Inglis lanwis uh? Be hem
407 i gud blong ol French speaking long sense se sapos oli go wok long institution ia?
408 Then institution ia hem i lucky long olgeta from oli save narafala lanwis. From mifala
409 i save tufala.

410 F: Be ol Francophone naoia oli gat janis blong oli go overseas blong stadi? O oli
411 mas switch i go long Inglis nao. (1) Oli gat opportunity yet blong yunivesiti.

412 DBE: Yes. Ating fulap blong olgeta we oli kam. Oli go long ol high levels tudei oli
413 mas mekem olsem nomo.

414 F: M-m.

415 DBE: Oli switch i go long (.) ol Inglis lanwis. No. I gat wan advantage we (.) yumi gat
416 long Inglis lanwis. Um (.) olsem long Pasifik? O long Vanuatu? Yumi accept/em se i
417 gat (.) er own norms of English language we yumi save attain/em uh? Difficulty i
418 stap long French? Yumi folem ol French norms nomo. Whether yu kasem o yu no
419 kasem this is how French is. Um mebi bae mifala i save promote/em plante ol
420 Francophone kaontri/s we oli gat ol yunivesiti/s o samting ia? But sapos mifala i go
421 long ol French yunivesiti? We have to achieve that level. Otherwise bae. Even
422 though yumi save mekem? Be sapos yu no gat level ia long criteria bae yu no save
423 go. Whereas long Inglis i defren. You can do it. Because i gat institution we i save
424 accept/em yu. So naoia bae mifala i (.) introduce/um French tu long yunivesiti long
425 ples ia.

426 F: M-m. Hemia i gohed finis? O (.) mi harem ol nius blong olsem ol funding i stap
427 bilding i stap gohed be::

428 DBE: Er bilding i stap go? Er so far we have already uh (.) er (.) select some
429 people? To come and oli putum in ples program blong evri samting. So bae hem i
430 go. Mi ting se hemia sapos i kam? From bae hem i combination blong ol
431 accreditation blong yunivesiti blong Franis we i stap long Noumea mo yunivesiti
432 blong Pasifik so mebi bae oli mekem i gud uh (.) more relevant long ol ni-Van.

433 F: M-m. So hemia yes ating bae i mekem wan bigfala jenis. Long ol opportunity.

434 DBE: Yes. Be mifala tu long French hem i gud blong better tha- (.) i stap kam gud
435 long sense se Vanuatu? Hem i bin askem wan er dérogation uh? Wan dérogation
436 long Franis gavman. Blong hem i yusum DAEU?

437 F: M-m.

438 DBE: Long skul system. We long Franis system hemia i nogat. Hemia i mekem se
439 mifala i yusum hemia nao.

440 F: Okei.

441 DBE: So mifala i no gat baccalaureate? Be long replacement blong hem mifala i gat
442 hemia.

443 F: Okei.

444 DBE: Mifala i gat hemia. Mo hem i no blong ol pikinini blong skul nomo? Hem i
445 blong ol man i wok olsem mifala tu. So that's the way that er wan agent blong ol
446 yunivesiti blong (xx) i stap ia nao i stap deliver/em ol distance module tru long
447 hemia. So ating hemia nao i help. Ating i very recent. That's why mi talem se ol
448 French speaking i stap kam gud. From i gat ol access ia nao.

449 F: Be insaed long Yia 11 12 13 14 naoia oli stap folem wanem curriculum. I gat
450 curriculum blong DAEU o no. Hem i jes eksam nomo.

451 DBE: <laughs> Er program blong DAEU i stap long Yia 14 nomo.

452 F: Okei.

453 DBE: Yia 14 ating. Yes. Um 14 wetem 13 mi no save. Be hemia hem i problem
454 blong Ministri blong Edyukesen. Olsem ol Inglis skul/s? Oli folem ol er SPBEA
455 program.

456 F: M-m.

457 DBE: French skul i no gat. I no gat eni program.

458 F: Uh? Oli no (.) olsem Melsisi i no mekem sem samting long=

459 DBE: =No nogat.

460 F: Uh okei.

461 DBE: I nogat. Program we oli (.) i nogat olsem sense long se ol program we oli stap
462 folem naoia? Hem i developed by ol bigfala skul/s ia? Then oli folem. There is no
463 real organised program.

464 F: Okei.

465 DBE: By the ministry i nogat.

466 F: Iven Yia 11 Yia 12.

467 DBE: Nogat.

468 F: So oli Yia 10 finis oli jes=

469 DBE: =Yia 10 i finis ia nao.

470 F: So naoia oli tingbaot (.) be hu i set/em eksam blong Yia 12. Hem i wan eksam i
471 kamaot long?

472 DBE: Ol skul/s nomo oli mekem.

473 F: Wanwan skul nomo?

474 DBE: Minim se sam oli coordinate/em. Be oli base/em plante long ol program we ol
475 skul oli mekem.

476 F: Okei. Be hem i wan internal nasonal eksam nomo?

477 DBE: Wan internal nasonal wan.

478 F: I no samting we New Caledonia oli recognise/em.

479 DBE: No.

480 F: Okei.

481 DBE: So blong go long aot? Hemia nao yumi mekem DAEU ia.

482 F: Okei so Yia 12 long Melsisi oli sit/im sem eksam olsem ol pikinini long Yia 12 long
483 Montmartre.

484 DBE: Yeah.

485 F: Be hem i wan we hem i nasonal wan nomo.

486 DBE: Yeah.

487 F: I no gat mining blong hem aot saed. Okei. Afta Yia 13? Sem samting?

488 DBE: Yia 13? Er Montmartre hem i defren lelebet. Montmartre hem i traem blong
489 introduce/um baccalaureate long olgeta longwe.

490 F: Okei.

491 DBE: Ating sam yia/s nao. Be long ples ia oli Yia 13 mo oli mas go long Yia 14
492 blong hemia nao.

493 F: Okei. Be Lycée? Collège de Santo? Oli sit/im sem samting o=

494 DBE: =Olgeta oli sit/im eksam long DAEU.

495 F: DAEU nomo.

496 DBE: M-m.

497 F: Okei. Be Melsisi ating i go kasem Yia (.) Rensarie ol narawan oli 12 nomo uh?

498 DBE: Yeah. Ating hemia Yia 12 nomo.

499 F: I gat tri skul nomo long kaontri.

500 DBE: So Mi- (.) Ministri hem i gat plante tingting? Be olsem mifala i slo blong wok
501 long hem uh? I gat wan tingting hem i blong transletem ol program blong SPBEA?

502 F: SPBEA.

503 DBE: Ale ol French skul tu oli (.) long hem. Uh i depend long hu Minista i kam.
504 Blong (.) i gat wan minista i kam se no bae mifala i mas putum (.) karem bak
505 baccalaureate?

506 F: M-m.

507 DBE: But uh long opinion blong mi whatever wei we bae mifala i mekem? I gud
508 blong mifala i stat blong revise/em ol curriculum.

509 F: M-m.

510 DBE: From uh the real problem long French hem i (.) taem ol pikinini oli kasem end
511 of the system. Be blong go long tertiary institution i gat wan bigfala gap. That's why i
512 mas gat wan Yia 14. In place. So we need to revise the curriculum so (.) blong
513 mekem se mifala i klosem gap ia blong mekem se (.) so hemia nao ating bae mifala
514 i stap wok long hemia.

515 F: Be niu nasonal curriculum statement bae hem i no (.) mi ting se hem i go kasem
516 Yia 13 finis?

517 DBE: Ating hemia hem i for the whole system yeah. Bae i finis long Yia 13. Because
518 uh hem i no fair tumas se wan (.) wan medium i go kasem Yia 13 ale narafala
519 medium bae i kasem Yia 14. Mifala i mas go sem mak nomo. Long tufala medium.
520 So mi ting se (.) mifala i stap traem uh sam gud mov. Um of course situation blong
521 mifala long Vanuatu? Olsem taem yu compare/em mifala long ol narafala kaontri
522 long wol? Mifala i unique lelebet. In terms of language uh. We have so many
523 language for (.) small density blong pipol uh? Taem yu compare/em mifala wetem ol
524 um Papua New Guinea? Okei olgeta population blong olgeta i bigwan okei. Be
525 mifala i smol. Mi ting se mifala i unique. So sapos mifala i wantem uh (.) mifala i
526 wantem come up wetem wan edyukesen lanwis polisi? It has to be um (.) what (.)
527 how (.) how I say that. It has to be er (4) from the Vanuatu context.

528 F: M-m.

529 DBE: Be i no blong mifala i adoptem wan narafala system from bae hemia i no wok.
530 Situation blong mifala i (.) hem i unique.

531 F: Be unique hem i gud o hem i bad.

532 DBE: Mi ting se hem i gud.

533 F: <laughs> Unique hem i wan wod ia we unique hem i gud o?

534 DBE: Yeah. So mi folem sense ia nao. Uh (.) mo mifala i no mas hariap blong (.)
535 blong jes putum wan edyukesen lanwis polisi. Mifala i mas tekem taem blong stadi
536 long hem. So that wanem we mifala i mekem hem i blong mifala i stret long mifala.
537 So we need blong toktok plante long hem? Ating long ol pipol long Vanuatu taem

538 mifala i go long ol consultation? Rivalité ia between tufala lanwis ia bifo ia i nomo
539 gat eni mo. I no gat. French English nao. Olgeta oli go for tufala. But how mifala i go
540 for nao? Hem i wan samting. Mifala i nidim sam linguist tu from long ples ia? Mifala i
541 no gat linguist. Mifala i gat long USP. Be long Edyukesen itself i nogat.

542 (2)

543 F: Uh. Be yu ting se ol lanwis decision oli stop/em ol narafala samting we gavman i
544 wantem mekem. Olsem yu wantem se evri pikinini i skul kasem Yia 8. O yu wantem
545 se cost blong edyukesen i kamdaon. I gat fulap samting we olsem priority blong
546 road map o (.) be lanwis hem i mekem se oli more difficult?

547 DBE: No mi no ting. Mi no ting. Ating yumi mis- er (1) from my point of view hemia
548 hem i wan misinterpretation. Uh (3) wan learning? Or one knowledge? Can be given
549 in any language. Uh? Language hem i no wan barrier. For example. Taem mifala i
550 stap revise/em curriculum? Long mi you don't have to wait for the education
551 language policy. To review the curriculum. You just review. Sapos hem i kam klia?
552 Then we can teach the curriculum in any language. Be we need that curriculum. Be
553 yumi no mas mekem se education language hem i wan obstacle. Taem yumi
554 wantem improve/um quality blong teaching in the classroom? It's not the language.
555 It's all about the training of the teachers. The quality of the book we use.

556 F: M-m.

557 DBE: But lanwis hem i kam. Polisi blong lanwis bae hem i kam? Hem i improve/um.
558 Quality. I stap. Olsem yumi mekem. Uh no. Bae mi talem olsem wanem? Yes.
559 Sapos polisi (.) education language policy bae i kam bae i help/em quality ia nao.
560 From uh i gat fulap kwestin oli kam se be hao nao education language policy bae
561 hem i (.) hem i (.) i gat impact insaed long quality? Olsem blong mi i no gat. Blong
562 mi i no gat from quality hem i wan defren samting. Rather than quality. When we are
563 talking about quality we are talking about training teachers and how they teach.

564 F: Be ol teacher training materials i no mekem se i mo had? Taem yu mas mekem
565 narasaed long French narasaed long Inglis? Olsem naoia yu luk se i sem mak
566 nomo.

567 DBE: No taem yumi stap tokbaot blong uh yumi gat wan (.) common materiel? Mi
568 ting se long ples ia? Education language policy hem i no mekem (.) any threat or
569 any obstacle long ples ia.

570 F: Okei.

571 DBE: Without language policy you can make quality. Education language policy
572 hem i kam blong hem i helpem quality blong yumi go. Be sapos hem i no gat
573 hemia? Quality i still gat.

574 F: Be cost blong edyukesen?

575 DBE: Cost blong edyukesen? Of course bae sapos education language policy i kam
576 bae i reduce/um.

577 F: M-m?

578 DBE: Instead to have two school? We should have one. Instead to have two
 579 teachers? We should have one. Somehow mifala i sud mekem sam strategy oli kam
 580 be (.) blong risos/es blong mifala. Be olsem long wei we strategy i stap naoia be
 581 hem i stap long (.) hemia nao i stap long ol bigfala man blong oli decide long hem.
 582 Because er (.) i gat tu. Uh? I gat tu wei. Education can be achieved in either
 583 language. So long wei we i stap ia i se either yumi mekem long Inglis? Then yumi
 584 pikimap French? O yumi mekem long French? Ale yumi pikimap Inglis. Be long
 585 tufala wei ia? Finding blong Vanuatu mifala i faenemaot se taem yu go long French?
 586 Afta yu go long Inglis hem i mo isi than yu stat long Inglis yu go long French. Hemia
 587 from environment we yumi gat.

588 F: M-m.

589 DBE: So (.) be long narafala han? Taem yu stat long French blong yu go long
 590 Inglis? Ating bae i had lelebet long ol risos/es. Like teachers and because majority
 591 long ol skul ol tija oli Inglis. Be long narasaed? Yumi gat ol risos/es. So ol options ia
 592 oli go long (.) ol bos finis oli stap blong decide nomo. Sapos oli wantem further
 593 explanation o information bae mi givim long olgeta be.

594 F: Okei? Yumi wait and see nomo.

595 DBE: Yes.

596 F: Okei ating bae mi nomo tekem up taem blong yu from sore yumi a bit last minute
 597 mi kam insaed.

598 DBE: No?

599 F: No hem i gud blong storian. Hem i gud blong harem ol aedia.

600 DBE: Yes ating wan (.) wan long olgeta difficulty we mifala i gat hemia mi talem long
 601 yu finis. Uh (.) olsem uh mastering blong tufala lanwis ia? Especially blong ol tija
 602 from mifala i stap lusum. So yu nidim mebi sam training o sam samting long level ia
 603 blong olsem oli pikimap mo oli go long hem? Mo wan narafala samting mi luk se (.)
 604 mi faenemaot se long Vanuatu ia? Mifala i no gat tumas ol vocabulary. Taem mifala
 605 i toktok ia be ol vocabulary blong mifala i no tumas. I jes almost uh sem nomo blong
 606 oli kam common. And hem i wan samting we mifala i nid blong improve/um long
 607 ples ia. M-m. Otherwise? Hemia nao mi ting se problem blong mifala hemia long
 608 level blong (xx) ia nao. Sapos tija hem i master/em lanwis. Then hem i save tijim.
 609 But sapos tija i no master/em lanwis? Yumi no sapraes se ol risol oli no gud.

610 F: Wan challenge.

611 DBE: Yeah. Wan challenge yes.

612 F: Okei tangkiu tumas bakegen blong taem blong yu. Bae yumi finis long ples ia
 613 nomo.

**Appendix xix – Interview with the Director of Basic Education (DBE)
(Translation)**

Date: 27-10-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: The interview was arranged on the day, so I gave the director my initial letter of request to read first (French version – although he said quickly that he read both languages). He seemed to read it very thoroughly and he nodded along as he read it.

1 F: Okay so the first part is about these two languages. The principal languages.

2 DBE: Yeah.

3 F: Um in your opinion do you think that English and French? Like now in schools (.)
4 are they used in the same way is the standard the same? Is the standard alright.
5 Are there any issues with English and French in schools.

6 DBE: Yeah. I think the first thing I can say about that? Like. Before for me. In the
7 past they were Frenchmen and Englishmen that taught us. (2) But today? It's just ni-
8 Vanuatu teaching these two languages. For me it doesn't make much sense. Uh? It
9 doesn't make sense like this. That <laughs> Frenchmen teach the children of
10 Frenchmen? They use the French language. Englishmen teach the children of
11 Englishmen. They use English.

12 F: M-m.

13 DBE: But ni-Vanuatu? They use the French or English language to teach the
14 children of ni-Vanuatu whose languages are different. I think that is already a
15 difficulty. (1) Er then? Like we say too that it is a foreign language? We only
16 maintain it when we practise it. But when you don't practise it you automatically lose
17 it. So I say this? You take the teachers who are in remote places. The only time they
18 use English or French is inside the classroom. Outside they have no chance. And
19 automatically they lose these two languages? Therefore they are teaching poor
20 language to the children. That is my consideration.

21 F: M-m. So what's the answer to this? I mean we can't bring back all the expatriate
22 teachers or=

23 DBE:=We can't bring back out- (.) yes. One- (.) answer to this is because the
24 constitution provides that the language of instruction must be in French and in
25 English. But er in the context of Vanuatu? It is different. Vanuatu is a multilingual
26 country. We have over a hundred languages. But we have to learn only in English
27 and French. Which is good but I think that there are some things that we could

28 consider. Um I think one thing we lack at the Ministry of Education at the level of
29 teachers? Er this is how we manage the teachers. But at the same time how we
30 lack in-service training for the teachers. Um from my point of view? We have some
31 training about (.) training that goes to the teachers. But there is no training specially
32 about language. Or some kind of assignment something like that to do (.) for
33 teachers to maintain these languages. So I feel that (.) the tea- firstly the teachers
34 no longer master English or French. When they don't master them then they teach
35 bad language in both of them. Um I think the solution to this is we should have
36 some more training. Because we cannot just bring over Englishmen we know that.

37 F: That's right.

38 DBE: Um to make use lift the standard of education. Because er (.) it is (.) it is a big
39 challenge. Like there is a big challenge in the sense that when you take the level of
40 Year 12? Today? It is (.) a lower level than Year 10 was during the time that we
41 were at school. It means that in the past we mastered the language better than this.
42 Okay. There can be(.).I have heard this. Why did we in the past (.) better master
43 English and French and then keep them. Er we went to school when we were
44 already bigger. Uh. We had an age of er sometimes seven eight years when we
45 went to school. We had already mastered our mother tongue.

46 F: M-m.

47 DBE: Then we went to school maybe that is the reason why we found it easy. But
48 today? A child? From my point of view? When he is three to four years? He is
49 starting to learn his language? Or Bislama whatever? He doesn't know it well yet.
50 Right he goes to kindy. He does that and he learns a different language uh?

51 F: M-m.

52 DBE: Which is not his own. And er I think that this is er a big difficulty in how
53 education should be.

54 F: But in your time did you learn French from day one or did you learn in vernacular
55 first.

56 DBE: No. We learnt French from day one.

57 F: Just French. You never used the vernacular inside the classroom.

58 DBE: No.

59 F: Or Bislama either.

60 DBE: No. As I said I went to school I had already mastered my language. Whereas
61 today? Like the small kids who go to kindy or whatever they haven't mastered their
62 language yet. So I think that's it you- the Ministry wants us to introduce the
63 vernaculars?

64 F: M-m.

65 DBE: So that they master them to help them to learn English and French. Now the
66 big (.) I think you have had the information on it already on the research where they
67 found that (.) we go to school in English and French. But the use of these two
68 languages is very small. At home. Maybe one percent or two percent out of the
69 population. Then this poses us the question of why we go to school in English and
70 French. Because we need to go outside uh? Of Vanuatu.

71 F: M-m.

72 DBE: Outside. Now. One of (.) one the solutions that we have been thinking about?
73 When the children have difficulty in (.) difficulty in French and English? We tend
74 always tend to find the solution in those two languages. But we never think further to
75 maybe the (.) the solution may be in the vernacular language. I don't know how. But
76 we should find the difficulty there. Now when I have made uh some of my own
77 research I have found that most of the languages of Vanuatu have a similar
78 structure to the French language. Very few of their structures are like the English
79 language. So when you hear children speaking English and French? They use the
80 structure of lanwis or of Bislama. They use it well. But this is not the standard
81 French or standard English. So how can we make the children use standard French
82 and standard English. Um another (.) another thing concerns the teaching of
83 languages? This is (.) it still happens at school today. It still happens that some
84 schools have er very strong rules forbidding children to speak lanwis.

85 F: M-m.

86 DBE: But they must speak English and French. That's okay. But one thing doesn't
87 make sense to me? When you stop children speaking Engli- er their language at
88 school? But you allow them to speak er rubbish English and rubbish French.

89 F: M-m.

90 DBE: To me it doesn't. Then it's no use. It's no use to (.) I would prefer children to
91 speak their language than to speak rubbish French and rubbish English.

92 F: Okay. But Bislama? If they Bislama at school is that? Is that good?

93 DBE: Um. (2) Bislama (1) is a threat to the English language. In my opinion. But it is
94 not a threat to French. Um because when they speak Bislama? Then when they try
95 to use English they mix it up because it is just pidgin English. Like for me it's like
96 that I see it a lot. I find that at many of the English schools the children don't speak
97 English outside the (.) even the teachers. They don't speak outside. Whereas at
98 French schools? The teachers speak French. But their problem is that when they
99 don't do this they and er (.) yes the issue of language. Teaching of language in our
100 schools? I think that's a big challenge.

101 F: M-m.

102 DBE: Now. Vanuatu is a (.) how can I say it (.) influenced by (.) um its environment
103 is English. That is the reason why we in French pick it up. It's everywhere. Be it is
104 rare for you to find (.) an enviro- French environment for those who are English

105 speaking to pick it up. That's why those in English will always say that it's hard for
 106 them to pick up French.

107 F: Yes they don't hear much French. Outside of=

108 DBE: =They don't hear much French.

109 F: Are there any policies in place at the moment to improve either second language
 110 or third language. Like English in Anglophone schools or French in Anglophone
 111 schools. Both languages in Francophone schools.

112 DBE: Yeah some staff have been working on this. To come up with an education uh
 113 language policy. But I maybe the bosses don't feel (.) confident about how we have
 114 gone about it. How we have gone about the policy. And maybe the policy itself is er
 115 (.) we have grouped the three languages. Or three or how many languages. English
 116 French Bislama and vernacular? To go all at the same time it is very (.) they will say
 117 that it's a risk. Uh? Because theoretically? What happens for you to master another
 118 language you must master one first. Very. But the way that the policy is set up I
 119 think they are not (.) they don't feel confident about it. That is how why. But there is
 120 another (1) there is another uh (.) finding we have made? That is (.) this we have
 121 proof of. Er in some places some children go to school in French. Some parents
 122 want their children to go to school in English. But because there are not enough
 123 English schools around they have to put their they put their children in (.) French.
 124 Okay as they go on in school and they're a bit bigger? When they reach Class 3 or
 125 Class 4? And they can live by themselves okay they take them out and put them in
 126 an English school wherever that is. So we found out that at this stage when the child
 127 is learning English there? His English is better than those who started school in
 128 English.

129 F: M-m.

130 DBE: So=

131 F: =Why do you think that is. Yes I've heard many stories that say the same thing.
 132 But=

133 DBE: =I don't (.) I think that when I talk about bilingualism it's like this. You can
 134 speak two languages but really if you want to become like a bilingual you have to er
 135 be fluent in one language first. But <laughs> on that to explain why they go like that
 136 I don't know but many children do it like that.

137 F: M-m.

138 DBE: Er maybe (2) due to the structure of the languages they are learning? And
 139 maybe because of the language environment they can pick it up easily? And they
 140 use this language in the structure of other languages. Like myself. Er me? People
 141 who speak good English say that when I write English my English is better than my
 142 colleagues who have schooled English.

143 F: M-m.

144 DBE: Er I think that uh when I write English? I use French structure. The French
 145 language. Yeah so maybe that's it.

146 F: So do you think it's not really possible for (.) children who school English first to
 147 then move to French will they never manage.

148 DBE: I think it's hard. It's simply hard because the environment is not provided for
 149 them for them to pick it up.

150 F: M-m.

151 DBE: Whereas for French to go to English is no problem.

152 F: But do you know any examples of Anglophones like this who just school English?
 153 But they can speak French too.

154 DBE: Yeah. There are some.

155 F: Okay.

156 DBE: And er (.) when I hear them (.) I (.) there is one. He speaks very good French.
 157 And then er I asked him (.) you make me question (.) you make me question. Why
 158 do English speaking people keep saying that it is very hard for them. How have you
 159 come to (.) so he confirmed what I've been saying. He is used to working with
 160 Frenchmen? So he is exposed to French therefore he picks it up. He picks it up. So
 161 I think that the environment also counts uh?

162 F: Yes.

163 DBE: The environment counts so (1) like now it's getting better. It's getting better
 164 because TV is broadcast in French. So especially children pick up French. Through
 165 the TV and at (.) schools the centre schools uh? Where we have introduced the
 166 other language to the other group.

167 F: M-m.

168 DBE: So whether it's French or English? Children pick both languages up very
 169 easily. I think this is a little commitment for us. To ensure that children pick them up.

170 F: Okay.

171 DBE: I think that some of us. Like one thing that we say in Vanuatu that when you
 172 are born French then you don't want to know English or when you school English
 173 you don't want to know French. But this is a question of attitudes. (2) But I think that
 174 if everyone has the same goal and wants to think about the children rather than (.)
 175 us thinking about ourselves. Like my feeling is that when we talk about the future of
 176 children? We base it on ourselves. Uh that's what I see. But suppose we forget
 177 about ourselves. If we talked more about the children maybe we could=

178 F: =But do you think these attitudes are changing now or not. This I'm Francophone
 179 I just need French or=

180 DBE: =I think (.) in the rural areas (.) attitudes have already changed. Honestly
 181 speaking I can say this following my experience and opinion. For rural areas? Or for
 182 people who haven't had much schooling they can see this. But there is a bunch of a
 183 very few intellectual people it's hard to. (1) I don't know why. But it's hard for them to
 184 accept it or go along. This is how I see it.

185 F: So when you sit down as the language policy team? There are some who have
 186 schooled French some have schooled English. Have you found that you argue
 187 about=

188 DBE: =No.

189 F: Like [French]

190 DBE: [I think in the] team there's no problem in the team. Uh every member of the
 191 team (.) understands. But like there are some who (.) that's it I've said that some
 192 people are not too sure? Some people don't understand. But some are just like I
 193 said. They don't like this language.

194 F: But what is the problem. Are they afraid that they will lose their opportunities if the
 195 other language comes up more or=

196 DBE: =No? Uh (2) I think that. No I don't think it's that. I think this attitude comes
 197 from (2) that's all they know.

198 F: M-m.

199 DBE: When that's all they know they think like that now. There is no other
 200 alternative way.

201 F: M-m.

202 DBE: I think that that is (.) it is a point that. From my point of view.

203 F: M-m.

204 DBE: Yes. But suppose you know two? Then you will see that you have got that.
 205 And then you've got that. But when you know one? You only have that. So it's very
 206 hard. So they say (.) um (.) I can live my life with one language only. I don't need the
 207 other language. This is how.

208 F: M-m.

209 DBE: Yes.

210 F: So in terms of the language policy? Like is it?

211 DBE: Language policy? The purpose that I understand? (2) This policy is to have
 212 one? It is for us to unite everybody to become one together. Still today we say
 213 Francophone Anglophone. We speak English. We. That's is the language policy
 214 wants to remove this barrier. Between the two. And we take those two people and
 215 they become one. Only one ni-Vanuatu. That's one. Er the second er reason? It is

216 to er reduce (.) we make it so that schools in Vanuatu become only one school.
 217 Today there are two. There is English on one side. French on the other side.

218 F: M-m.

219 DBE: So how can we take out this English and French? In one school the children
 220 will learn in both languages at the same time. This is how I see it. This is the
 221 decision that the language policy wants to make. Instead of you going here and you
 222 going there. You go to one school and then you get them both at the same time.

223 F: So is that your thinking too? Like it's not just from the man leading the team. Is
 224 that what you all really want that there is just one system instead of two sides.

225 DBE: Yeah. One system. But how we do it there are different ways uh? Like there is
 226 one suggestion that was raised some years ago. Where they said that at primary all
 227 children should go to primary school in French. Then they switch and go to
 228 secondary in English. That could also work. That could work. Because they will
 229 have mastered one language already. And this idea is what some countries in the
 230 world like some (.) not countries (.) some countries but some individuals in the world
 231 they go through like this. Then we go. We need to look at the er context of Vanuatu
 232 to fin- to fin- to find a good strategy for language.

233 F: M-m.

234 DBE: Like. Us in Vanuatu? We cannot adopt this system of immersion.

235 F: M-m.

236 DBE: It's not possible. Because at home we speak our language or Bislama.
 237 Suppose we speak one language at home okay but we go and immerse ourselves
 238 in another language uh? So that we speak this one but we are immersed in that. It's
 239 a (.) a (.) a concept that I think everybody in Vanuatu knows (.) they can adopt this
 240 for this. They learn one language they build this language to learn other languages.
 241 So we have almost four languages. Like when I go overseas I often say this that me
 242 every day I speak four languages. I speak my language at home. Bislama in the
 243 street? English and French at the office.

244 F: So what is the future of this language policy? Is it (.) because I've read the final
 245 report from (.) last November?

246 DBE: Yeah.

247 F: But since that time I haven't really heard much.

248 DBE: I think (.) during this time we've had no DG. To take us (.) onwards. (2) And
 249 then? We had one. He was just acting but when he died we had a time again
 250 without a DG. So now I think we have a DG but now it is in (.) his hands for him to
 251 say what we will go for.

252 F: Okay.

253 DBE: Yes.

254 F: So that is the last information you have.

255 DBE: Yeah.

256 F: It's just that the report is out there hasn't been anything since that report. It's just.

257 DBE: Yeah.

258 F: Just wait for the decision.

259 DBE: Yeah. We just need some decision making.

260 F: Okay.

261 DBE: Otherwise nothing.

262 F: So you support the idea to have (.) you've said there are many languages in
263 primary so you start off in the vernacular. And then they will go to French. English.

264 DBE: Yes.

265 F: In primary.

266 DBE: Like these proposals (.) we have consulted people on them. There was the
267 proposed one but (.) there was another. Two were included that the people of
268 Vanuatu (.) they tried to maintain both but one of them? They didn't want it. There
269 was a third which they didn't want.

270 F: Okay.

271 DBE: The three were (1) the first one was introd- early introduction of English and
272 French? And (.) the other ones you start off with the vernaculars. I think that we
273 don't really have a problem with this one with the vernaculars. We have so many
274 languages but we have some major languages that cover big areas. Like Shefa
275 Province in which there are (.) they could learn in one language. They have lots of
276 small ones. But there are some? Some that everyone speaks.

277 F: M-m.

278 DBE: So that is for (xx). These small ones? But because there is er (.) there is also
279 something that er like (2) there are these concepts that we must also consider uh?

280 F: M-m.

281 DBE: We can learn in some languages. Then automatically the small languages will
282 die out.

283 F: M-m.

284 DBE: So the country must decide. What to do. Do we choose some of them? Or do
285 we maintain all of them for the sake of maintaining a culture. Because our
286 languages are very important. I think at the level of education? We have looked
287 carefully? At er what. At the learning uh? Of the children.

288 F: M-m.

289 DBE: Because of their future anyway. But er in terms of maintaining our culture?
 290 That is a very important area too.

291 F: M-m. Which (.) island are you from?

292 DBE: I'm from Ambae.

293 F: Ah true? <laughs> From which side (.) West?

294 DBE: West Ambae.

295 F: West Ambae okay.

296 DBE: I know you've been on the East.

297 F: Yes that's right. I hadn't realised you were from Ambae.

298 DBE: Yes.

299 F: So that means that you speak a language that is safe.

300 DBE: Yes. So (2) for me it is very important. For us that the children maintain their
 301 language. Because it is through language that they maintain their culture.

302 F: M-m.

303 DBE: And it is very hard (.) when you hold a kastom ceremony? You must speak
 304 lanwis. Only lanwis because each word has its own meaning. But when you speak
 305 Bislama or (.) it's hard for you to express yourself.

306 F: M-m. It's true yes.

307 DBE: Yes. So I think it's here. There is only one er Bislama that everyone speaks?
 308 But the majority of people are not yet convinced that we should use it in the
 309 classroom.

310 F: M-m.

311 DBE: But I think that we should develop this language. Bislama.

312 F: M-m.

313 DBE: We should develop it well in the classroom? We should come up with
 314 spellings. And it's grammar properly? Then we can use this one. Because it is a (.)
 315 what's that (.) vehicular language that we understand from north to south.

316 F: So to use it as the medium of instruction or?

317 DBE: Yes. Yeah.

318 F: Fo::r like primary? Secondary?

319 DBE: Yeah.

320 F: All.

321 DBE: Or if we made it for primary then at least it would become er a language for
 322 secondary for (1) because at the moment today we speak Bislama? We speak bad
 323 Bislama. It's not really Bislama. Because this Bislama is just English words. Most of
 324 the time? They don't mean anything to us <laughs>. So it's good to come up with (.)
 325 real Bislama.

326 F: Okay.

327 DBE: Yes.

328 F: So in terms of English and French outside of (.) like why do we need both
 329 languages.

330 DBE: Here?

331 F: Like we say that we need English and French. Everyone must be bilingual. But
 332 why.

333 DBE: It's maybe er (1) it comes from (2) from the history. Of the nation. (2) Before
 334 when we were in the condominium? Then the two powers introduced English and
 335 French but when we came to Independence? We have to make a choice. Have to
 336 make a choice so I think about the leaders of that time. When they wrote the
 337 constitution? They discussed it a lot yes. They argued. Some of them say we should
 338 drop French and use English. Some of them say no drop English and use French.
 339 So they argued a lot? But what is good is they come (.) they came to an agreement.
 340 They said that the French have gone already. The English will go. But us? The two
 341 languages that are here we will adopt them. As languages of Vanuatu. So French
 342 English in Vanuatu today? Is not a language for French or English. It's also Vanuatu
 343 language.

344 F: M-m.

345 DBE: Therefore? We have maintained them in the education system in the
 346 constitution. For them to be the languages of instruction with the thinking that (.)
 347 these are the only two Vanuatu languages that can take you outside. Because the
 348 other ones cannot go outside. So it means that we maintain them.

349 F: But it means that (.) like (.) does it help you when you know both together or is
 350 just one enough? You can go outside with just one language.

351 DBE: One is enough. But when you have both together it's an advantage. For (.) for
 352 you? And it will be good for you. But when you only have one that's what I've been
 353 saying. When you only have one? You don't see (.) you don't see the advantages of
 354 others or what they can do. Like for example if you (.) know two languages? Both
 355 English and French? You have er a broader vision? You accept more easily
 356 whatever happens in the two languages? But when you have one. It's hard to
 357 accept the other one.

358 F: M-m.

359 DBE: Um. Take me for example? Both languages have helped me a lot.
 360 Sometimes? I'm writing away in French? I don't know how to (.) like I get stuck I
 361 don't know how to continue? I switch to English and I find my answer there. And
 362 vice versa.

363 F: M-m.

364 DBE: Like it is (.) easy uh? Then? The two languages can make (.) it can reduce the
 365 cost of (.) of our public service.

366 F: M-m?

367 DBE: At the moment you have to employ two people for the same job. One for
 368 English one for French. For example us in Education? When you talk about
 369 inspectors? You are talking about two inspectors. One for English schools one for
 370 French schools. But suppose a person is (.) he speaks both languages? Then we
 371 reduce the post to just one.

372 F: M-m.

373 DBE: So this will (.) this will help a lot to reduce the cost uh?

374 F: M-m.

375 DBE: So yes.

376 F: So it's good for Vanuatu because it=

377 DBE: =It is good for Vanuatu.

378 F: But is it good for individuals too? Or is it just something on the scale of the
 379 country.

380 DBE: Yeah. I think it's good for individuals. But we encourage it we want to promote
 381 it. That we have both. So this promotion or encouragement must come out in (.) this
 382 um policy? But in fact in (.) I think that in the constitution? It is already provided for.
 383 But until today we haven't worked following the constitution. I mean like this. In the
 384 constitution it says that you write to someone in the language that he is comfortable
 385 in. In other words it already says that you must be bilingual. Because if you want to
 386 write to a (.) er French speaker? Then you must write in French. Therefore you must
 387 know it. So I think that the constitution already provides this but it's now how to do it
 388 to enforce what the (.) um constitution does. It says. So far there is some indication?
 389 We have said it but to go further to enforce. I don't think so.

390 F: But do you think that Anglophones and Francophones. Like we are still talking
 391 about the two sides. Do they have equal opportunity now in Vanuatu or is there an
 392 imbalance still.

393 DBE: No. There is still an imbalance in the sense that (2) um (2) in the sense of
 394 greater access (.) and whatever? For French it is getting better. It is improving.
 395 Better than before. But when you come out and go into (.) uh social life outside?
 396 The problem is that there is more in English than in French so sometimes it is hard.

397 For French speakers it is hard. You have no choice. You must learn er English or
 398 you must acquire English for work. Because most of the business. Most of the
 399 offices. They are in the English language uh? But it is good for French speakers in
 400 the sense that if they go and work in these institutions? Then the institutions are
 401 lucky to have them because they know the other language. Because we know both.

402 F: But do Francophones have chances to go overseas to study? Or must they
 403 switch to English. (1) Do they still have the opportunity to go to university.

404 DBE: Yes. I think many of them that come. To go to these high levels today they
 405 must do that.

406 F: M-m.

407 DBE: They switch to (.) the English language. No. There is an advantage that (.) we
 408 have in the English language. Um (.) like in the Pacific? Or in Vanuatu? We accept
 409 that there are (.) er our own norms of the English language that we can attain uh?
 410 The difficulty is with French? We just follow the French norms. Whether you attain
 411 them or you don't attain them this is how French is. Um maybe we could really
 412 promote Francophone countries that have universities or something? But if we go to
 413 French universities? We have to achieve that level. Otherwise we will. Even though
 414 we can do it? If you are not at that level on these criteria you cannot go. Whereas in
 415 English it's different. You can do it. Because there are institutions that can accept
 416 you. So now we are (.) introducing French too at university here.

417 F: M-m. Is that already going ahead? Or (.) I've heard news that like the funding is
 418 there and the building is going ahead bu::t

419 DBE: Er the building is going on? Er so far we have already uh (.) er (.) selected
 420 some people? To come and put in place the programmes for everything. So it will
 421 happen. I think that if this happens? Because it will be a combination of
 422 accreditation of the French university in Noumea and the university of the Pacific so
 423 maybe they will make it good uh (.) more relevant for ni-Vans.

424 F: M-m. So that yes will maybe make a big change. To opportunities.

425 DBE: Yes. But us in French it is also good for better tha- (.) it is improving in the
 426 sense that Vanuatu? It has asked for a er dispensation uh? a dispensation from the
 427 French government. For it to use DAEU?

428 F: M-m.

429 DBE: In the school system. Which the French system doesn't have. That means
 430 that we use this now.

431 F: Okay.

432 DBE: So we don't have the baccalaureate? But as its replacement we have this.

433 F: Okay.

434 DBE: We have this. And it's not just for school children? It is for people that work
 435 like us too. So that's the way that er an agent for the universities of (xx) is there to
 436 deliver distance modules through this. So I think this will help. I think it's very recent.
 437 That's why I say that for French speakers it is improving. Because there is this
 438 access now.

439 F: But in Year 11 12 13 14 now what curriculum are they following. Is there a
 440 curriculum for DAEU or not. It's just an exam.

441 DBE: <laughs> Er the DAEU programme is just in Year 14.

442 F: Okay.

443 DBE: Year 14 I think. Yes. Um 14 and 13 I don't know. But that is a problem for the
 444 Ministry of Education. Because the English schools? They follow the er SPBEA
 445 programmes.

446 F: M-m.

447 DBE: French schools don't have this. They don't have any programme.

448 F: Uh? They don't (.) like Melsisi doesn't do the same thing as=

449 DBE:=No it doesn't.

450 F: Uh okay.

451 DBE: There's no. Programme that they (.) there is nothing in the sense of a
 452 programme that they all follow? It is developed by the main schools? Then they
 453 follow it. There is no real organised program.

454 F: Okay.

455 DBE: Not by the Ministry.

456 F: Even Year 11 Year 12.

457 DBE: No.

458 F: So when they finish Year 10 they just=

459 DBE: =It just finishes at Year 10.

460 F: So now they just consider (.) but who sets the exam for Year 12. Where does the
 461 exam come from?

462 DBE: The schools just do it.

463 F: Just individual schools?

464 DBE: Some coordinate. But they mainly base it on the programmes that the schools
 465 have done.

466 F: Okay. But it is just an internal national exam?

467 DBE: An internal national one.

468 F: It's not something that New Caledonia recognises.

469 DBE: No.

470 F: Okay.

471 DBE: So in order to go out? That's why we do the DAEU.

472 F: Okay so Year 12 at Melsisi sit the same exam as the students in Year 12 at
473 Montmartre.

474 DBE: Yeah.

475 F: But it is an it is just a national one.

476 DBE: Yeah.

477 F: It has no meaning outside. Okay. And then Year 13? Is it the same?

478 DBE: Year 13? Er Montmartre is slightly different. Montmartre is trying to introduce
479 the baccalaureate over there.

480 F: Okay.

481 DBE: I think for some years now. But there they are in Year 13 and then they must
482 do Year 14 there.

483 F: Okay. But Lycée? Collège de Santo? Do they sit the same thing or=

484 DBE: =They sit the DAEU exam.

485 F: Just DAEU.

486 DBE: M-m.

487 F: Okay. But Melsisi I think goes up to Year (.) Rensarie and the others just Year 12
488 uh?

489 DBE: Yeah. I think they are just Year 12.

490 F: There are just three schools in the country.

491 DBE: So Mi- (.) the Ministry has many ideas? But like we are slow to work on them
492 uh? There is one idea to translate the SPBEA programmes?

493 F: SPBEA.

494 DBE: So the French schools also (.) do them. Uh it depends on which Minister
495 comes in. As (.) there could be a minister who comes in and says no we will put (.)
496 bring back the baccalaureate?

497 F: M-m.

498 DBE: But uh in my opinion whatever way we do it? It's good for us to start with
 499 revising the curricula.

500 F: M-m.

501 DBE: From uh the real problem with French is that (.) when the children reach the
 502 end of the system. To go to a tertiary institution there is a big gap. That's why there
 503 has to be a Year 14. In place. So we need to revise the curriculum so (.) to make it
 504 so that we close this gap to make (.) so that's why we are working on this.

505 F: But the new national curriculum statement won't (.) I think that it is already going
 506 up to Year 13?

507 DBE: I think that is for the whole system yeah. It will finish at Year 13. Because uh it
 508 is not very fair that one (.) one medium goes up to Year 13 while the other medium
 509 goes up to Year 14. We must be the same. In both streams. So I think that (.) we
 510 are trying uh some good moves. Um of course our situation in Vanuatu? Like when
 511 you compare us with other countries in the world? We are a bit unique. In terms of
 512 language uh. We have so many languages for (.) a small density of people uh?
 513 When you compare us with um Papua New Guinea? Okay their population is big
 514 okay. But we are small. I think that we are unique. So if we want uh (.) we want to
 515 come up with an education language policy? It has to be um (.) what (.) how (.) how
 516 I say that. It has to be er (4) from the Vanuatu context.

517 F: M-m.

518 DBE: But it's not for us to adopt another system because that won't work. Our
 519 situation (.) is unique.

520 F: But is unique good or bad.

521 DBE: I think it's good.

522 F: <laughs> Unique is a word that is unique good or?

523 DBE: Yeah. So I'm following that sense now. Uh (.) and we mustn't rush to (.) to just
 524 put in place an education language policy. We must take time to study it. So that
 525 what we do is for us is right for us. So we need to discuss it a lot? I think among the
 526 people of Vanuatu when we went to the consultations? This rivalry between the two
 527 languages from the past is no longer there. It's not there. French English now. They
 528 go for both. But how we go for it? That is something. We need some linguists too
 529 because here? We have no linguists. We have at USP. But in Education itself we
 530 don't.

531 (2)

532 F: Uh. But do you think that these language decisions are stopping the other things
 533 that the government wants to do. Like you want every child to go to school up to
 534 Year 8. Or you want the cost of education to come down. There are many things
 535 that are priorities in the road map or (.) but is language making them more difficult?

536 DBE: No I don't think so. I don't think so. I think we are mis- er (1) from my point of
537 view that is a misinterpretation. Uh (3) learning? Or knowledge? Can be given in
538 any language. Uh? Language is not a barrier. For example. As we are revising the
539 curriculum? For me you don't have to wait for the education language policy. To
540 review the curriculum. You just review. When it becomes clear? Then we can teach
541 the curriculum in any language. Be we need that curriculum. But we mustn't make
542 the education language an obstacle. When we want to improve the quality of
543 teaching in the classroom? It's not the language. It's all about the training of the
544 teachers. The quality of the books we use.

545 F: M-m.

546 DBE: But language comes in. The language policy will come? It will improve. The
547 quality. That is here. As we do it. Uh no. I tell you what? Yes. If the policy (.) when
548 the education language policy comes it will help the quality. Because there are
549 many questions coming that ask how the education language policy will (.) will (.)
550 have an impact on quality? Like for me it won't. For me it won't because quality is a
551 different thing. Rather than quality. When we are talking about quality we are talking
552 about training teachers and how they teach.

553 F: But doesn't it make it harder for teacher training materials? When you must do
554 one side in French and the other side in English? Or do you think it's just the same.

555 DBE: No when we talk about having a (.) common material? I think that on this? I
556 don't think the education language policy poses (.) any threat or any obstacle to this.

557 F: Okay.

558 DBE: Without language policy you can make quality. Education language policy
559 comes to help us with quality. But if we didn't have it? There would still be quality.

560 F: But the cost of education?

561 DBE: The cost of education? Of course if this education language policy is
562 implemented it will reduce it.

563 F: M-m?

564 DBE: Instead of having two schools? We should have one. Instead of having two
565 teachers? We should have one. Somehow we should make a strategy for this (.) for
566 our resources. But in the way that we have a strategy already but it is for (.) them
567 now it is for the leaders to decide. Because er (.) there are two. Uh? There are two
568 ways. Education can be achieved in either language. So in the way we have either
569 we do it in English? Then we pick up French? Or we do it in French? Then we pick
570 up English. But of these two ways? The finding in Vanuatu we have discovered that
571 when you go to French? And then you go to English it is easier than if you start in
572 English and then you go to French. That is due to the environment we have.

573 F: M-m.

574 DBE: So (.) but on the other hand? When you start in French and go to English? I
575 think it will be quite hard in terms of resources. Like teachers and because the
576 majority of schools and teachers are English. But for the other option? We have the
577 resources. So these options have gone to (.) the bosses already for them to decide.
578 If they want further explanation or information I can give it to them but.

579 F: Okay? We will just wait and see.

580 DBE: Yes.

581 F: Okay I think I won't take up any more of your time and sorry it was a bit last
582 minute to come and see you.

583 DBE: No?

584 F: No it's good to discuss this. It is good to hear these thoughts.

585 DBE: Yes I think one (.) one of the difficulties we have I've told you already. Uh (.)
586 like uh mastering these two languages? Especially for the teachers because we are
587 losing them. So you need maybe some training or something at that level for them
588 to learn it more? And another thing I think that (.) I have found that in Vanuatu? We
589 don't have much vocabulary. When we speak our vocabulary is limited. It's just
590 almost uh just the same and it becomes common. And that is something that we
591 need to improve here. M-m. Otherwise? That's it I think that our problem is at that
592 level. If teachers master the language. Then they can teach in it. But if the teachers
593 don't master the language? We shouldn't be surprised that the results are not good.

594 F: A challenge.

595 DBE: Yeah. A challenge yes.

596 F: Okay thank you very much once again for your time. Let's finish here.

**Appendix XX – Interview with the Director of Educational Services (DES)
(Original)**

Date: 27-10-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: I had previously made several unsuccessful attempts to arrange this interview. However, as I left the interview with the Director of Basic Education, I was told that this director was now waiting and would see me immediately. He had been shown a copy of my letter and said that he would make time for me even though he was very busy.

- 1 F: Fes pat blong mi long saed blong lanwis hem i Inglis mo French. Tufala er
2 principal language. So:: long saed blong yu yu luk se naoia? Level blong tufala
3 lanwis long skul/s hem i olsem wanem. We ol tija i stap yusum insaed long klasrum
4 hem [i gud]
- 5 DES:[hem i] decline plante.
- 6 F: Uh-uh?
- 7 DES: Hem i decline plante from (.) i gat wan niu tingting blong ol tija se oli yusum
8 Bislama and bae i raise/em understanding blong (.) ol styuden/s long eni topic. But
9 look at examination results it's (.) so wanem mi stap challenge/em ol tija/s long hem
10 se (.) what you are trying to tell me is that (.) maybe twenty or thirty years ago we i
11 gat stringent rul/s se i mas yusum either English or French long skul (.) Uh::
12 understanding long taem ia competency long taem ia i lo but it's having adverse
13 effects on (.) uh (.) using the language increases competency of the students to
14 understand.
- 15 F: M-m.
- 16 DES: What they read anywhere outside the school inside the school anywhere. So
17 (.) let's face it. Even when you (.) can of tin fis o wanem yu pem long stoa it's in
18 English. You have to understand. So hemia nao mi (.) the part where teachers need
19 to understand. You need to get the student beyond
- 20 F: M-m.
- 21 DES: Language beyond the need to understand (.) what they read.
- 22 F: M-m. So yu luk se standard blong tufala lanwis i go daon? [Inglis mo] Franis
23 tugeta
- 24 DES: [I go daon] i go
25 daon.

- 26 F: Okei.
- 27 DES: Hemia nao EGRA i show/em (.) EGRA oli mekem long Yia 1 Yia 2 Yia 3 (.)
 28 VANSTA oli do/im long Yia 4 Yia 6? Iven Yia 8 examination results yu luk the
 29 students are failing.
- 30 F: M-m. So failure ia yu putum long lanwis ia nao.
- 31 DES: Well lanwis i plem wan critical pat long one's learning. Yu save andastanem
 32 wanem yu rid? Then knowledge ia yu save apply/em.
- 33 F: So yu luk se (.) yu tokbaot praemeri mo secondary sem mak. O kasem Yia 8. Be
 34 yu luk se long secondary?
- 35 DES: Hem i sem mak.
- 36 F: Sem mak.
- 37 DES: So:: foundation hem i long praemeri i bildim up so that is why mi talem long
 38 skul/s you need to have stringent (.) rules (.) on the use of language. Inside the
 39 classroom. And outside the classroom. Yumi mas gobak long konstityusen.
- 40 F: M-m.
- 41 DES: Konstityusen hem i talem very clearly. Language of instruction in schools shall
 42 be (.) English in English-speaking schools. French in French schools. But (.) i gat (.)
 43 tufala ofisol languages of instruction in schools.
- 44 F: So yu luk se standard blong ol tija/s i go daon.
- 45 DES: Yes.
- 46 F: And standard blong learning tu i go daon. So yu luk se ol tija oli struggle nao
 47 blong toktok Inglis mo Franis? O [hem i ol pikinini] nomo.
- 48 DES: [Yes. (1) Yes. (2)] Ol tija/s. Mi mi wan skultija
 49 bifo. And then I became (.) principal. And evri taem mi go bak long experience blong
 50 mi. Mi mi wan school administrator bifo. Mi gat very strong rules. And then mi lukluk
 51 bak long experience blong mi. Because I was never a very good student in
 52 language.
- 53 F: M-m?
- 54 DES: So mi yusum ol experience blong mi (.) And then mi putum ol stringent rul/s.
 55 Nao (.) French tija blong mi long that taem? The French teacher in the school I was
 56 head of long that time? The moment hem i wokbaot i go insaed long klasrum? Hem
 57 i toktok French. Hem i luk students outside andanit long walnuts wea? I mekem
 58 announcements long dining hall. In French. I encourage/im. I kam bak long being
 59 the model. Leader. A good example. Leader. Yes. So:: i mekem se (.) students (.)
 60 became fluent in French. In an Anglophone school. In the school. Even today.
- 61 F: Hemia long wanem skul?

62 DES: Onesua.

63 F: Hem i Onesua. Okei.

64 DES: Mi save nemem ol styuden nao (.) mi ting sam blong olgeta oli kam blong
 65 polish/im (.) er French blong olgeta long Alliance Française be (.) they were
 66 communicating between themselves (.) outside the classroom (.) in French.

67 F: Okei.

68 DES: Nao. Mi sidaon insaed long ofis. And my heart was you know overjoyed
 69 because I was hearing students. Conversing in French. Outside the classroom.
 70 Because environment i provide/em hemia.

71 F: M-m.

72 DES: Narafala samting we enter/em students in the Commonwealth essay
 73 competition?

74 F: Yep.

75 DES: Be mifala i encourage/im olgeta se:: sapos yu competent long lanwis. Inglis
 76 bae i openem up fulap do long yu. Opportunity. Aot saed long skul.

77 F: Okay so ol rul ia. Yu talem se yu encourage/im French long Onesua? Mais
 78 English too.

79 DES: English too.

80 F: Be afta yu:: ol narawan olsem ol vernacular o Bislama (.) yu::

81 DES: Mifala i gat rul se long weekends. Skul hem i provide/em for between Monday
 82 and Friday. English and French.

83 F: Iven aot saed long classroom.

84 DES: Iven aot saed long classroom.

85 F: Okei.

86 DES: Long weekends yu mas yusum vernacular blong yu blong (.) we provided
 87 opportunities for students to er gather together gather either in island groups or
 88 provincial groups? Where they are able to use er. Afta? Mifala i gat ol opportunities
 89 we ol students are able to showcase their traditional (.) kakae. Kalja (.) so i gat ol
 90 traditional events inside the school programme we i provide/em ol styuden/s wetem
 91 ol opportunity blong (.) And of course taem ol peren/s oli kam visitim ol styuden/s o
 92 (.) guardians. Yes oli mas yusum lanwis.

93 F: M-m. Be Bislama?

94 DES: Bislama is a national language. Er (.) mifala i talem long olgeta i se luk. As a
 95 national language i gat hemia we yu save yusum. Be be informed that there are
 96 some structural ways that (.) contribute to failure and incompetence.

97 F: So for example long Monday. Wan styuden i yusum Bislama? Bae hem i panis?

98 DES: Yes. Bae mifala i panisim hem.

99 F: Okei.

100 DES: Yes and mifala i traem mekem se okei (.) Bifo. Taem ol tija i faenem ol
 101 styuden i harem ol styuden i toktok Bislama? Oli sanem hem i katem gras. Be mifala
 102 i traem mekem se (.) se i gat wan positive er (.) er long use of language. Mifala i
 103 talem long hem se mebi tija i talem blong mekem wan risej long saed blong lanwis.
 104 Why nao yu) no mas toktok Bislama. So that hem i kam wetem wan assignment.
 105 Wan pepa.

106 F: M-m. Be. So sapos hem i yusum vernacular long Monday bae i sem samting o::

107 DES: Sem samting.

108 F: So Monday to Friday. Bae yu panis for Bislama or vernacular (.) be long wiken
 109 Bislama vernacular Inglis French.

110 DES: Yes.

111 F: Eniwan i gohed. Be Bislama i oraet long wiken?

112 DES: Hem i oraet yes.

113 F: Okei.

114 DES: From hem i wan jioj institution i gat ol local pasta/s tu oli kam long (.) so mifala
 115 i talem long olgeta i stap long yu. Whether yu conduct/em service long Inglis (.) sam
 116 blong yu long French? Eh sore long Bislama. Hem i stret.

117 F: M-m. Okei (.) M-m. <laughs> Mi ting se yu ansarem fulap kwestin blong mi finis
 118 we oli stap long list. So:: long saed blong (.) ating yu start off yu tokbaot hao ol
 119 standard i go daon long Inglis mo French. I gat eni strategy naoia long (.) olsem
 120 Ministry i come up wetem ol strategy [blong address/em hemia?]

121 DES: [Yes (2)] Folem (.) VANSTA
 122 (.) Yu save VANSTA?

123 F: M-m.

124 DES: Vanuatu standardised test of achievement ia. Ale. Ol risal blong hem wetem
 125 EGRA ia plus ol narafala examination risal i kam ia? Hem i hem i wan indication we
 126 (.) yumi mas putum sam measures in place. Lanwis polisi hem i wan we mifala i
 127 traem aot issue ia. Not as a national level be (.) long skul level.

128 F: M-m.

129 DES: I gat ol letter instruction we oli go aot long ol skul/s blong talem se (.) hem i
 130 nao wanem konstityusen i talem. Hem i wanem we Ministry polisi level blong
 131 Ministry of Education i talem long taem i kam. Schools are expected to ensure the
 132 language of instruction is uh promoted in schools. Bislama? Hem i wan nasonal

133 lanwis (.) be yusum aot saed long skul taem yu go hom. Be long wokples? Bae yu
 134 mas andastanem ol literature. Hemia ia long polisi level be mi traem advocate/em.
 135 Uh:: nasonal lanwis polisi? I gat sam activity long hem wetem proposal we tim oli
 136 bin wok long hemia. It will be expensive. It will be unachievable. I gat fulap
 137 difficulties long hem. Technical difficulties. Mifala i bin askem Richard blong (.)
 138 mekem wan proposal. Wan proposal. Ating hemia nao i luk se bambae yumi
 139 adoptem so (.) as director mi putum hold long hem from hem i wan activity anda
 140 long division blong mi.
 141 F: M-m.
 142 DES: Mi putum hold long hem. Awaiting the new DG taem hem i kam. Hem i kam
 143 finis mi talem long hem activity is on hold awaiting your decision. Hem i no mekem
 144 eni decision. Need to preview fully. So briefing ia i no mifala nomo long decision but
 145 ol donor partners too oli need to have their say.
 146 F: M-m.
 147 DES: And then yu ridim document we olgeta oli produce/im and hem i agensem
 148 guidance.
 149 F: So hemia proposal blong Richard we hem i talem se bae yumi maintain/em tufala
 150 system wantaem.
 151 DES: Yu luk proposal blong hem?=
 152 F: =Mi luk proposal we hem i mi no save se i sem wan hem i email/em wan i kam
 153 [long (.) January ating]
 154 DES: [hemia nao (.) yes.]
 155 F: We hem i talem se yumi maintain/em tufala system be yumi mas enforce/em (.)
 156 third language. Hem i no olsem
 157 DES: Exactly as mi givim long tim taem oli kam ia. Yumi no er (.) reinvent the wheel.
 158 Because that will have (.) effect on the finances and manpower and ol. Be yu luk
 159 long system we i stap naoia and then luk hao nao yu save strengthen/em.
 160 F: M-m.
 161 DES: Because curriculum (.) review is not a cheap exercise. And taem yu tokbaot
 162 lanwis yu tokbaot evri ting.
 163 F: M-m.
 164 DES: Every literature will change sapos yu jenisim lanwis polisi ia. Yu luk se i stap
 165 naoia? Yu strengthen/em. Mi advaesem olgeta long beginning. Be taem oli wokem
 166 go go::? Final decision this is not what we (.) anticipated and (.) the advice that was
 167 given was (.) not this.
 168 F: So narawan we Gervais i putum (.) blong combine/em tufala tugeta (.) hemia i on
 169 hold nomo.

170 DES: On hold.

171 F: M-m. Be yu yu tokbaot finances be:: ating wan poen we Salabert i putum se (.) at
 172 least (.) olsem yu implement/em finis? Bae hem i mo:: olsem bae hem i cheaper
 173 long long-term. Blong olsem i gat wan system nomo yu luk se hem i expensive
 174 blong maintain/em tufala system o no hem i jes=

175 DES: =Hem i expensive long wei we okei long tufala samting. For example sapos
 176 we:: first three years (.) everything hem i in French. Long short term hem i (.) the
 177 number of teachers. And then (.) you have to pay the severance because sam long
 178 olgeta bae oli mas go for training (.) blong trenem olgeta blong kam Francophone.

179 F: M-m.

180 DES: Hemia i wan. Curriculum cost so (.) taem yu put the cost together in short-
 181 term (.) it is more than the (.) recurring budget so taem yumi lukluk long hemia? It's
 182 impossible. So who has the money to be able to do this.

183 F: M-m.

184 DES: So hem i (1) hemia nao. Namba tu oli kam bak oli talem se tuelef tija/s bae oli
 185 go long training. They came up with a budget (.) budget se (.) is this realistic? This
 186 is not on. This is a rural place. Uh and I cannot buy this. You take this product to me
 187 and I cannot buy it because (.) it's impossible. Only for twelve teachers?

188 F: M-m.

189 DES: So:: yu luk long cost benefit analysis blong hem? The whole proposal hem i (.)
 190 well in the end mi go talem long olgeta se hem i waste of time. It's a waste of time.

191 F: M-m.

192 DES: Uh (.) and then (.) that French i neva accept/em Anglophone long Vanuatu.
 193 And they maintain/em after thirty years. Ale yu wantem (.) go bak (.) long
 194 maintain/em status quo (.) I mean at this time ni-Vanuatu will tell this is what we
 195 want. (1) Bae oli no accept/em.

196 F: Okei. So bae yumi stik wetem tufala system? Be yu luk se olsem long ideal
 197 situation (.) i gat tu system o:: olsem long ideal situation bae i gat wan=

198 DES: =Bae i gat wan system. Review? I mean (.) from wanem yu mekem? Oli
 199 mekem long VITE. And I'm passionate about it from mi mi jeaman blong VITE
 200 kaonsel long taem ia.

201 F: Okei.

202 DES: Mi talem se naoia forget about Anglophone Francophone. Think about the
 203 students. Put the students who you are talking about (.) the students in the
 204 classroom the focus (.) yu nomo talem se maintain/em Anglophone Francophone be
 205 putum hemia? Yu putum wan system we bae i produce/im wan same ideal student
 206 (.) how to get there you talk about language. (1) So i gat ol common program. How
 207 you teach mathematics will never be the same (.) taem yu tijim long French. Be yu

208 arrive long sem ansa (.) yes it is the same. Yumi putum wan roadmap in ples (.) how
209 to get there is (.) yu save go long Vila by plane by truck by wanem (.) but eventually
210 you get to the destination. Yu luk hemia and hemia (.) let's put our cards on the
211 table. Uh huia? TA ia Michel. Michel i kam (.) Richard i kam i wok wetem olgeta. Be
212 they realise (.) what will happen. And then. Even now. Yu traem implement/em that
213 curriculum. (1) So (.) harmonising everything.

214 F: M-m.

215 DES: Putum sem stuff. How yu tijim it's the teaching approach yu go tijim wanem
216 long aelan long Inglis yu save tijim long Bislama (.) be still you will get there in the
217 end.

218 F: M-m. Okei so lanwis nomo we hem i defren. So bae i gohed wetem wan system?
219 Be long tufala lanwis=

220 DES: =Yes.

221 F: So sapos yu stap long Onesua bae yu tijim Inglis. Sapos yu stap long Lycée bae
222 yu yusum French. Be otherwise hem i sem mak nomo.

223 DES: Even Ministri i talem se i had blong harmonise/em. Blong gat wan curriculum
224 (.) ah blong primary mo junior secondary. Mi talem long olgeta se wanem yufala i
225 stap talem. (1) Mi go faenemaot long (.) mi wan inspector (.) mi bin go long Tanna?
226 Mi kambak mi talem long olgeta se yufala i mas andastan se samting i stap hapen
227 long olgeta long sam oli samwea. Uh for example mi faenemaot? Taem mi go
228 assess/em wan Francophone sec- junior secondary school. They were teaching
229 Physics (.) and Biology I think? In Year 7 to 10. And Social Science they were
230 teaching Geography and er (.) World History in Year 7 to 10. Mi askem what are you
231 doing this for. It's from VITE. Be er VITE is not the curriculum unit. From curriculum
232 unit (.) hem i kamaot wetem curriculum syllabus (.) objectives. From those
233 objectives the examination unit hem i produce/im ol prescriptions. Ol chief
234 examiners oli yusum ol chie- ol er wanem ia ol prescriptions blong raetem ol
235 assessments. If you are teaching something outside the examination (.) students
236 will automatically fail. So Francophones are becoming the victim and then mi talem
237 long daerekta long taem ia. No wonder the students from Lycée the cutting off point
238 blong ol Anglophone long Social Science hem i top mark blong ol Francophone
239 students. So what are you trying to (.) olgeta? They have been tight-lipped about
240 this oli no wantem admit/em wanem we oli stap mekem. Mi talem long hem se this
241 is ethically immoral. Wrong. I have assumption oli want to maintain French culture
242 or whatever (.) wan Francophone inspector long taem ia i talem long mi se they
243 raised this in one of our meetings. Look at the job market. Can you tell me. How
244 many Francophone doctors are there in Vila Central Hospital.

245 F: M-m.

246 DES: Or lawyers. How many? You are killing them off in that er (.) foundation. Only
247 one or two and look at the Anglophones. Every year fifteen maybe fifteen to twenty
248 degrees (.) annually (.) and how many Francophones? Maybe in four years five (.)

249 as compared to fifty or sixty in four or five years. So this is a dilemma. This is the
 250 situation we need to address.

251 F: Okay so you putum se (.) olsem defrens ia i kambak long curriculum nomo.
 252 Sapos ol=

253 DES: =Curriculum nomo.

254 F: Sapos ol Francophone oli folem stret curriculum blong Vanuatu bae i=

255 DES: =Yes.

256 F: Bae oli save achieve/im ol degree.

257 DES: Yes common sense bae i talem long yumi se if a student achieve/im let's say
 258 A in Geography and (.) wan A long Malapoa College or Onesua yu save se tufala ia
 259 the same weighting (.) same weighting. So tu (.) tufala tu i sem mak be i no olsem.

260 F: Be iven sapos i gat tu we oli karem A. Narawan hem i Francophone narawan
 261 hem i Anglophone. Bae oli gat sem janis blong go long overseas? Olsem i gat New
 262 Caledonia wetem?

263 DES: Naoia?

264 F: M-m.

265 DES: No. (3) No. That is why they (.) olgeta oli talem finis se no:: bae yumi gat Yia
 266 14 long ples ia. Why give them an extra year. Because the student is not competent
 267 enough. Why are the students not competent enough. Because you are giving them
 268 (.) wrong curriculum blong be able to reach that same standard olgeta evriwan.

269 F: Be iven sapos oli kasem sem curriculum nomo. Evri yia oli kasem Yia 13? Tufala
 270 tugeta i sem mak bae yu stil gat sem opportunity?

271 DES: Hemia nao drim blong mi.

272 F: M-m.

273 DES: That is what we are doing now. Be taem oli go long New Caledonia nao oli go
 274 long New Caledonia they have to do one or two extra years before oli go long
 275 yunivesiti. (2) So it's like three years (.) after Year 13 (.) bifo yu go yu gat janis blong
 276 go long yunivesiti. It's a waste of time. Waste of investment. Hemia nao mi stap luk
 277 ia. Be sapos yumi putum evri bodi long same playing field? The same route same
 278 standard. And then after Year 13? Oli go long yunivesiti? Mi talem olsem. Mi mi
 279 andastanem how the French education system works. (3) Be how to get there and
 280 how to follow it? Hem i sem mak nomo. Yu do/im wan examination? Yu save go
 281 long Inglis. (1) If you have the marks? Yu save go.

282 F: Be ol Francophone oli save go wea? Long yunivesiti. I gat New Caledonia nomo.

283 DES: New Caledonia ia. So taem yu yu statem (.) hem i wan (.) wan European
 284 system we yu (.) blong go long wan yunivesiti long Franis o wea? This is how you
 285 do it. Yu kamdaon. So hem i legislated by the French parliament. Canada naoia

286 hem i luk se no. We cannot continue to do this so naoia Canada hem i jenisim (.)
 287 hem i offer/em wan international baccalaureate. Olgeta i sem mak long olsem wan=
 288 F: =Be long Vanuatu oli no yusum IB? International baccalaureate?
 289 (2)
 290 DES: Long niufala program ia naoia? Hem i (.) suggest/em bac ia. Nao mi talem
 291 long olgeta se (.) concept blong international baccalaureate hem i no wan kos. It is
 292 an examination. So long any Anglophone or Francophone school? Your top five or
 293 ten students yu sit/im olgeta long international baccalaureate. If they pass? They
 294 can go anywhere. You can teach the national curriculum too. So mi talem long
 295 olgeta se (2) for example. Wanem ia? Commonwealth essay competition? Um (3)
 296 Westpac mathematic competition? Hem i wan sort of examination we hem i gat
 297 international standard. So sapos wan styuden we hem i kasem distinction long that
 298 examination. I min se hem i sem styuden long Ostrelia New Zealand long UK o wea
 299 hem i kasem. Tufala styuden ia i stap long sem level. Mifala i andastanem se yes.
 300 So that's the same. So mi askem ol donor. Is it true o no. Oli se yes. So fulap uh (3)
 301 skul/s long Ostrelia and I believe in UK. They present their top students to do this
 302 international baccalaureate. And then it is like a (.) acceleration to international (2)
 303 institutions. Yes. Hemia proposal we i stap naoia. Be mi harem long dis wik? Sam
 304 tija/s long Lycée? Oli kam luk minista blong talem se no. We'll do the French
 305 Baccalaureate. This is (.) I told them this is aot saed wanem nao yumi traem blong
 306 putum in place.
 307 F: Hemia wetem syllabus blong hem tu i no eksam nomo? (2) So iven (.) curriculum
 308 statement i kamaot be. No.
 309 DES: No.
 310 F: Oli talem=
 311 DES: =Se. This is wrong. Curriculum statement we i kamaot i talem se evri skul ia
 312 hemia. So why do you want to do this. Even you allow it to enter the minster's table.
 313 And even the minister to entertain it. (3) Olsem if the minister is here I will go to him
 314 I'll say minister? You (.) you are wrong? And you must retract any statement that
 315 you have given your approval to this. Because. Vanuatu hem i endorse/em national
 316 curriculum statement.
 317 F: Be hemia i no Lycée nomo? Hem i evri=
 318 DES: =Oli wantem pilot/em. But I say I don't want you pilot it. No what is a pilot. (2)
 319 So any school can come out and say okay we have this road map on. We have the
 320 national curriculum statement but we'll pilot this. What are you telling the Vanuatu
 321 population? (3) Long Christianity (.) there's only one road to heaven. But what you
 322 are preaching in the pulpit is to go to heaven you can go this way. (3) Um mi mi
 323 talem olsem ia long wan miting. This is exactly what we're doing.
 324 (2)
 325 F: Okei. So harmonisation i no really <laughs> (.) i no ready yet.

326 DES: No olsem we have to be (.) we have to have a DG. He has to be firm to say (.)
327 you have to defend what your directors are doing. (2) But if you are going to do that
328 I'll go look for a job because my job now is not enjoyable. I'll go and look for another
329 job anywhere. This is exactly what you are telling the Vanuatu (.) population. (2)
330 You should not entertain anything (2) but to come back to the languages where (.)
331 <both laugh> yes.

332 F: Okei. Long (.) no be long saed blong um (.) olsem yumi tok plante long saed
333 blong Inglis insaed long skul. French insaed long skul. Sapos yumi kamaot long
334 olsem i no long skul naoia. Be sapos wan individual hem i gat Inglis mo Franis? Bae
335 hem i ademap samting long laef blong hem?

336 DES: Yes.

337 F: Bae i helpem hem long tufala lanwis.

338 DES: Very much. Mi mi wan strong advocate blong bilingualism. And hem i mi
339 always talem bambae mi always talem se look at (.) look at yourself. The (.)
340 Japanese volunteers. The Peace Corps volunteers. Oli kam? One week to two
341 weeks? Er (2) wanem ia? Um (2) wan lanwis training? Wan wik? Oli save toktok.
342 Competent after one week. Yumi putum tru styuden long ol Anglophone skul/s four
343 years. And at the end of that four year they cannot even utter a sentence in French.
344 That's a total failure. (3) So schools must realise this. So long sam presentations
345 long provincial education and education authority meetings yu- (.) mi mekem hemia.
346 If your schools fail to ensure that your students are competent. Competent i min se
347 oli save raet. Oli save toktok. And converse interchangeably long tufala lanwis ia?
348 Anywhere. We fail. We fail. Four years. As a human being when you have the
349 capacity to be able to comprehend? We fail even in four years.

350 F: M-m. Be from wanem yu talem se bilingualism hem i gud. (1) Olsem

351 (2)

352 DES: Fulap reasons. Wan blong yumi long job market (.) able blong converse raet
353 (.) andastan for example. Er hemia <points to letter on desk> hem i wan leta we i
354 kam long French. Lelebet French blong mi mi save rid i andastanem. Hemia wan.
355 Namba tu? From i mekem choice. I openem up market. Both. (2) And long tu taosen
356 no long naentin naenti sikis I went to New Caledonia. Short (.) short stay. It struck
357 me. After four years of learning French and then two years or three years at
358 Malapoa College? Lost investment. I could not converse in French with the taxi
359 driver I was using. So he hate me. So it is an opportunity for us to encourage young
360 people. (2) Taem we yumi talem long ol styuden-s se long yu fail. I kam so naoia yu
361 wantem yumi (.) yumi kam wan stik man long maen blong yumi (.) you cannot
362 progress. But as a human being? You can do anything. You can do anything so
363 learning another language. Look at yourself. You are in your village. Yu save
364 converse wetem narafala lanwis blong narafala (.) those of your family links. It tells
365 you that you have the capacity to be able to learn French in four years. Be naoia
366 yumi tekem i kam long Yia 4 long most Anglophone praemeri skul/s? (2) We have to
367 make it as a public policy. Yumi mas er discourage/im this ideology? That
368 Francophone Anglophone that's why tok- long fulap toktok blong mi bae yu harem

369 se Anglophone and Francophone are a system of the past. Naoia yu mas
370 appreciate/em that tufala lanwis ia are means to new knowledge. So sapos yu save
371 communicate in tufala lanwis ia bae i help plante. New Calédonie is just next door.
372 You go there you converse. Yu save apply long wan skolasip to do (.) bae i openem
373 up opportunity. So that is why i openem up discussion. Mi glad se Vanuatu gavman
374 i tekem up wetem Chinese. Blong fund/em the Francophone university. So in our
375 original meetings I say USP you are a mature organisation. Why haven't you
376 provided the opportunity for Francophone. So yumi statem wetem uh (.)
377 examinations. Examinations in French. (2) The number is small for SPBEA. Maybe
378 our numbers are small but we are part of your family so you have to cater for us. So
379 (.) that's (.) but my dream is that every ni-Vanuatu student who goes to secondary
380 school should be bilingual. No question about it. Because the advantage outweighs
381 the disadvantage.

382 F: M-m. Be yu luk se sapos oli stap long Vanuatu nomo. Which lanwis hem i mo
383 useful. Hem i Inglis o French naoia.

384 (1)

385 DES: Inglis. (1) Be bambae i gud mo sapos oli toktok tufala evriwan.

386 F: Okei.

387 DES: From sista blong mi hem i skul French. Be fulap taem bae hem i toktok long
388 mi (.) sam taem hem i yusum Inglis. Waef blong mi i wok daon ia. Be fulap blong ol
389 (.) i no fulap be samfala ofisa blong hem we oli skul French oli go tru long VIT? Yu
390 kam long olgeta i se yufala i transletem. And they do it poorly. Mi go long Malapoa
391 long taem ia one of the topics of our French lesson is translation. We did
392 translation. We translate English to French. And French to English. But taem mi luk
393 (.) no. These people write very poor French. And they would (.) and samtaem bae
394 yu talem long ol se wan French man i kam long New Caledonia for investment. Be
395 oli no gat confidence ia blong go toktok wetem hem.

396 F: Be yu save eni Anglophone we hem i really competent long French?

397 DES: Yes.

398 F: I gat fulap eksampol blong ol Francophone we yumi stap tokbaot evri taem.

399 DES: Yes.

400 F: Be i gat sam Anglophone we oli?

401 DES: Yes. Wan kasen brata blong mi. Actually hem i step brata blong mi. Bae i tok
402 French long yu yu ting se hem i skul French. And hem i tok Inglis. And hem i (.) gat
403 ol English friends you know. Because hem i wan styuden long Malapoa College.

404 F: Okei.

405 DES: Yes. Hemia hem i (.) and then ol ex styuden/s blong mi ia (.) we had one lady
406 from Canada who was teaching French (.) and then these people oli naoia oli stap
407 long wokples olbaot ia? Ah they speak fluently. Wan kasen sista blong mi we mi bin

408 tijim hem bifo. Hem i wok longwe long (xx). Las taem mi harem hem i stap converse
 409 in French. Mi talem se (.) I'm glad that you know. I was inserting this way to you
 410 people. It is a good example.

411 F: M-m. (2) Okei ating las pat nomo hem i vernacular insaed long skul. Yumi tokbaot
 412 Inglis French plante.

413 DES: Yes.

414 F: Be mi no save current situation long saed blong vernacular long praemeri o=

415 DES: =Yes. Hem i wan samting we Ministry of Education hem i mas advocate/em
 416 plante wetem ol komyuniti. Oli mas tekem ownership blong hem. It has to start from
 417 the home. Parents must converse with their children in the local vernacular. And
 418 then ol pikinini oli go be. Increasingly. Yu go to every home and I mean (.) mifala?
 419 Mifala i smol. We come from the Shepherds. Ol smol aelan. In Port Vila alone even
 420 if the mother and father come from the same island. Yu harem each other
 421 conversing. And sometimes long komyuniti miting blong mifala yu harem ol man
 422 Makira oli stap toktok Bislama. Eh. Sense of ownership. I stat long famle and then i
 423 kam long skul. And long evri tour we mi mekem i go long skul/s mi encourage/im.
 424 Peren/s. Must converse plante in Bislama. No sore long=

425 F: =Lanwis.

426 DES: Local vernacular. Yu tokbaot ol kastom stori/s. Olsem mi taem mi smol i stap
 427 papa blong mi i stap tokbaot ol kastom stori/s. Nao? Wanem i hapen? Mi no ting se
 428 yufala i tokbaot kastom stori/s. Long ol pikinini. So (3) long. I stap long base o jenis
 429 we i stap hapen. Yumi mas raetem ol kastom stori/s. Long lanwis and then (.) so SIL
 430 hem i stap mekem wan gudfala wok. Hem i stap wok wetem ol komyuniti/s. Be
 431 hemia nao. Mi talem long olgeta se you have to take it to the next level we (.) skul/s
 432 oli mas yusum local vernacular providing opportunities for children to learn their
 433 kastom.

434 F: Be hemia=

435 DES: =Hemia i stap long national curriculum statement.

436 F: Be hemia i gat ol samting long saed blong edyukesen tu? Olsem hem i beneficial
 437 long saed blong learning tu? O long saed blong maintain/em kastom nomo.

438 DES: Olsem risej hem i show/em olsem uh? Se pikinini hem i save gud lanwis blong
 439 hem? Hem i save lan better long. (1) So hemia hem i wanem we risej i talem be
 440 blong yu putum (.) practically hem i wan narafala samting. Yu mas enforce/em yu
 441 mas encourage/im. So that is why er skul rul/s oli mas plan/em that there is a
 442 session in the recent program we pikinini i mas gat opportunity to converse in the
 443 er?

444 (2)

445 F: Okei. Be naoia yu luk se fulap skul oli no mekem yet. Olsem oli=

446 DES: =No.

447 F: Oli stap trial/em be=

448 DES: =Hem i wan denja. Wan denja. And I was on Lamén Bay early this year mi
 449 talem wanem. Mi luk tri pikinini oli stap swim long solwota oli stap toktok Bislama. Mi
 450 go klosap long olgeta. Ol pikinini. Yufala i kam long wanem aelan. Lamén Aelan.
 451 Papa mo mama blong wea? Lamén Aelan. Afta yu jes stap toktok Bislama? Mi
 452 wantem harem yufala i toktok lanwis. Ale. And they were you know. Really hesitant.
 453 So that is a big gap. A big drop long hemia. Yumi lus plante. And then they call a
 454 meeting. Community. With all the chiefs. So I was there and so on. So the first thing
 455 I told them is this is what is the situation. Parents go back to the village. In your
 456 homes. Make sure you. I will be back again I will check because I will go to every
 457 home. As fulap blong yufala i save mi. Go to your home. I have done that because
 458 down the line you will be answerable to this.

459 <DES's phone rings and he answers it and speaks for 25 seconds before hanging
 460 up>

461 F: No sore bae mi nomo disturb/em yu from yu save mi jes jam insaed long las minit
 462 nomo so.

463 DES: No sapos yu gat eni mo?

464 F: No mi ting hemia nomo mi luk se yumi kavremap fulap samting.

465 DES: From bae hem i ring bak long haf pas leven.

466 F: No i stret i stret.

**Appendix xx – Interview with the Director of Educational Services (DES)
(Translation)**

Date: 27-10-11

Location: Ministry of Education

Notes: I had previously made several unsuccessful attempts to arrange this interview. However, as I left the interview with the Director of Basic Education, I was told that this director was now waiting and would see me immediately. He had been shown a copy of my letter and said that he would make time for me even though he was very busy.

- 1 F: My first interest about language is about English and French. The two er principal
2 languages. So:: for you do you think that now? What is the level like in the two
3 languages in schools? When teachers use them in the classrooms is [it good]
- 4 DES: [it's] declined a
5 lot.
- 6 F: Uh-uh?
- 7 DES: It has declined a lot because (.) there is a new idea amongst teachers that
8 they use Bislama and that will raise the understanding of (.) students in any topic.
9 But look at examination results it's (.) so I'm challenging teachers on this saying (.)
10 what you are trying to tell me is that (.) maybe twenty or thirty years ago when there
11 were stringent rules that we must use either English or French at school (.) Uh::
12 understanding at that time competency at that time was low but it's having adverse
13 effects on (.) uh (.) using the language increases competency of the students to
14 understand.
- 15 F: M-m.
- 16 DES: What they read anywhere outside the school inside the school anywhere. So
17 (.) let's face it. Even when you (.) a can of tinned fish or whatever you buy at the
18 store it's in English. You have to understand. So that's it for me (.) the part where
19 teachers need to understand. You need to get the student beyond
- 20 F: M-m.
- 21 DES: Language beyond the need to understand (.) what they read.
- 22 F: M-m. So you think the standard of the two languages has gone down? [English
23 and] French together
- 24 DES: [It's gone
25 down] it's gone down.

26 F: Okay.

27 DES: That's what EGRA showed (.) EGRA have done it in Year 1 Year 2 Year 3 (.)
 28 VANSTA they do it in Year 4 Year 6? Even the Year 8 examination results you see
 29 the students are failing.

30 F: M-m. So this failure you attribute it to language.

31 DES: Well language plays a critical part in one's learning. If you can understand
 32 what you read? Then you can apply this knowledge.

33 F: So do you think (.) you're talking about primary and secondary the same. Or up to
 34 Year 8. But what do you think about secondary?

35 DES: It's the same.

36 F: The same.

37 DES: So:: its foundation in primary builds up so that is why I say that in schools you
 38 need to have stringent (.) rules (.) on the use of language. Inside the classroom.
 39 And outside the classroom. We must go back to the constitution.

40 F: M-m.

41 DES: The constitution says very clearly. The language of instruction in schools shall
 42 be (.) English in English-speaking schools. French in French schools. But (.) there
 43 are (.) two official languages of instruction in schools.

44 F: So you think that the standard of the teachers has gone down.

45 DES: Yes.

46 F: And that the standard of learning too has gone down. So do you think that the
 47 teachers are struggling to speak English and French? Or [is it the children] only.

48 DES: [Yes.(1) Yes. (2)] The
 49 teachers. I was a school teacher before. And then I became (.) principal. And every
 50 time I go back to my experience. I was a school administrator before. I had very
 51 strong rules. And then I would think back to my experience. Because I was never a
 52 very good student in language.

53 F: M-m?

54 DES: So I used my experience (.) And then I put in place stringent rules. Now (.) my
 55 French teacher at the time? The French teacher in the school I was head of at that
 56 time? The moment he walked into the classroom? He spoke French. If he saw
 57 students outside under the walnut trees or wherever? He made announcements in
 58 the dining hall. In French. He encouraged them. It comes back to being the model.
 59 Leader. A good example. Leader. Yes. So:: it meant that (.) students (.) became
 60 fluent in French. In an Anglophone school. In the school. Even today.

61 F: Which school was that?

62 DES: Onesua.

63 F: That was Onesua. Okay.

64 DES: I can name those students (.) I think some of them they have been to polish (.)
 65 their er French at Alliance Française but (.) they were communicating between
 66 themselves (.) outside the classroom (.) in French.

67 F: Okay.

68 DES: Now. I would sit in my office. And my heart was you know overjoyed because I
 69 was hearing students. Conversing in French. Outside the classroom. Because the
 70 environment provided that.

71 F: M-m.

72 DES: Another thing we entered students in the Commonwealth essay competition?

73 F: Yep.

74 DES: But we encouraged them tha::t if you are competent in language. English will
 75 open up many doors for you. Opportunity. Outside school.

76 F: Okay so these rules. You say that you encouraged French at Onesua? But
 77 English too.

78 DES: English too.

79 F: But then you:: others such as the vernaculars or Bislama (.) you::

80 DES: We had the rule that at weekends. School provided for between Monday and
 81 Friday. English and French.

82 F: Even outside the classroom.

83 DES: Even outside the classroom.

84 F: Okay.

85 DES: At weekends you must use your vernacular for (.) we provided opportunities
 86 for students to er gather together gather either in island groups or provincial
 87 groups? Where they are able to use er. Then? We had opportunities where students
 88 are able to showcase their traditional (.) food. Culture (.) so there were traditional
 89 events inside the school programme that provided the students with the opportunity
 90 to (.) And of course when parents came to visit the students or (.) guardians. Yes
 91 they must use lanwis.

92 F: M-m. But Bislama?

93 DES: Bislama is a national language. Er (.) we told them that look. As a national
 94 language there is this that you can use. But be informed that there are some
 95 structural ways that (.) contribute to failure and incompetence.

96 F: So for example on a Monday. If a student used Bislama? Would he be punished?

97 DES: Yes. We would punish him.

98 F: Okay.

99 DES: Yes and we tried to make it so that okay (.) In the past. When teachers found
100 students heard students speaking Bislama? They sent them to cut the grass. But we
101 tried to do it so (.) that there was a positive er (.) er about the use of language. We
102 told them that maybe teachers tell them to do some research about language. Why
103 you shouldn't speak Bislama. So that they had to bring an assignment. A paper.

104 F: M-m. But. So if they used the vernacular on Monday would it be the same thing
105 o::r

106 DES: The same thing.

107 F: So Monday to Friday. You would be punished for Bislama or a vernacular (.) but
108 at the weekend Bislama vernacular English French.

109 DES: Yes.

110 F: Any one can be used. But was Bislama alright at the weekend?

111 DES: It was alright yes.

112 F: Okay.

113 DES: Because it is a church institution local pastors would also come (.) so we told
114 them that it is up to you. Whether you conduct the service in English (.) some of you
115 in French? Eh sorry in Bislama. It's no problem.

116 F: M-m. Okay (.) M-m. <laughs> I think you have answered lots of my questions
117 already that are on my list. So:: concerning (.) you started off talking about how the
118 standard had gone down in English and French. Are there any strategies at the
119 moment at (.) like has the Ministry come up with any strategies [to address this?]

120 DES: [Yes (2)]

121 After (.) VANSTA (.) Do you know VANSTA?

122 F: M-m.

123 DES: Vanuatu standardised test of achievement. That's it. The results from that and
124 EGRA plus the other examination results that have come out? That is that is an
125 indication that (.) we must put some measures in place. Language policy is
126 something that we are trying out this issue. Not as a national level but (.) at school
127 level.

128 F: M-m.

129 DES: There are letters of instruction that go out to schools saying that (.) this is what
130 the constitution says. This is what the Ministry the policy level of the Ministry of
131 Education has said for a long time. Schools are expected to ensure the language of
132 instruction is uh promoted in schools. Bislama? It is a national language (.) but use it
133 outside of school when you go home. But in the work place? You must understand

134 literature. That is at the policy level but I try to advocate. Uh:: the national language
 135 policy? There is some activity on this with the proposal that the team have been
 136 working on. It will be expensive. It will be unachievable. There are lots of difficulties
 137 with it. Technical difficulties. We have asked Richard to (.) make a proposal. A
 138 proposal. I think that one it looks like we will adopt it so (.) as director I have put it on
 139 hold because it is an activity under my division.

140 F: M-m.

141 DES: I put it on hold. Awaiting the new DG to come. Now that he's here I've told him
 142 that the activity is on hold awaiting your decision. He hasn't made any decision.
 143 Need to preview it fully. So on this briefing it's not just us in the decision but donor
 144 partners too need to have their say.

145 F: M-m.

146 DES: And then you read the document that they have produced and it's against the
 147 guidance.

148 F: So this is the proposal by Richard that says that we will maintain both systems
 149 together.

150 DES: You've seen his proposal?=
 151 F: =I've seen a proposal that he I don't know whether it's the same one he emailed
 152 one to me [in (.) January I think]

153 DES: [that's it (.) yes.]

154 F: Which said that we will maintain two systems but we must enforce (.) the third
 155 language. It's not like

156 DES: Exactly as I said to the team when they came. We don't er (.) reinvent the
 157 wheel. Because that will have (.) effect on the finances and manpower and things.
 158 But look at the system that we have now and then see how you can strengthen it.

159 F: M-m.

160 DES: Because curriculum (.) review is not a cheap exercise. And when you talk
 161 about language you talk about everything.

162 F: M-m.

163 DES: Everything written will change if you change the language policy. You see
 164 what is here already? You strengthen it. I advised them at the beginning. But as
 165 they carried on and o::n? The final decision is not what we (.) anticipated and (.) the
 166 advice that was given was (.) not this.

167 F: So the other one that Gervais has put forward (.) to combine the two together (.)
 168 that one is just on hold.

169 DES: On hold.

170 F: M-m. But you mention finances bu::t I think one point that Salabert has made is
 171 that (.) at least (.) like once you've implemented it? It will be mo::re like it will be
 172 cheaper in the long-term. To have just one system do you think that it's expensive to
 173 maintain two systems or no it's just=

174 DES: =It is expensive in the way that okay in two things. For example i::f for the first
 175 three years (.) everything is in French. In the short term it is (.) the number of
 176 teachers. And then (.) you have to pay the severance because some of them will
 177 have to go for training (.) to train them to become Francophone.

178 F: M-m.

179 DES: That's one. Curriculum cost so (.) when you put the cost together in short-term
 180 (.) it is more than the (.) the recurring budget so when look at it? It's impossible. So
 181 who has the money to be able to do this.

182 F: M-m.

183 DES: So that is (1) that's it. Secondly they've come back and said that twelve
 184 teachers will go for training. They came up with a budget (.) a budget that (.) is this
 185 realistic? This is not on. This is a rural place. Uh and I cannot buy this. You take this
 186 product to me and I cannot buy it because (.) it's impossible. Only for twelve
 187 teachers?

188 F: M-m.

189 DES: So:: you look at the cost benefit analysis for it? The whole proposal is (.) well
 190 in the end I went and told them it's waste of time. It's a waste of time.

191 F: M-m.

192 DES: Uh (.) and then (.) that the French have never accepted Anglophones in
 193 Vanuatu. And they maintain after thirty years. Okay if you want (.) to go back (.) to
 194 maintain the status quo (.) I mean at this time ni-Vanuatu will say this is what we
 195 want. (1) They won't accept it.

196 F: Okay. So will we stick with two systems? But do you think that that is like an ideal
 197 situation (.) having two systems o::r like in an ideal situation would there be one=

198 DES: =There would be one system. Review? I mean (.) why are you doing it? They
 199 have done it at VITE. And I'm passionate about it because I was the chairman of the
 200 VITE council at the time.

201 F: Okay.

202 DES: I told them to forget about Anglophone Francophone. Think about the
 203 students. Make the students who you are talking about (.) the students in the
 204 classroom the focus (.) stop talking about maintaining Anglophone Francophone but
 205 you do this? You have one system that will produce the same ideal student (.) how
 206 to get there you talk about language. (1) So there are common programmes. How
 207 you teach mathematics will never be the same (.) when you teach it in French. But
 208 you arrive at the same answer (.) yes it is the same. We put one roadmap in place

209 (.) how to get there is (.) you can go to Vila by plane by truck by whatever (.) but
 210 eventually you get to the destination. Look at this and that (.) let's put our cards on
 211 the table. Uh who? That TA Michel. Michel came (.) Richard came and worked with
 212 them. But they realise (.) what will happen. And then. Even now. You try to
 213 implement that curriculum. (1) So (.) harmonising everything.

214 F: M-m.

215 DES: Put the same stuff. How you teach it it's the teaching approach you go teach
 216 whatever on the island in English you can teach it in Bislama (.) but still you will get
 217 there in the end.

218 F: M-m. Okay so it's just the language that is different. So will you go ahead with
 219 one system? But in two languages=

220 DES: =Yes.

221 F: So if you are at Onesua you will teach in English. If you are at Lycée you will use
 222 French. But otherwise it's just the same.

223 DES: Even the Ministry says it's hard to harmonise. To have one curriculum (.) ah
 224 for primary and junior secondary. I've told them that what you keep saying. (1) I've
 225 found out from (.) I was an inspector (.) I went to Tanna? I came back and I told
 226 them you must understand that something is happening to them somewhere. Uh for
 227 example I discovered? When I went to assess a Francophone sec- junior secondary
 228 school. They were teaching Physics (.) and Biology I think? In Year 7 to 10. And
 229 Social Science they were teaching Geography and er (.) World History in Year 7 to
 230 10. I asked what are you doing this for. It's from VITE. But er VITE is not the
 231 curriculum unit. Because the curriculum unit (.) has come out with the curriculum
 232 syllabus (.) objectives. From those objectives the examination unit has produced the
 233 prescriptions. The chief examiners use the chie- the er what are those the
 234 prescriptions to write the assessments. If you are teaching something outside the
 235 examination (.) students will automatically fail. So Francophones are becoming the
 236 victim and then I told the director at the time. No wonder the students from Lycée
 237 the cut-off point for Anglophones in Social Science is the top mark of the
 238 Francophone students. So what are you trying to (.) them? They have been tight-
 239 lipped about this they don't want to admit what they are doing. I told that this is
 240 ethically immoral. Wrong. I have the assumption that they want to maintain French
 241 culture or whatever (.) a Francophone inspector at that time told me that they raised
 242 this in one of our meetings. Look at the job market. Can you tell me. How many
 243 Francophone doctors are there in Vila Central Hospital.

244 F: M-m.

245 DES: Or lawyers. How many? You are killing them off in that er (.) foundation. Only
 246 one or two and look at the Anglophones. Every year fifteen maybe fifteen to twenty
 247 degrees (.) annually (.) and how many Francophones? Maybe in four years five (.)
 248 as compared to fifty or sixty in four or five years. So this is a dilemma. This is the
 249 situation we need to address.

250 F: Okay so you think that (.) like this difference comes back to the curriculum alone.
 251 If the=

252 DES: =The curriculum alone.

253 F: If the Francophones follow the right curriculum for Vanuatu then they=

254 DES: =Yes.

255 F: They could achieve degrees.

256 DES: Yes common sense tells us that if a student achieves let's say A in Geography
 257 and (.) an A at Malapoa College or Onesua you know that those two have the same
 258 weighting (.) same weighting. So the two (.) both these two are the same but it's not
 259 like that.

260 F: But even if there are two that get an A. One is Francophone the other is
 261 Anglophone. Will they have the same chance to go overseas? Like there is New
 262 Caledonia and?

263 DES: Now?

264 F: M-m.

265 DES: No. (3) No. That is why they (.) they have already said no::we will have Year
 266 14 here. Why give them an extra year. Because the student is not competent
 267 enough. Why are the students not competent enough. Because you are giving them
 268 (.) the wrong curriculum to be able to reach that same standard as everyone else.

269 F: But even if they had the same curriculum. Every year up to Year 13? If the two
 270 were the same would you still have the same opportunity?

271 DES: That is my dream.

272 F: M-m.

273 DES: That is what we are doing now. But when they go to New Caledonia now
 274 when they go to New Caledonia they have to do one or two extra years before they
 275 go to university. (2) So it's like three years (.) after Year 13 (.) before you have the
 276 chance to go to university. It's a waste of time. Waste of investment. That's what I
 277 see. But suppose we put everybody on the same playing field? The same route
 278 same standard. And then after Year 13? They went to university? I say it's like this. I
 279 understand how the French education system works. (3) But how to get there and
 280 how to follow it? It's just the same. You do an examination? You can go in English.
 281 (1) If you have the marks? You can go.

282 F: But where can the Francophones go? To university. There is only New
 283 Caledonia.

284 DES: There's New Caledonia. So when they started (.) it was a (.) a European
 285 system where you (.) to go to a university in France or wherever? This is how you
 286 do it. It came down. So it was legislated by the French parliament. Canada then said

287 no. We cannot continue to do this so now Canada has changed (.) it offers an
 288 international baccalaureate. They have the same as an=

289 F: =But in Vanuatu they don't use IB? International baccalaureate?

290 (2)

291 DES: In the new programme now? They have (.) suggested this bac. I have told
 292 them that (.) the concept of international baccalaureate is not a course. It is an
 293 examination. So in any Anglophone or Francophone school? Your top five or ten
 294 students you can enter them for the international baccalaureate. If they pass? They
 295 can go anywhere. You can teach the national curriculum too. So I've told them (2)
 296 for example. What's that? Commonwealth essay competition? Um (3) Westpac
 297 mathematics competition? It is a sort of examination that has an international
 298 standard. So if a student achieves a distinction in that examination. It means that he
 299 is the same as a student in Australia New Zealand in the UK or wherever he goes.
 300 The two students are at the same level. We understand that yes. So that's the
 301 same. So I've asked the donors. Is it true or not. They say yes. So many uh (3)
 302 schools in Australia and I believe in UK. They present their top students to do this
 303 international baccalaureate. And then it is like an (.) acceleration to international (2)
 304 institutions. Yes. That's the proposal now. But I've heard this week? Some teachers
 305 at Lycée? They've come to see the minister to say no. We'll do the French
 306 Baccalaureate. This is (.) I told them this is outside what we are trying to put in
 307 place.

308 F: That's with its syllabus too it's not just an exam? (2) So even though (.) the
 309 curriculum statement has come out. No.

310 DES: No.

311 F: They say=

312 DES: =Say. This is wrong. The curriculum statement that has come out says that
 313 every school is like this. So why do you want to do this. Even you allow it to enter
 314 the minster's table. And even the minister to entertain it. (3) Like if the minister was
 315 here I would go to him I'd say minister? You (.) you are wrong? And you must
 316 retract any statement that you have given your approval to this. Because. Vanuatu
 317 has endorsed the national curriculum statement.

318 F: But that's not just Lycée? That's every=

319 DES: =They want to pilot it. But I say I don't want you pilot it. No what is a pilot. (2)
 320 So any school can come out and say okay we have this road map on. We have the
 321 national curriculum statement but we'll pilot this. What are you telling the Vanuatu
 322 population? (3) In Christianity (.) there's only one road to heaven. But what you are
 323 preaching in the pulpit is to go to heaven you can go this way. (3) Um I've said it like
 324 this in a meeting. This is exactly what we're doing.

325 (2)

326 F: Okay. So harmonisation is not really <laughs> (.) it's not ready yet.

327 DES: No like we have to be (.) we have to have a DG. He has to be firm to say (.)
328 you have to defend what your directors are doing. (2) But if you are going to do that
329 I'll go look for a job because my job now is not enjoyable. I'll go and look for another
330 job anywhere. This is exactly what you are telling the Vanuatu (.) population. (2)
331 You should not entertain anything (2) but to come back to the languages where (.)
332 <both laugh> yes.

333 F: Okay. For (.) no but in terms of um (.) like we've talked a lot about English in
334 school. French in school. If we come out away from school now. Suppose an
335 individual has English and French? Will that add something in his life?

336 DES: Yes.

337 F: Will it help him having the two languages.

338 DES: Very much. I am a strong advocate of bilingualism. And it's I am always
339 saying I will always say look at (.) look at yourself. Or the (.) Japanese volunteers.
340 The Peace Corps volunteers. They come? One week to two weeks? Er (2) what's
341 that? Um (2) a language training? One week? They can speak. Competent after one
342 week. We put students through Anglophone schools for four years. And at the end
343 of that four years they cannot even utter a sentence in French. That's a total failure.
344 (3) So schools must realise this. So in some presentations at provincial education
345 and education authority meetings you- (.) I say this. If your schools fail to ensure
346 that your students are competent. Competent means that they can write. They can
347 speak. And converse interchangeably in these two languages? Anywhere. We fail.
348 We fail. Four years. As a human being when you have the capacity to be able to
349 comprehend? We fail even in four years.

350 F: M-m. But why do you say that bilingualism is good. (1) Like

351 (2)

352 DES: Many reasons. Firstly for us the job market (.) able to converse write (.)
353 understand for example. Er that <points to letter on desk> that's a letter that came in
354 French. With my small French I can read and understand. That's one. Secondly?
355 Because it gives a choice. It opens up the market. Both. (2) And in two thousand no
356 in nineteen ninety six I went to New Caledonia. Short (.) short stay. It struck me.
357 After four years of learning French and then two years or three years at Malapoa
358 College? Lost investment. I could not converse in French with the taxi driver I was
359 using. So he hated me. So it is an opportunity for us to encourage young people. (2)
360 When we tell students that you fail. It's come so that now you want (.) we become
361 stuck in our minds (.) you cannot progress. But as a human being? You can do
362 anything. You can do anything so learning another language. Look at yourself. You
363 are in your village. You can converse in the language of others (.) those of your
364 family links. It tells you that you have the capacity to be able to learn French in four
365 years. But now we have brought it to Year 4 in most Anglophone primary schools?
366 (2) We have to make it as a public policy. We must er discourage this ideology?
367 That Francophone Anglophone that's why spe- in much of what I say you will hear
368 that Anglophone and Francophone are a system of the past. Now you must
369 appreciate that these two languages are means to new knowledge. So if you can

370 communicate in these two languages it will help a lot. New Calédonie is just next
371 door. You go there you converse. You can apply for a scholarship to do (.) it will
372 open up opportunity. So that is why it opens up discussion. I am glad that the
373 Vanuatu government has taken it up with the Chinese. To fund the Francophone
374 university. So in our original meetings I said USP you are a mature organisation.
375 Why haven't you provided the opportunity for Francophones. So we started with uh
376 (.) examinations. Examinations in French. (2) The number is small for SPBEA.
377 Maybe our numbers are small but we are part of your family so you have to cater for
378 us. So (.) that's (.) but my dream is that every ni-Vanuatu student who goes to
379 secondary school should be bilingual. No question about it. Because the advantage
380 outweighs the disadvantage.

381 F: M-m. But do you think that if they just stay in Vanuatu. Which language is more
382 useful. Is it English or French.

383 (1)

384 DES: English. (1) But it will be better if they speak both together.

385 F: Okay.

386 DES: Because my sister she schooled French. But much of the time she will speak
387 to me (.) sometimes she uses English. My wife works down there. But many of (.)
388 it's not many but some of her workers who schooled French have gone through
389 VIT? You come to them and say you translate something. And they do it poorly. I
390 went to Malapoa and at the time one of the topics of our French lesson was
391 translation. We did translation. We translated English to French. And French to
392 English. But when I look (.) no. These people write very poor French. And they will
393 (.) and sometimes you will tell them that a French man has come from New
394 Caledonia for investment. But they don't have the confidence to go and speak to
395 him.

396 F: But do you know any Anglophones who are really competent in French?

397 DES: Yes.

398 F: There many examples of Francophones who we always talk about.

399 DES: Yes.

400 F: But are there some Anglophones who?

401 DES: Yes. One of my cousin brothers. Actually he's my step brother. If he speaks
402 French to you you would think he had schooled French. And he speaks English.
403 And he (.) has English friends you know. Because he was a student at Malapoa
404 College.

405 F: Okay.

406 DES: Yes. That's (.) and the my ex-students (.) we had a lady from Canada who
407 was teaching French (.) and then these people they are now working all around? Ah
408 they speak fluently. One of my cousin sisters who I taught before. She works over

409 there at (xx). Last time I heard her conversing in French. I said (.) I'm glad that you
 410 know. I was inserting this way to you people. It is a good example.

411 F: M-m. (2) Okay I think the last part is about the vernacular in school. We have
 412 talked a lot about English and French.

413 DES: Yes.

414 F: But I don't know the current situation regarding the vernaculars in primary or=

415 DES: =Yes. That is something that the Ministry of Education must advocate a lot
 416 with the communities. They must take ownership of it. It has to start from the home.
 417 Parents must converse with their children in the local vernacular. And then the
 418 children will go but. Increasingly. You go to every home and I mean (.) us? We are
 419 small. We come from the Shepherds. These small islands. In Port Vila alone even if
 420 the mother and father come from the same island. You hear them conversing. And
 421 sometimes in our community meetings you hear people from Makira speaking
 422 Bislama. Eh. Sense of ownership. It starts in the family and then it comes to school.
 423 And on every tour I make to schools I encourage it. Parents. Must converse a lot in
 424 Bislama. No sorry in=

425 F: =Lanwis.

426 DES: Local vernacular. You tell kastom stories. Like when I was small my papa
 427 would tell kastom stories. Now? What has happened? I don't think that you tell
 428 kastom stories. To the children. So (3) in. It's at the base of the change that is
 429 happening. We must write kastom stories. In lanwis and then (.) so SIL is doing
 430 good work. It is working with the communities. But that's it. I've told them that you
 431 have to take it to the next level where (.) schools must use the local vernacular
 432 providing opportunities for children to learn their kastom.

433 F: But this=

434 DES: =This is in the national curriculum statement.

435 F: But does this have something to with education too? Like is it beneficial in terms
 436 of learning too? Or just in terms of maintaining kastom.

437 DES: Like research has shown that uh? That a child who knows his language well?
 438 Can learnt better in it. (1) So that is what research has said but to put this in place
 439 (.) practically is something else. You must enforce it you must encourage it. So that
 440 is why er school rules must plan that there is a session in the recent programme
 441 that children must have the opportunity to converse in the er?

442 (2)

443 F: Okay. But now it seems that many schools aren't doing this yet. Like they=

444 DES: =No.

445 F: They are trialling it but=

446 DES: =It is a danger. A danger. And I was on Lamén Bay early this year I tell you. I
447 saw three children swimming in the sea they were speaking Bislama. I went up to
448 them. Children. Which island are you from. Lamén Island. Where are you papa and
449 mama from? Lamén Island. But you speak Bislama? I want to hear you speak
450 lanwis. Go on. And they were you know. Really hesitant. So that is a big gap. A big
451 drop in this. We are losing a lot. And then they called a meeting. Community. With
452 all the chiefs. So I was there and so on. So the first thing I told them is this is what is
453 the situation. Parents go back to the village. In your homes. Make sure you. I will be
454 back again I will check because I will go to every home. As many of you know me.
455 Go to your home. I have done that because down the line you will be answerable to
456 this.

457 <DES's phone rings and he answers it and speaks for 25 seconds before hanging
458 up>

459 F: No sorry I won't disturb you further because you know I just jumped in at the last
460 minute so.

461 DES: No there is anything else?

462 F: No I think that's it I think we've covered many things.

463 DES: Because he will ring back at half past eleven.

464 F: No it's fine it's fine.

**Appendix XXI – Interview with the former Minister of Education (FME)
(Original)**

Date: 16-11-11

Location: Nakamal at the former minister's house

Notes: FME was Minister of Education for much of the time when I did the first period of fieldwork at the start of the year (although in and out with all the changes). However, by the time of the interview, he was no longer in office (and was in the opposition).

The interview was arranged through a family member of my contact. He was happy to meet me and I was told to go to his house to find him. My contact had explained a bit about my research and that I was a former teacher on Ambae. He read through my letter on arrival. We sat at one of the tables at the nakamal. A large church project was being constructed right next to the nakamal, so there was a lot of building noise throughout the interview.

- 1 F: So fas intres blong mi hem i long saed blong tufala lanwis ia we yumi stap yusum
2 olsem principal language. So Inglis wetem French.
- 3 FME: Yes.
- 4 F: So long tingting blong yu naoia yu luk se (.) standard insaed long ol skul/s hem i
5 naf blong edyukesen. O yu luk se (.) long saed blong tufala lanwis ia Inglis French?
6 Standard hem i olsem wanem naoia.
- 7 FME: Hem i no naf. (2) Hem i no naf mo long (.) bifo las yia mi ting i gat tu yunivesiti
8 Besançon wetem Oxford University long (.) England. Tufala i bin undertake/em wan
9 survey blong evaluate/em ol tija/s we oli (.) hao oli yusum. Oli yusum?
10 Understanding? Wetem (.) wanem mo er French mo Inglis. Risal we yumi (.) hem i
11 kamaot hem i (.) too average.
- 12 F: M-m.
- 13 FME: Very few nomo oli go below (.) average. And very few we oli go below
14 average hem i from peren/s blong olgeta oli exp- expatriate o oli blong defren
15 kaontri bifo mo oli kam live long Vanuatu.
- 16 F: So hemia long saed blong ol tija/s.
- 17 FME: Hemia long saed blong ol tija/s.
- 18 F: Okei.

19 FME: Be yu mas stat long ples ia. Long ol tija/s. Ol tija nao sapos oli monitor/em
 20 gud? Oli maitrise gud tufala lanwis French mo Inglis? Ol styuden mo ol pikinini oli
 21 save gud andastanem tu.

22 F: M-m.

23 FME: Mo oli save help. But sapos tija i gat problem long lanwis blong instruction
 24 hem i wan big problem. Tija nao hem i fas wan. Hemia bae hem i gobak long (2)
 25 training blong olgeta tija/s. That's why wan blong olgeta objective hem i blong
 26 improve/um level blong training blong olgeta tija/s. Especially long lanwis fastaem.
 27 Bifo oli go long own sabjek. Ol sabjek oli similar. Very similar. Maths or Science o
 28 wanem ia. Chimie wanem ia. Evriwan hem i oli sem mak. Lanwis nomo hem i
 29 defren. So lanwis hem i very important.

30 F: So i gat sam training nao we hem i in place olsem we i kamaot long ol risal blong
 31 las yia?

32 FME: Well long las yia mifala i tingting blong improve/um level blong. Taem mi stap
 33 yet long Edyukesen. Mi bin putum wan condition long taem mi recruit/um olgeta
 34 tija/s oli must be long level blong Yia 13 Yia 14. Oli must be ol styuden we oli
 35 mekem foundation blong olgeta finis. Hem i blong helpem blong improve/um level
 36 blong olgeta tija/s. Be taem oli go oli sud go for wan diploma. Instead blong wan
 37 certificate blong edyukesen. Lanwis hem i must be reinforced. Sapos lanwis hem i
 38 (.) tija hem i maitrise i gud i save gud lanwis? Bae hem i isi blong hem i tijim pikinini.
 39 Hem i main tul blong hemia nao. Otherwise ol narafala sabjek oli sem mak. Be
 40 lanwis hem i vehicle blong transfer/em knowledge.

41 F: So yu luk se naoia i gat ol problem long saed blong ol styuden. Olsem long saed
 42 blong learning blong olgeta? We hem i kamaot long lanwis problem o?

43 FME: Well mi mi ting se (.) mi still biliv se lanwis hem i vehicle blong save hem i
 44 vehicle blong technology so hem i mas (.) er ol tija/s oli mas maitrise gud from i gat
 45 fulap tija we <his mobile rings> oli continue blong tok long Bislama nomo. Oli sud
 46 yusum French. Whether yu stap yet or yu stap aot saed long klasrum yu sud (.) oli
 47 sud (xx) <mobile still ringing, loudly now. He looks at it while talking but doesn't
 48 answer>. Olgeta (.) er (.) olgeta styuden. Most of the time ol tija/s oli (.) miting blong
 49 olgeta oli yusum Bislama.

50 F: M-m.

51 FME: Hemia miting blong olgeta tija/s iven long ol kaonsel bod oli yusum Bislama.

52 F: Yu luk se hem i sem mak long tufala saed. Anglophone Francophone?

53 FME: Both sides oli sem mak.

54 F: I no gat eni defrens naoia long skul olsem lanwis hem i French lanwis hem i Inglis
 55 be otherwise i sem mak nomo.

56 FME: Yeah most long ol administration blong olgeta oli yusum Bislama so (.) and mi
 57 ting se hem i no stat from naoia. Hem i stat from long very beginning finis. Hao yu

58 trenem ol tija/s yu sud reinforce/m lanwis. Mifala i mas statem long daon finis long
59 (.) monitor/em gud.

60 F: So yu yu wis se aot saed long klasrum insaed long klasrum bae oli yusum French
61 nomo o Inglis nomo?

62 FME: Um.

63 F: Yu ting se i nogat ples blong vernacular o Bislama insaed.

64 FME: I gat ples blong vernacular o Bislama long samtaem but mi ting se taem yu
65 stap long klasrum bae yu save se language of instruction hem i tufala ia nomo. But
66 most of the taem ol tija/s oli yusum Bislama iven long samfala klasrum oli yusum
67 Bislama. Taem yumi go long ol teknikol skul bae hem i more worse. Oli toktok
68 Bislama nao.

69 F: M-m.

70 FME: So hao nao yu assist/em wan styuden we i go long wan VIT skul blong sapos
71 hem i wantem go mo antap blong i go long yunivesiti. Bae hem i mas lanem lanwis
72 blong i go longwe. Either French or English hem i mas lanem. Sapos yu wantem
73 continue.

74 F: Be aot saed klas tu? Yu luk se i gud se oli (.) from yu save samfala skul oli
75 putum=

76 FME: =Aot saed klas insaed long boundary blong skul?

77 F: M-m.

78 FME: It's a bit. During free time Satede o wanem hemia? Ol man oli save yusum
79 lanwis o Bislama. During klas mi ting se oli sud yusum. Well tija/s i must lead by
80 example. Most of time ol pikinini ol styuden/s oli folem wanem we tija/s blong olgeta
81 i mekem. So sapos tija i smok o wanem bae olgeta tu i luk se (.) be hemia tu. Blong
82 institution i improve/um standard blong lanwis er (.) i stap long han blong ol tija nao.
83 From taem i gobak long hom i gat fulap peren/s we oli no iven go long skul. Oli no
84 save French mo Inglis mo oli no save rid mo raet so. Mo oli no save tu wanem we ol
85 sabjek. Plante peren/s oli trastem ol tija nomo se pikinini blong olgeta i save skul
86 taem yu putum hem i go long klasrum.

87 F: Be what about=

88 FME: =Samtaem oli trastem blindly nomo ol tija/s.

89 F: Uh-uh.

90 FME: From oli no save rid. Oli no save ridim mak/s blong oli (.) trust ia nao. I stap
91 long taem (.) ol peren/s oli save biliv long olgeta tija nao.

92 F: Be long saed blong nara (.) olsem. Sapos yu stap long Francophone? Ale Inglis
93 nao i sud go insaed tu o yu luk se i gud se oli focus long French nomo.

- 94 FME: Wanem we hem i stap naoia praktis we oli mekem long se- taem oli enter/em
 95 um secondary skul oli introduce/um Inglis. Inglis i kam compulsory. Evri
 96 Francophone skul. And mi luk se i gat improvement mo might hem i easier. Long ol
 97 Francophone i lanem Inglis. Naoia ol test blong yunivesiti we oli stap pasem long
 98 USP. Olsem test blong Inglis LLP13 mo LLF11? Mo UU114 ol Francophone oli
 99 pasem sem test ia wetem (.) i sem mak wetem ol Anglophone.
- 100 F: Be yu luk se ol Anglophone oli no kasem French.
- 101 FME: Mi no save talem from mi no wan tija. Mi neva assess/em. Be i gat samfala
 102 we oli mekem gud. Hem i dipen long wea ples pikinini i kam long hem. Sapos
 103 pikinini i kamaot long wan (.) peren/s we hem i wan Francophone hem i nomol se
 104 hem i save um better French taem hem i stap long wan Anglophone skul.
- 105 F: Be taem yumi stap insaed long ol skul/s yu luk olsem yu talem se i gud se ol tija/s
 106 oli (.) i no enforce/em o oli practise/m language of instruction evri taem. Be long sem
 107 taem tu yu luk se i gud se oli promote/em tufala tugeta? O oli mas focus long wan
 108 we oli yusum insaed long klasrum.
- 109 FME: Well ating especially ol Francophones i gud blong oli yusum French. Long
 110 Inglis skul oli yusum Inglis. Blong kam wan (.) perfect bilingual i no gat er (.) hemia
 111 hem i wan talent we i no evri man i save (.) i save mekem blong i kam wan perfect
 112 bilingual. we i save tok raet and er (.) long Inglis mo French. Hemia i nomol bae i no
 113 evriwan but as long as yu gat wan better understanding. Se samtaem hem i wok mo
 114 tu from kaontri we hem i talem se hem i bilingual kaontri. Taem ol foreigner oli kam
 115 long ples ia oli. Samtaem oli kwestin se i supposed to be wan bilingual kaontri. Be i
 116 no this. From taem yu go long ol hotels for example turis for example long New
 117 Caledonia taem oli go? Be oli mas mekem best blong olgeta blong toktok Inglis.
- 118 F: M-m.
- 119 FME: Inglis hem i dominant. Long ples ia.
- 120 F: M-m. Be yu luk se hem i jenis. Over the years? Since Indipendens or no.
- 121 FME: Well i gat fulap we oli tok French tu be taem oli stap long wok? Taem oli tok
 122 Inglis yu harem olsem wan Anglophone so. Be hem i talent blong wan man. Yumi
 123 no save fosem man se i tok long wanem lanwis. Olsem kaontri i wantem se i olsem
 124 (.) iven gavman. Mo long level blong politikol will i wantem se kaontri i continue
 125 blong stap olsem wan bilingual kaontri.
- 126 F: Be hemia wanem main reason biae long hemia? Olsem blong yumi continue
 127 tufala saed tugeta.
- 128 FME: Well I mean i stap long konstityusen. Oli decide/em taem we kaontri i go long
 129 indipendens. Konstityusen i adoptem tri lanwis long hem. Nasonal lanwis i French
 130 Inglis wetem Bislama.
- 131 F: I min se yumi jes continue nomo from (.) be i no gat wan (.) mi no save purpose
 132 blong hem o wan benefit [blong hem naoia.]

133 FME: [Well purpose blong] hem tu from i gat er (.) kaontri hem i
 134 bin wan condominium bifo. And pipol i bin continue blong live olsem tu. Sapos yu
 135 karemaot wan? Bae hemia bae i save do one scandal i save do one revolution ia.
 136 Blong yu jenisim. Yu karemaot wan olsem blong yumi continue wetem wan.

137 F: M-m. Be hemia olsem long saed blong histri nomo. Olsem sapos yumi go forward
 138 be somehow yumi manage blong lego Inglis o yumi lego French? Bae kaontri bae i
 139 oraet yet?

140 FME: Bae. Hemia hem i had. Blong yu lego from ol kaontri blong Pasifik oli still
 141 maintain/em. Samfala oli maintain/em Inglis samfala oli maintain/em French. From
 142 er French o Inglis oli ol vehicle blong ol international organisation oli yusum o hem i
 143 vehicle blong uh knowledge mo technology save tu we kaontri i no gat. Okei local
 144 lanwis blong mifala ol lanwis blong tijim ol kalja? Tradition blong Vanuatu? Hao
 145 blong tijim man blong (.) lanem ol kakae long garen o wivim mat o wanem. Ating
 146 lanwis ia hem i blong hemia. But hem i no (.) lanwis hem i no vehicle blong
 147 technology we i stap long wol tudei. Telecommunications engineering o wanem.
 148 Hem i ol technology ol knowledge save we yumi mas lanem long narafala kaontri.
 149 And ol kaontri oli gat lanwis blong ol.

150 F: Be hemia nao mi minim se from wanem yumi nidim tufala tugeta. Olsem Solomon
 151 i gat Inglis nomo o New Caledonia i gat French nomo. Blong olsem vehicle blong
 152 technology.

153 FME: No New Caledonia hem i no gat Inglis nomo. Hem i gat Inglis and French <his
 154 mobile rings again> long New Caledonia. Hem i sem mak long Vanuatu. Inglis hem i
 155 compulsory long secondary skul/s.

156 F: Be Solomon o PNG?

157 FME: Solomon o PNG? From ol status blong olgeta oli bin stap olsem hemia finis.
 158 Oli bin Anglophone long beginning. Be Vanuatu hem i no (.) hem i wan
 159 condominium. England wetem Franis tufala i bin ranem administration long recent
 160 yia. Hemia i stap finis.

161 F: M-m. Be long saed blong olsem economic development? Or technology? Yu luk
 162 se yumi Vanuatu=

163 FME: =Economic development yumi nid blong holem taet tufala lanwis from taem yu
 164 tekem long regionally nomo? Long region blong Pasifik New Caledonia hem i wan
 165 territory we hem i economically hem i strong. Tahiti (.) we i stap. (1) Mi luk se hem i
 166 impoten blong maintain/em. Even though economically (.) in terms of trade in terms
 167 of exchange hem i impoten blong maintain/em tufala lanwis.

168 F: So yu luk se yumi gat advantage bitim say PNG Solomon we oli gat wan lanwis
 169 nomo. Wan international language.

170 FME: Ating se hem i wan asset blong (.) um yu gat wan sitisen o wan person we
 171 hem i save yusum both lanwis? Taem yu mekem comparaison wetem sam kaontri
 172 we oli olsem Vanuatu. Olsem uh Mauritius o Canada o ol international organisation.
 173 Vanuatu i no kasem level yet we ol kaontri oli stap long hem but hem i save go from

174 hemia sapos asset ia i stap. Hem i quality blong wan man i save yusum lanwis
 175 monitor/em tu lanwis. Two international language.

176 F: M-m. So long saed blong wanwan man. Olsem yu talem finis se hem i wan talent.
 177 Yu no save fos se evri man i bilingual. Be yu luk se sapos wan man i kasem tufala
 178 tugeta hem i gat advantage long=

179 FME: =Well wis blong gavman hem i blong traem blong mekem se at least ol man
 180 we oli wok long public administration for example o oli wok long ol ofis we hem i for
 181 example tourism o wanem. Oli must be bilingual. I no nid blong gat wan translator
 182 blong (.) translate wan. Yu yusum wan man blong wan wok nomo. I no nid blong
 183 yusum tumas translesen. But hem i wan system we hem i expensive. Olsem even
 184 though tudei yumi faenemaot se ol man we oli bilingual hemia ol Francophone
 185 nomo.

186 F: M-m.

187 FME: That yumi no save introduce/um se er language of instruction yumi stat long
 188 French afta yumi jes (.) we wanem? Ol Franc-. Taem yu go fosem long ol pipol
 189 wanem blong mekem? Be from ol Francophone oli minority. Ol Anglophone oli
 190 majority. So taem yu putum olgeta oli no agri. Samfala oli agri? Samfala oli no agri.

191 F: So yu yu bin sapotem polisi ia blong evriwan i Francophone fastaem? Ale jenis i
 192 go=

193 FME: =No mi no sap-. Mi bin lukaotem mi bin askem taem mi stap minista. Mi bin
 194 askem wan expatriate we i bin kam.

195 F: Hemia Gervais?

196 FME: Gervais. Yes. Hem i bin mekem ol proposal. But Gervais taem oli go long fil?
 197 Reaction blong ol pipol hem i totally different. Samfala tu oli wantem se yu tijim ol
 198 man long lanwis blong olgeta? Unfortunately i no gat technology we mifala i save
 199 tijim long lanwis. I gat most long ol technology i stap kam wetem lanwis blong
 200 olgeta. I mo better yet blong yu yusum lanwis blong olgeta blong yusum ol wod/s
 201 exact wod we oli yusum long wan (.) wan technology we oli yusum. Oli mekem.

202 F: Be naoia? Status blong lanwis polisi ia hem i olsem wanem. Bae oli stat bakegen.

203 FME: Mi mi no save. Mi no gat any information any more. I bin progress gud. I gat
 204 sam proposal? We oli bin kam. Se yumi save stat long dialect long ol kindergarten.
 205 Blong mekem se long narasaed tu yumi no minim se yumi mas promotem tufala
 206 lanwis ia long disadvantage blong (.) ol dialects? We hem i really identity blong (.)
 207 uh ol sitisen blong Vanuatu. That's why mifala i (.) proposal we hem i stap se yumi
 208 stat long dialect blong ol kindergarten. Bifo yumi introduce/um uh French? Samfala
 209 oli propose/em se Inglis yumi statem introduce/um Inglis long Klas 4? Then slowly i
 210 go antap i gat ol sabjek we oli save tijim i go taem i go kasem Yia 10? Pikinini i save
 211 choose? Whether i wantem continue long (.) wan sabjek we hem i choose/um long
 212 Inglis o long French. Yes. Be i mekem se evriwan i gat at least basic uh (.) lanwis
 213 long beginning. Taem i go choose antap se bae i folem uh French o bae i folem long

214 Inglis be hem i daon bae hem i save (.) yumi gat sam basic uh (.) knowledge finis
215 long.

216 F: M-m.

217 FME: Wan long tufala lanwis.

218 F: So i min se evri pikinini bae i skul long sem system nomo. Bae yumi no gat (.)
219 yumi nomo gat tufala.

220 FME: Long proposal we i stap olsem se (.) evriwan oli go? But bae hem i mi kwestin
221 lelebet. Wanem personal tingting blong mi we mi bin stap se yumi sud mekem wan
222 trial fastaem. Mekem sam pilot schools. Traem introduce/um Inglis long Yia 4 long
223 olsem Anglophone oli introduce/um French long Yia 4 finis. O iven French long
224 Lycée Francais oli introduce/um Inglis. Inglis bae oli save kasem isi nomo. Long
225 level blong ol Francophone mi no ting uh Anglophone? Mi no ting se lanwis French
226 hem i wan lanwis we hem i complicated lelebet from. Hem i very precise. (2) So
227 proposal we hem i stap ia from wis we gavman i wantem gat ol bilingual. Yeah.

228 F: So mi luk se tuf=

229 FME: =Be system we Francophone oli tekem i kam iven fulap tudei oli stap long
230 yunivesiti long ol Anglophone yunivesiti. Fulap oli stap long USP. Fulap er very fiu
231 oli go long Fiji long. (1) Oli bin Francophone be oli decide afta oli pasem ol Inglis ol
232 assessment ia oli decide blong go tekem (.) um stadi/s blong olgeta long wan
233 Anglophone yunivesiti.

234 F: So from wanem nao yu luk se ol Francophone oli save successful long system
235 blong ol ale switch i go long Inglis.

236 FME: Ating i easier blong yu go long French then yu jes lanem Inglis. Be blong yu
237 olsem wan Anglophone i jes lanem Franis hem i difficult lelebet. Mi talem lanwis?
238 French lanwis hem i (.) well yu save finis. Hem i wan lanwis we hem i difficult
239 lelebet. I no olsem i difficult be i complicate. From oli yusum ol wod we oli really
240 precise.

241 F: M-m. Be yu luk se Inglis hem i isi bitim French?

242 FME: Well Inglis hem i (.) hem i international language. Whatever iven fulap oli no
243 go long skul oli tok Inglis so oli lanem long rod oli lanem wea long vilej. Oli lanem
244 long ples blong wok. Oli lanem long ples we oli live long hem. So Inglis hem i wan
245 lanwis we hem i international.

246 F: So i min se naoia olsem long Vanuatu yu luk se Inglis (.) yu talem finis Inglis hem
247 i dominate lelebet.

248 FME: Yeah Inglis i=

249 F: =So i min se i isi blong ol Francophone oli save pikimap Inglis from i gat exposure
250 long hemia o=

251 FME: =Yes. Yu tekem in terms of music in terms of wanem? Fulap samting i stap
 252 long Inglis. Ol Francophone oli save pikimap isi.

253 F: Be sapos i min se evri pikinini i skul French fas wan? Bae hem i sem mak?

254 FME: Proposal.

255 F: O yu luk se Inglis bae i godaon.

256 FME: Bae Inglis bae i neva godaon. Inglis bae i still remain. Iven long fulap ples we
 257 oli no promotem tumas Inglis be it's still alive. Tekem for example long Vietnam. Ol
 258 lanwis blong hem hem i wan ples we oli toktok plan- olsem oli bin yusum French tu.
 259 Be taem yu go long Vietnam oli tok more Inglis than French. So Inglis bae i still
 260 dominant long (.) long evri ples. Long region blong Pasifik ating Vanuatu nomo hem
 261 i wan (.) hem i wan indipenden kaontri we hem i er i gat double lanwis?

262 F: M-m.

263 FME: Otherwise long New Caledonia taem yu go long ol hotel even though oli tok
 264 French be oli tok Inglis evriwan.

265 F: M-m. So sapos evriwan i skul French long ples ia? Actually bae oli kasem Inglis
 266 wantaem.

267 FME: Hem i bin compulsory. I stap long French system before independence i kam.
 268 Hem i bin compulsory blong yu kam yu go long secondary school. Inglis hem i
 269 compulsory. Taem yu kasem Form 4? Then yu mas decide/em wan mo lanwis
 270 bakegen. Either Germany? Japan? Or Spanish. System ia i stap long condominium.
 271 Long bifo finis. You got to. You must choose. So but er yu no save choose/um Inglis
 272 from Inglis hem i compulsory finis. Long French system we i stap long New
 273 Caledonia? Inglis hem i compulsory.

274 F: M-m. (2) Okei.

275 FME: Mi mi skul long New Caledonia so=

276 F: =Uh okei?

277 FME: Hem i compulsory. Inglis hem i compulsory.

278 F: Yu yu bin skul secondary? O?

279 FME: Long secondary.

280 F: Long secondary yu bin skul longwe. Okei.

281 FME: And iven long olgeta teknikol skul? Inglis is still. Olsem wan subjek.

282 F: Okei.

283 FME: Mi bin mekem accounting so Inglis hem i still wan subjek we oli tijim.

284 F: Okei. So yes. Yu no save comment naoia long saed blong (.) current polisi we i
 285 stap naoia. Mi mi traem faenemaot be=

286 FME: =Long polisi mi no save stret wanem we i hapen. But wanem we hem i stap?
 287 Yu harem mi bin statem taem mi stap long. Yu harem mi ting se hem i wan gudfala
 288 program. Unfortunately mi luk olsem i stap (.) er (.) lus. Naoia. But ol impoten
 289 objective oli stap insaed. Wan hem i access. Long edyukesen blong evri pikinini
 290 blong Vanuatu we i? Mi mi ting se gavman hem i no save ronwe long hem from hem
 291 i wan commitment we hem i wan tu. Hem i commit/em hem long hem. As er memba
 292 blong United Nations.

293 F: Be long saed blong equality long tufala stream ia. Yu luk se i gat problem yet long
 294 saed blong imbalance long (.) Anglophone Francophone.

295 (3)

296 FME: Yumi no save tokbaot imbalance between hemia from choice i kam long ol
 297 peren/s. Mo samfala oli no gat really choice. From we sapos oli wantem samfala
 298 ples? Samfala smolsmol aelan i gat wan skul nomo. So really peren/s? I no really
 299 nogat choice. Hem i mas putum pikinini blong hem i go long skul ia. Long whatever
 300 skul we hem i stap long proximity blong hem.

301 F: Be taem i olsem se (.) taem yu insaed long tufala system finis? Nomata se choice
 302 blong yu o somehow wan nara reason bae yu stap insaed be (.) yu harem se tufala
 303 saed i gat equal opportunity naoia? O=

304 FME: =Long saed blong?

305 F: Mi no save. Taem yu kamaot (.) either long progress insaed long skul. Olsem
 306 long en blong praemeru blong go long secondary? O afta long secondary blong
 307 kasem wan [wok o yun]ivesiti?

308 FME: [Hem i no] (1) Hem i no balance yet long ples ia olsem. I gat ol
 309 Anglophone oli gat more accessibility. (2) Ol Francophone no. But er from we hem i
 310 system we hem i bin stap. Bifo oli bin (.) long Anglophone oli folem wan regional
 311 program. PSSC. We i continue blong stap kasem tudei. We SPBEA i stap ranem ol.
 312 Yeah. But ol Francophone oli let aot blong (.) i nomo gat since we baccalaureate.
 313 French gavman hem i tekemaot from hem i wan French diplôme. Hem i tekemaot
 314 long naentin eiti seven.

315 F: Okei.

316 FME: Then uh gavman blong Vanuatu hem i mas mekem own wan blong hem and
 317 hemia i lay down long shoulder blong olgeta tija/s nomo. Whether oli qualify o i no
 318 qualify. Hemia ol efforts nomo olgeta oli mekem. Blong traem bildimap ol samting i
 319 kam. And that's why olsem (.) Anglophone oli (.) Yia 13 hem i foundation. Be in
 320 reality i no foundation tu. From we long samfala kaontri hem i foundation. We oli
 321 folem sem program. Be long ples ia? USP hem i no recognise/em.

322 F: Yu minim Foundation Form 7? Or USP.

323 FME: Yeah.

324 F: Foundation. Form 7.

325 FME: Yeah. USP hem i no recognise/em wanem we SPBEA i mekem. So oli mas
 326 go mekem foundation bakegen long USP.

327 F: Be i no gat eni we oli direct entry afta long Form 7?

328 FME: Well taem oli aot long ples ia oli go long narafala kaontri? Olsem wan samting
 329 we mi no andastanem. For example Samoa? Taem oli finis oli go stret long
 330 yunivesiti to study. But er hem i sem program. Sem program. That's why er <mobile
 331 rings again> hem i impoten blong mifala i mekem own curriculum long ples ia?
 332 From samfala kaontri olsem Fiji hem i do away too long hemia. From we i faenem
 333 difficulty so i mas do/im away blong mekem se taem yu mekem Form 7? Be ol
 334 styuden oli go long yunivesiti stret. That's why mifala i kam up long review. Hemia ol
 335 objective we oli stap anda long V.E.R.M? Access mo quality. We i minim (.)
 336 review/em curriculum <mobile rings again> mo improve/um er training blong olgeta
 337 tija/s tu tufala samting ia i mas go on. Namba tri ia nao hem i blong improve/um
 338 management blong edyukesen. I stat long Ministri management i go long olgeta
 339 skul/s. Ol (.) er principal mo er narafala wan.

340 F: M-m. Be i min se bae i go Yia 11 12 13 bae evriwan bae i folem nasonal
 341 curriculum. Taem olsem statement i kamaot.

342 FME: No yet. No yet from nasonal statement nomo i kamaot. Naoia i mas go long ol
 343 details nao blong raetem? And blong raetem? Mi bin askem taem mi mi stap se (.)
 344 er USP o er UNC long Caledonia oli kam follow up? Blong assess/em. I no mas
 345 mekem wan curriculum we yu ting se ol man Vanuatu nomo oli mekem. I no gat
 346 wan region i no gat wan yunivesiti wan kaontri i recognise/em from long ples ia i no
 347 gat. Yumi mas mekem sua se ol yunivesiti/s long region o iven below region er aot
 348 saed long region oli mas recognise/em curriculum. Hem i wan issue we hem i
 349 impoten blong lukluk wetem ol yunivesiti. But wetem gavman tu. Ol gavman ia oli
 350 own/em olgeta uh certification ol diplômes we hem i blong wanwan kaontri. Bae
 351 hem i kam blong gavman tu hem i blong hem i negotiate/em.

352 F: Be yu luk se bae i isi blong combine/em tufala stream long saed ia. Olsem mi
 353 harem smol se sam blong ol Francophone tija oli no agri se oli wantem lego i stap
 354 wetem wanem (.) DAEU? Olsem=

355 FME: =(EFM)?

356 F: Mi no save mi harem smol nomo se ol Francophone long saed blong senior
 357 secondary oli no wantem go long wan national curriculum. Oli wantem folem
 358 DAEU?

359 FME: No. DAEU hem i no wan diplôme blong Vanuatu. DAEU hem i wan French
 360 diplôme. We bae (.) ating Vanuatu nomo long ol narafala kaontri. DAEU hem i wan
 361 seken janis.

362 F: M-m.

363 FME: Taem we wan man (.) hem i wan diplôme we i wok long Franis nomo.

364 F: Okei.

365 FME: Hem i allow/em olgeta we oli neva mekem baccalaureate blong olgeta? Blong
 366 oli save go long yunivesiti. Hem i wan ki blong i gat access long wan yunivesiti.

367 F: Okei. So yu ting se bae i wok aot long saed blong senior. Bae nasonal (.) as long
 368 as ol yunivesiti oli putum input long hem.

369 FME: Hem i taem blong ol Anglophone mo ol Francophone oli sidaon tugeta.
 370 England wetem Franis tufala oli livim ol man ia oli stap. Kaontri ia i stap finis long
 371 han blong man Vanuatu. Mo evri taem mifala i stap talem wan pipol wan nation be i
 372 gat lanwis i gat religions we ol samting oli kam aot saed? Oli kam divide/em pipol
 373 blong Vanuatu be i minim se afta teti yia/s i taem blong sidaon tugeta. And lukluk
 374 wanem we yumi nidim. Yumi nid blong kaontri. Tufala lanwis hem i asset blong (.)
 375 Vanuatu ia. Hem i wan impoten asset blong kam (.) i gat lanwis olsem. Mi ting se
 376 man Vanuatu i mas save sidaon tugeta mo oli come up wetem wan curriculum we
 377 hem i save helpem both sides. Olsem mi talem. Lanwis nomo hem i defrens. I gat ol
 378 narafala sabjek we i sem mak.

379 F: So taem yumi go long olsem sapos curriculum i go kasem Yia 13? Yumi unify/em
 380 evri samting?

381 FME: Yeah wis blong mi se Yia 13 must be foundation. Taem mi stap.

382 F: Okei.

383 FME: But olsem mi talem i no se yumi decide/em ol samting nomo. I mas gat ol
 384 assessment. All along. Blong luk wanem wea ples olsem system blong edyukesen.
 385 Iven hemia we i stap tudei i gud blong assess/em evri pikinini long Yia 2? Whether
 386 long ples ia oli reach/em finis. Wanem we oli sapos blong reach/em long Yia 2. Bifo
 387 yu muvum olgeta i go. From mo yu muvum olgeta i gat fulap peren/s we oli no ridim
 388 tumas ol mak? Oli no ridim mak blong ol pikinini blong olgeta blong oli save
 389 assess/em se pikinini hem i gud o olsem wanem i gat problem? Oli trastem skul oli
 390 trastem ol tija/s. But most of time oli jes sek se pikinini i go kasem Yia 5 and oli no
 391 save rid mo raet. O oli go kasem Yia 10 be jes finis ia nao. Hem i wan long ol hop
 392 we mi stap filim long ol peren/s be ol peren/s oli wantem se pikinini blong olgeta
 393 hem i successful long samting ia. So i mas gat wan program blong assessment i
 394 stap long Yia 4? Yia 2 Yia 4. Wanem we pikinini i sud reach/em i mas reach/em.

395 F: M-m.

396 FME: And sem taem tu i mas gat assessment ia blong luk se hem i problem blong
 397 pikinini o problem blong ol tija. Sapos hem i problem blong ol tija then oli mas gobak
 398 long skul. Olsem blong improve/um hemia olsem taem mi talem curriculum? Hem i
 399 nid blong assess/em evri tija tu. Which wan nao oli nid blong gobak long training.
 400 And wanem training nao bae oli givim. I no gud se yu karem olgeta nomo i go putum
 401 be problem blong olgeta i no sem mak. Ating samfala ating skills o methodology
 402 blong ol tija i no gud. So even though yumi go graduate long yunivesiti. Yu karem
 403 masters o wanem. Hem i no minim se?

404 (2)

405 F: Yu save tij.

406 FME: Tija hem i wan defren samting. Wan defren vocation. Blong yu tijim pikinini yu
 407 mas talent long hem. I no sem mak. So yu mas lanem skil. I gat fulap we oli kam
 408 tudei we oli kambak long yunivesiti we oli go stret long klasrum. Long mi mi ting se
 409 oli no karem skil blong teaching. Olgeta oli mas go lanem methodology. Hao yu
 410 approach/em pikinini. I no gud se fulap blong ol tija oli go along from job opportunity.
 411 So most of time bae oli neva assist/em pikinini. Ol styuden/s. But oli mekem kos
 412 blong ol finis i aot. No. Tija long mi? Hem i tija twante fo aoa. I tija teti wan dei/s long
 413 wan manis mo tri handred siksti faef dei/s long wan yia. Hem i must be available at
 414 any time blong pikinini i save consult wetem hem. O askem any advaes hem i save.
 415 Hem i must be available blong assist/em styuden tu. Hem i mas olsem wod we oli
 416 kolem long French encadrement? I mas gat encadrement blong ol.

417 F: M-m.

418 FME: Ol (.) o iven at some time peren/s i long holiday o wanem hem i save seek/im
 419 advaes o sapos tija i tijim (.) wanem ia (.) helpem pikinini long hem. So (2) mi ting se
 420 hem i edyukesen hem i evriwan ia nao.

421 F: So somehow actually ol issue blong mi long saed blong lanwis. Yu yu talem se
 422 evriwan oli stap aot saed. Olsem yumi focus long teacher training? Hemia lanwis
 423 hem i nomo impoten. Nomata se yu tij long Inglis o French? Teacher training.
 424 Assessment. Taem yumi unify/em curriculum finis=

425 FME: =Yes. Tufala lanwis ia i stap insaed. Blong oli reinforce/em lanwis long
 426 wanem ia (.) tija/s (.) wanem ia? (2) Vanuatu Teachers College. V.T.

427 F: VITE.

428 FME: Teachers Education. So i mas improve/um lanwis long Vanuatu. Tija i must be
 429 capable too. I mas andastanem. Taem oli karem lanwis ia.

430 F: Hem i min se yumi sud kam kasem wan poen we curriculum i stap finis?
 431 Assessment structure i stap finis? Teacher training i stap finis? We i=

432 FME: =I bin gat wan timetable be mi nomo save nao se oli folem timetable ia. From i
 433 gat big mane we i go long hem. Ol aid donor oli helpem mifala. From oli save se
 434 hem i wan i save be wan gud samting. VERM hem i mi ting se hem i wan long ol
 435 bes polisi. I bin attract/em fulap donor blong oli (.) mo hem i wan unique project we
 436 ol aid donor oli go wan? Oli mekem wan pool we oli putum mane blong olgeta i go
 437 insaed. Then gavman hem i (.) hem i manage. (2) Sem taem tu olsem long saed
 438 blong access blong edyukesen i sem mak oli putum mane blong olgeta i go tugeta.

439 F: M-m.

440 FME: And. Oli bin. I gat improvement long access blong edyukesen i gat eiti eit.
 441 Pesen long this yia oli go long ol skul/s. Mi ting se hem i wan impoten samting.
 442 Bakegen? Quality. I kambak long lanwis. I mas quality. I mas assure/um quality.
 443 And blong yu gat quality i gat tu samting? Curriculum. Olsem man Vanuatu i mas
 444 mekem curriculum long context blong kaontri. I gat fulap issues. Ol issues blong
 445 environment. Mo i gat traditions. Er kalja we yumi no mas neglect/em from hemia
 446 nao identity blong ol man Vanuatu. But yumi no forget/em ol intellectual subjects we

447 hem i maths and science and i sem mak long ol lanwis. Hemia oli mas go long (.)
 448 long wanem we hem i literacy. Mo wanem we hem i science. Hem i mas stap. Hem i
 449 very important. Hem i wan kaontri we hem i master/em tu long science. Yumi nidim.
 450 Yumi nidim. Kaontri i still nidim. Tudei kaontri tu hem i depend plante long (.) not
 451 only long kaontri. Hem i depend plante long ol advisors tu aot saed. Mo samtaem mi
 452 luk se no advaes ia i no stret be from we advaes we i kam oli tekem long ol context
 453 long wan kaontri we hem i more developed long Vanuatu finis. So hem i more
 454 developed (.) o wan industrialised kaontri. Taem oli kam long Vanuatu taem oli
 455 givim advaes ol man Vanuatu (.) sometimes yu no no hemia i no stret long Vanuatu
 456 we mifala i nidim. Hem i from (.) Vanuatu i stap long wan context we hem i defren.
 457 Hem i no wan aelan. Hem i ol aelan. Hem i wan archipelago. Hem i no (.) and the
 458 issue blong lanwis. Issue blong ol kalja/s we i thousand. Ol dialects we oli mo
 459 plante. So hemia (.) mifala i diversify be hem i complicated tu.

460 F: M-m. Be yu luk se i gat eni (.) olsem yumi tokbaot ol positive blong holem taet
 461 Inglis mo French. Be i gat eni negative long hem tu. Olsem long saed blong yu
 462 talem quality o access o. I gat eni negative blong (2) taem yumi holem taet tufala
 463 tugeta i mekem se bae i (.) olsem compromise long quality?

464 FME: Well bae wan (.) i no olsem i negative but hem i wan exercise we bae i
 465 expensive. But er (.) blong in fiuja minim se tufala lanwis hem i (.) hem i impoten.

466 F: Yu min expensive blong combine/em tufala system o?

467 FME: No sapos yu combine/em bae i no expensive from bae yumi yusum sem tija
 468 nomo.

469 F: Uh-uh. Be naoia system we i stap naoia.

470 FME: System we i stap.

471 F: Hem i expensive.

472 FME: Yu mas employ/em double teachers.

473 F: Be hemia (.) long saed blong mane nomo hemia only problem (.) o challenge o
 474 wanem. Long quality mo access.

475 FME: Long blong combine/em tufala i gat challenge tu. I gat (.) afta survey fulap oli
 476 no agri so. (2) Min se oli agri blong go wetem wan expensive system we i stap.

477 F: So yu luk se for the time being yumi lego tufala (.) tufala i stap nomo. Hem i only
 478 way olsem yumi lego i gat Anglophone long saed ia.

479 FME: No yumi no save lego tufala. From taem hem i wan kaontri nomo mi ting se yu
 480 mas continue blong openem/ap debate blong faenem solution.

481 F: No mi minim se lego olsem tufala system i stap.

482 FME: Well yeah yumi ron wetem till taem we (.) gavman i decide. But er gavman i
 483 no save decide hem wan. Consultation i mas continue. (2) Sapos pipol i talem se no
 484 mifala i nidim ol man we oli bilingual? Yu mas go long olgeta. Mas faenem wan wei.

485 (1) Be yumi no save impose/em nomo long ol pipol. Se hem i kam long wan taem
 486 we evri samting i mas gat consultation long hem. VERM we hem i stap i gat wide
 487 consultation long hem. I sem mak long curriculum. Mifala i mekem bigfala wide
 488 consultation long hem we ol man oli express/em olgeta. And that expression blong
 489 olgeta we hem i kam? Vanuatu i nomo save neglect/em hem.

490 F: M-m.

491 FME: Long (.) hem i mas wok wetem ol narafala yunivesiti blong oli kam assess/em.
 492 So whereas system yumi go tru long hem hem i helpful? I save mekem i save
 493 facilitate/em olgeta styuden/s blong oli gat access long ol yunivesiti/s ia. Mo ol
 494 narafala kaontri. Wanem. I nid blong kasem ol diplôme blong ol narafala kaontri long
 495 ples ia? Be i mas gat agrimen nao. Blong gavman tu long hem.

496 F: Be ol Francophone naoia oli no gat equal opportunity long ol=

497 FME: =I no gat ol equal opportunity long wei we (.) olsem ol opportunity blong
 498 olgeta hem i long (.) long Noumea nomo.

499 F: M-m.

500 FME: But hem i no long since we mi stap mi introduce/um. Las yia mi introduce/um
 501 long ol Angl- ol Francophone UU114 we ol Inglis klosap wan degree blong Inglis
 502 finis? So blong mekem se taem oli pasem oli save gat access long ol narafala
 503 yunivesiti. From sapos yu tokbaot wan man bilingual? Wan man i finisim uh (.) i
 504 kasem wanem ia foundation blong hem? I kasem DAEU i kasem wan
 505 baccalaureate. Mi ting se hem i wan gud Francophone finis? Whether i wantem go
 506 long wan yunivesiti mi mi ting se ol basic hem i reach/em finis i stap.

507 F: M-m. So sapos yumi putum system ia? Olsem sam hao yumi combine/em o
 508 promotem nara lanwis long hemia ol Francophone bae oli gat mo access long
 509 yunivesiti? Be ol Anglophone ating bae oli sem mak nomo. Bae oli neva go long
 510 New Caledonia blong=

511 FME: =I no minim se bae i neva. Mi mi ting wanwan taem we hem bae i go. We
 512 hem i wan Anglophone be i bin go long New Caledonia.

513 F: Be olgeta oli gat fulap opportunity finis.

514 FME: Yes.

515 F: Oli no really nid blong ademap New Caledonia. Ol Francophone nomo oli really
 516 nidim.

517 FME: Yes. I no only long level ia nomo be long level blong (.) from ol Francophone
 518 olsem. Failure blong olgeta tu i bigwan. Drop out i bigwan tumas. Hem i only taem
 519 long las yia we hem i klosap naenti (.) naenti samting pesen we oli (.) oli pasem
 520 eksam. Hem i fas taem long histri. But most of time long ol yia/s i kam be from we i
 521 no gat naf assistance blong olgeta. Encadrement we mi talem i no gat. Encadrer ol
 522 pikinini kasem taem we oli pasem eksam/s blong olgeta. Hemia long las yia from i
 523 gat wan gud encadrement long taem ia from i gat samfala program we oli putum i

524 go blong encadrer olgeta blong mekem se oli pasem. But taem yu luk gud ating
 525 might long ol Anglophone skul long Yia 13? Ating tu handred we oli (.) o tri fo
 526 hamas? Faef handred we oli sit/im eksam/s? While long Francophone hem i smol
 527 nomo. (1) Kasem naoia i gat wan skul nomo hem i (.) hem i gat Yia 14. Wan skul
 528 nomo Lycée nomo.

529 F: Lycée nomo.

530 FME: Yes.

531 F: Long Collège de Santo no. Hem i Yia 13 nomo.

532 FME: Collège de Santo hem i Yia 13 nomo.

533 F: Okei.

534 FME: Be mi talem long ples ia drop out i bigwan olsem for example long Tanna yes
 535 hem i Yia 13. Be taem blong eksam/s? Long Yia 12 i no gat wan pikinini i pas.
 536 Evriwan oli (.) hemia very few we oli pas (.) fo? Be oli mas kam long ples ia.

537 F: Okei. So hemia olsem=

538 FME: =Hem i to do wetem wanem ia (.) access tu? Wanem ia (.) i no access. Uh (3)
 539 oli mas winim (VHAT) nao.

540 F: M-m. so i min se long Francophone system actually i gat wan benchmark o
 541 wanem we?

542 FME: I stap long wan benchmark.

543 F: Sapos yu no kasem bae yu aot nao.

544 FME: Yeah.

545 F: From mi luk se Anglophone hem i jes (.) supply and demand nomo. Olsem sapos
 546 jea i stap ale yu save go.

547 FME: Yeah. Mi no save stret be long Francophone olsem yu (.) taem yu fail/em
 548 eksam/s be yu fail/em nao.

549 F: Okei.

550 FME: Hem i no minim se:: yu expel? No i minim se sapos peren/s i save afford
 551 blong pem blong pikinini i repeat/em then hem i save repeat.

552 F: M-m be yu mas kasem wan standard bifo yu save go long nekis level.

553 FME: Yeah. Yu mas kasem.

554 F: Okei. From mi luk se long Anglophone hem i olsem se yu laenem up ol pikinini
 555 nomo. Yu tekem (.) i gat teti jea i stap? Ale teti we oli top/em? Ale yu go.

556 FME: Olsem hemia long Francophone hemia nao mi mi no agri long hem. From
557 olgeta tu oli bin mekem long praemeri. Yu gat so much. Yumi target/em quantity be
558 yumi mas stap target/em quality. So mi mi wantem go mo long quality.

559 F: Okei.

560 FME: Bifo yu muvum pikinini. Mi prefer se pikinini i repeat/em wan klas than yu
561 sanem hem nomo i go wetem evri problem we=

562 F: =Be i min se naoia long Yia 7? Ating bae oli gobak long system ia nao we bae yu
563 mas kasem wan benchmark.

564 FME: Long Yia 7 we top-up i stap fastaem? Mi totally disagree wetem hem from we
565 (.) i neva gat wan curriculum we i no gat ol tija/s we oli train from. Oli karem ol tija/s
566 blong praemeri blong. (1) Hemia mi totally disagree.

567 F: M-m.

568 FME: Mi totally disagree. Taem mi stap olsem Minista mi wantem klosem hemia ol
569 (.) senta skul. Mi ting se mi (.) hem i wan system we hem i deteriorate/m plante.

570 F: M-m. Yes i gat tumas problem long saed blong Yia 9 tu taem oli kam insaed be=

571 FME: Uh hemia.

572 F: Oli stat bakegen long Yia 7 nomo.

573 FME: Disaster. Hem i wan disaster.

574 F: Be naoia bae i gobak long Yia 7 bae oli go long secondary bakegen.

575 FME: Well i gat fulap we. Mi bin decide/em blong oli gobak long nomol secondary
576 schools. For example senta skul/s we oli stap long (xx) ia? Mi muvumaot evri wan.
577 Klosem. I go long (.) mi toktok wetem authority? Oli gobak antap. I gat samfala oli
578 no save hapen from (.) i no gat naf space. Long ol secondary skul/s. But i no minim
579 hemia tu. From taem yu tekem nationally? I gat fulap secondary skul we oli empty.

580 F: M-m.

581 FME: Ol man oli turn mo i go. From i gat wan (.) oli mekem i kam too political oli
582 wantem tumas promis blong bildim klasrum o hem i klos. Tu vilej/es blong (xx)
583 olgeta transpot blong oli go wea. But gavman i bin invest plante finis blong bildimap
584 sam bigfala skul olsem Tafea College. Rensarie. We mifala i no yusum ful capacity
585 blong hem? Matevulu (.) i no fully yusum capacity blong hem. So bifo i go blong
586 openem niu secondary skul mi ting se yu mas utilise/em hemia fastaem we hem i
587 stap. To maximum. Long Port Vila yes. I no gat naf space. Malapoa? Wetem
588 Lycée? I nomo gat space. That's why ol second- ol praemeri skul/s oli add/em ol
589 senta skul/s. But sapos i gat expansion long Malapoa wetem expansion long Lycée
590 mi ting se i save absorb/em ol pikinini i go long ples ia.

591 F: Okei.

592 FME: From ol authority tu olsem Montmartre wetem Onesua olgeta tu oli ful. Hem i
 593 depend long ples we population hem i bigwan. Hem i long ples ia from i gat urban
 594 drift i kam long ples ia. Bakegen long ples ia i must be more. And oli save go nomo
 595 be yu save edyukesen tu. Fulap technology i go insaed. So oli more advantage
 596 olgeta we oli gat access.

597 F: Long taon.

598 FME: Long technology. Paoa. Hemia nao that's why ol peren/s oli sanem pikinini
 599 blong olgeta. From oli ting se hem i bes skul. No evri skul i sem mak. Be hem i
 600 depend plante long olgeta tija/s. Management blong olgeta tija/s tu i mas save se.
 601 Samtaem taem i gat ol transfer o (.) long posting blong olgeta tija/s. Samtaem oli go
 602 hipimap. Wan category blong ol tija nomo i stap long wan skul. Ale oli sot long ol
 603 narafala (.) tija/s. O samtaem mi no biliv tumas long wan tija we i save (.) we hem i
 604 ting se hem i champion blong evri subjek.

605 F: M-m.

606 FME: Mi no biliv. Hemia taem mi stap olsem Minista mi talem long olgeta se mi no
 607 biliv. Se man i tijim Lanwis i save tijim Maths i save tijim Science.

608 F: Mi luk long sam skul we mi jes kam long hem? Narawan i tijim Inglis French
 609 Agriculture Social Science?

610 FME: So hemia (.) jes wan blanket nomo blong. Wan man taem hem i gat er long
 611 Vanuatu Teachers Education? Wan taem yu go train longwe yu go long training
 612 blong wan subjek. Yu wantem kam wan tija blong Literacy? Yu wantem kam wan
 613 tija blong Science. Wan man i train ia blong hem i mas mekem.

614 F: Be ol Yia 7 nao sapos oli go stret long sec- o=

615 FME: =Bae oli go yes.

616 F: Bae i no gat Yia 6 eksam bakegen uh? Oli cancel/em nao.

617 FME: Yes.

618 F: Be Yia 8 tu bae i nomo gat?

619 FME: Might bae i no gat eksam/s be mi mi still ting se sapos i no gat eksam/s. I mas
 620 gat wan assessment.

621 F: M-m. From hao nao bae oli save se hu bae i go long Malapoa. Lycée.

622 FME: Mas gat (.) yeah. Yu mas gat internal assessment.

623 F: M-m.

624 FME: Yu mas karem wan internal assessment. Even though yumi (.) sapos yu
 625 wantem cancel/em nasonal eksam/s long Yia 6? Um wis blong mi se access ia yumi
 626 wantem se oli go kasem Yia 10. Why Yia 10 from uh Universal Declaration blong
 627 Right blong ol pikinini long edyukesen i talem se yumi mas kipim pikinini i go kasem
 628 sikstin yia/s long skul. So raon Yia 10 ia nao oli stap long skul. And mi ting se taem

629 pikinini i finis long Yia 10? Sapos i no continue bae hem i go long wan teknikol skul?
 630 Bae i help blong bringim up level blong ol teknikol skul tu long level we ol pikinini i
 631 save go blong lanem ol wok. I no evriwan bae oli go long mo stadi/s. Be taem bae
 632 hu i save lanem wan job long ples ia. Pikinini we i kamaot i gat sikstin yia i gat sam
 633 aedia finis.

634 F: I mature enough.

635 FME: I wantem mekem. O sapos i gobak long vilej hem i helpful tu. Bae i save still
 636 helpful samwea long wei we i karem naf knowledge finis sapos i kasem Yia 10? Mi
 637 ting se hem i wan level we. (1) And er i save be wan benchmark we i stap long
 638 Vanuatu. Se evri pikinini oli gat at least Yia 10. Iven Yia 6. So wis blong mi i bin
 639 hemia nao. Se blong traem putum wan benchmark long Yia 10.

640 F: M-m.

641 FME: Se evri pikinini oli sud go kasem Yia 10. Whether i decide blong continue long
 642 ol stadi/s. Go long wan teknikol? Wan (xx)? O i gobak long vilej blong lanem wan
 643 narafala samting? At least hem i gat wan strong basic edyukesen finis. Yumi
 644 wantem bildimap sam responsible citizen blong tumora? Then yumi mas go long
 645 ples ia blong se at least yumi gat sam man we oli save responsible mo oli save
 646 andastanem raet/s mo oli save andastanem tu wanem we.

647 (1)

648 F: M-m. (2) Okei? Mi luk se bae yumi save sidaon fuldei storian about. Be ating long
 649 saed blong lanwis yumi tokbaot evri samting finis. Unless yu gat any other comment
 650 long saed blong lanwis be (.) mi luk se hemia i=

651 FME: =Olsem long lanwis olsem (.) i mas gat (.) yumi no save. I mas gat politikol will
 652 wan. Mo yu mas gat er (.) er consultation long wide (.) go long (.) go long wanem
 653 stret we ol pipol oli wantem.

654 F: M-m. (2) Okei.

655 FME: Proposal we hem i stap mi ting se sapos i nid? Yumi save mekem pilot skul
 656 anywhere. Olsem naoia we i stap sapos oli wantem pilot/em? Best wei blong oli
 657 pilot/em? Pilot/em long ol Francophone skul/s.

658 F: M-m.

659 FME: From bae i no (.) bae i no kosem tumas problem. (2) O yu jes tekem wan (.)
 660 muvum wan tija nomo long Anglophone long ples we tufala i stap klosap? Muvum
 661 wan tija nomo se yu go tij long (.) tijim Inglis fastaem long ples ia. Blong yumi luk se.
 662 But even though oli statem Inglis long Yia 7? Olsem mi talem. Oli pasem sem
 663 eksam/s long USP long.

664 F: M-m. (1) Be yu luk se hem i kamaot long evri Francophone skul long Vanuatu? O
 665 yu tokbaot Lycée nomo.

666 FME: Evriwan.

667 F: From mi mi jes kam long wan skul long aelan? We mi luk se actually level blong
 668 lanwis. Olsem long tufala secondary skul mi luk se level blong Inglis French i sem
 669 mak nomo. Long tufala skul.

670 FME: Yeah be olsem mi talem. Hem i depend plante long=

671 F: =From mi mi expect se=

672 FME: =Quality=

673 F: =Long Francophone skul bae oli save Inglis tu be actually mi luk se standard
 674 blong French i no high tumas. Standard blong Inglis hem i sem mak nomo.

675 FME: Yeah.

676 F: Be long Anglophone skul i tru se French hem i weak.

677 FME: Be:: hem i problem blong olsem mi talem blong ol tija/s bakegen. Taem tija i
 678 monitor/em gud? Be taem i kam long ol (.) olsem mi tokbaot long level blong ol
 679 eksam? Sapos mi tekem wan skul olsem Montmartre. Evri yia taem (.) hem i
 680 handred pesen we hem i pasem LLP hem i handred pesen ol pikinini oli go. Long
 681 LLF11 hem i handred pesen. Mi mi jeaman blong skul long Montmartre so (1) mi
 682 save (.) i bin wan long olgeta fas skul we i bin adoptem program ia. Oli ranem long
 683 Monmartre.

684 F: Olgeta oli tekem LLF11 taem oli stap long Montmartre?

685 FME: Yeah.

686 F: Yu no minim se afta. Okei mi ting se oli aot finis.

687 FME: No oli tekem taem oli stap long Montmartre nomo.

688 F: Okei.

689 FME: Olgeta long Yia 12 oli mekem uh LLP13? Mo olgeta long Yia 13 oli mekem
 690 LLF11.

691 F: LLF11 okei. Hem i Montmartre nomo o Lycée tu.

692 FME: No Lycée tu i mekem.

693 F: Collège de Santo.

694 FME: Senior secondary skul o- (.) Collège de Santo.

695 F: Evri senior secondary long French.

696 FME: Secondary school yes.

697 F: Oli tekem. Okei. Uh interesting.

698 FME: I gat wan extra fee blong pem be (2) fulap peren/s long beginning oli no
 699 andastanem? Oli complain. Mi se hem i wan narafala do. Ol pikinini sapos yu luk

700 pikinini i live long ples ia? Ol yunivesiti we yumi gat long Port Vila hem i wan (.) er (.)
 701 yunivesiti blong South Pacific we hem i Anglophone so (.) blong yu gat access? Yu
 702 mas mekem Inglis.

703 F: So USP olsem sapos yu go long Emalus nomo? Oli tekem se yu kam stret long
 704 Montmartre? Yu tekem qualification blong yu long Montmartre? Wetem LLF11?
 705 Naoia yu save go stret long handred level courses? O bae yu mas tekem foundation
 706 fastaem.

707 FME: I gat samfala oli go. Samfala oli mekem hemia. But mi prefer se oli mekem
 708 Yia 14. From taem Yia 14 tu mi introduce/um UU114.

709 F: M-m.

710 FME: Long taem yu gat UU114 i mo better (.) much better. I gat wan narafala
 711 program tu we oli kolem (xx)? We long Yia te- 14 taem yu mekem? I helpful taem yu
 712 go long wan yunivesiti. Taem yu go yu save mekem handred level o yu mekem (xx)
 713 yu save (.) i helpful tu. (2) Hemia oli stap naoia. So wanem we mi propose-em long
 714 olgeta i better from taem yu go LLF11 nomo yu go be yu mas go stap waste/em
 715 taem blong olsem (.) i mo expensive tu long USP. So i mo better yu traehad blong
 716 yu go long Yia 14? From gavman i pem UU114?

717 F: Okei.

718 FME: Taem yu karem UU114 hem i wan advantage finis. Naoia yunivesiti i save
 719 askem (.) i save accept/em yu taem yu mekem hemia i min se wan level blong Inglis
 720 blong yu? I gud so oli save tekem yu finis.

721 F: Okei.

722 FME: Long beginning fulap oli no (.) agri mo oli no (.) andastanem. Be hem i dabol
 723 opportunity we hem i stap.

724 F: M-m.

725 FME: From taem yu winim hemia either yu save go long New Caledonia o yu save
 726 go long (2) USP? Not USP nomo be yu save apply long wan narafala yunivesiti.

727 F: M-m.

728 FME: Yes Ostrelia tu i stap. O long New Zealand. And i no hemia nomo be (.) bae
 729 hem i helpful sapos yu go blong yu kam wan tija long VIT? O yu go long nursing
 730 school? O yu go long Maritime. Then hem i save be helpful. Hemia we oli stap go
 731 long Philippine? Taem oli karem hemia oli go (.) no problem from oli go i jes gohed
 732 nomo.

733 F: So yu luk se ol Francophone we oli kamaot long (.) eni wan we i tekem Yia 13 be
 734 oli no tekem opportunity blong LLF11 nao hem i wan disadvantage nao. Blong
 735 karem ol qualification long French nomo.

736 FME: Yeah from yu gat wan choice nomo nao. Sapos choice ia i no open?

737 F: M-m.

738 FME: Yu mas winim ki blong hem.

739 F: Uh-uh.

740 FME: We sapos yu no win i min se yu fas i stap.

741 F: Be Anglophone? Oli no gat equivalent long French be oli oraet yet olsem.

742 FME: Oli oraet ia from opportunity i bigwan blong ol. Long ples ia from sapos oli
 743 fail/em Yia 13 blong olgeta oli save go stap mekem wanem ia (.) ol seken janis
 744 blong olgeta. Long USP. (2) Mo tu oli save mekem wan foundation long USP. I stap
 745 long ples ia nomo.

746 F: So mi luk se hem i main central dilemma nao blong hol edyukesen se (.) yumi
 747 wantem se yumi holem taet French. From hem i pat blong heritage hem i pat blong
 748 histri. Olsem yumi no save lego. Mi save. Be long sem taem tu mi luk se Inglis hem i
 749 main do we hem i givim access long (.) olsem Anglophone oli no nidim French.

750 FME: M-m.

751 F: So i min se somehow?

752 FME: Be long fil blong profession? Fulap oli nidim naoia. Oli jes realise/em be=

753 F: =Oli nidim French?

754 FME: Yeah. For example hemia we oli wok long ol trade. Hao nao bae oli mekem
 755 trade wetem New Caledonia.

756 F: M-m. (3) Be New Caledonia nomo. Olsem.

757 FME: Yeah? I gat New Caledonia nomo be.

758 F: Bigfala wol i stap be=

759 FME: =Yes be bigfala nara wol tu i stap.

760 F: Mi jes luk se evri pikinini sapos yumi faenem wei somehow blong fos se evri
 761 pikinini i skul French fas wan ale go long Inglis. Sapos hem i save wok aot? Main
 762 purpose blong hem hem i simply blong holem taet histri? Wetem smol pat blong
 763 trade wetem New Caledonia. Hem i wan bigfala polisi blong wan smol kaontri olsem
 764 Vanuatu. Jes blong wan risen blong histri nomo. Olsem mi save se i no fault blong=

765 FME: =No no. Be iven olsem ol regional organisation tu oli stap blong adoptem
 766 lanwis. Tekem MSG ia. Hem i adoptem olsem lanwis blong hem. French and
 767 English. (3) And long forum. Even though wan nomo be i mas gat translesen.

768 F: M-m.

769 FME: Iven Vanuatu. Vanuatu hem i dipen. Taem i karem wan minista we hem i wan
 770 Angl- wan Francophone? Then hem i require/em blong yu toktok lanwis we hem i
 771 yes. (2) I no long ples ia nomo.

772 F: M-m.

773 FME: Well relationship blong Vanuatu wetem Franis tu i stap sem mak. So hem i
 774 nidim. French's investment long Vanuatu i bigwan tu. Olsem in terms of investment
 775 oli bigwan tu long Vanuatu. I no Calédonie nomo be Franis tu i invest so=

776 F: =Yes i tru.

777 FME: Er i gat er oli tekem Ostrelia oli yusum fulap bilingual oli (.) Mauritius oli yusum
 778 olgeta.

779 F: No i tru.

780 FME: Long level blong ol bank long ples ia o ol public administration i nid blong yu
 781 save tufala lanwis. (3) From Vanuatu hem i affiliate wetem long fulap Francophone
 782 organisations. (OUF) Wetem (APF). (5) And hem i gud blong mo narafala
 783 organisation tu we yu save yusum French long hem? Sapos yu gat opportunity.

784 F: M-m. (4) Okei.

785 FME: Ale long saed blong yunivesiti olsem USP? Hem i affiliate long AUF? And
 786 AUF hem i affiliate long USP. So (.) i gat link ia i stap finis wetem UNC oli wok
 787 tugeta finis. Bae i gat wan expansion we China bae i sud fund/em. Olsem mi talem
 788 mi livim Ministri i klosap wan yia nao so (.) ol samting oli bin (.) agreed evriwan finis
 789 mi no save olsem wanem Minista i stap.

790 F: Be bilding i stap gohed finis?

791 FME: Mi no save.

792 F: Yu no save. Mane nomo i stap be=

793 FME: =Be i gat hemia we hem i wan Francophone.

794 F: M-m.

795 FME: [From USP]

796 F: [Be from French] Polynesia i gat?

797 (3)

798 FME: USP hem i gat (.) Vanuatu hem i wan ORSTOM memba blong yunivesiti.
 799 From Fiji i gat own yunivesiti blong hem tu. Tonga i gat own yunivesiti blong hem.
 800 Samoa i gat yunivesiti blong hem. I gat tu nomo we tufala i depend long USP hem i
 801 Vanuatu wetem Solomon. (1) So that's why USP hem i mas lukluk long intres blong
 802 Vanuatu. Vanuatu hem i wan (1) hem i unique long Pasifik be i mas lukluk long
 803 intres blong hem. I no olsem bae oli stap sevem ol Anglophone nomo. No i mes
 804 sevem from pipol ia i pem membership. Handred million evri yia? We i pem
 805 membership fee. Antap long hem? Hem i pem tuition fee while yu compare/em
 806 wetem New Caledonia. Gavman i no pem tuition. Hem i pem (2) boarding fee blong
 807 ol styuden nomo mo ol pocket money blong ol styuden but hem i no pem. (1) But

808 USP gavman i pem contribution fee? Hem i pem tuition fee. Mo hem i pem
809 bakegen.

810 F: Hem i min blong ol styuden we oli stap skul long Vanuatu.

811 FME: USP.

812 F: O eni wea oli stap skul long Fiji tu?

813 FME: Yes.

814 F: Evriwan.

815 FME: So sapos yu lukluk gud i more expensive than hemia blong New Caledonia
816 we (.) gavman i no pem. (1) So (.) hem i mo cheaper. But hem i expensive in terms
817 of (.) er money? Hem i from laef long New Caledonia hem i expensive.

818 F: M-m. Be i gat eni styuden we oli go skul long Tahiti? O no.

819 FME: Bifo i gat be naoia from yunivesiti hem i mo klosap long ples ia. i gat wanem
820 we i save faenem long Tahiti hem i stap long New Caledonia.

821 F: Okei.

822 FME: And New Caledonia i ser- i serem more cultural values and i mo similar long
823 Vanuatu so hem i more better yet than longwe. Think of for example (.) Agriculture
824 we oli bin go from long Tahiti? Mi ting se blong mekem long New Caledonia hem i
825 mo isi nao. Fulap oli graduate mo long Caledonia long Kumak. Be naoia? UNC i gat
826 wan branch long Dumbéa eh wanem ia Magenta.

827 F: Hem i wanem.

828 FME: Yunivesiti. Long Magenta.

829 F: Oh okei.

830 FME: We i mekem Agriculture tu ol styuden oli save go longwe.

831 F: Okei.

832 (4)

833 FME: I gat fulap i stap long New Caledonia. Afta oli jes stap go long Ostrelia so i no
834 gat wan problem. I gat fulap (.) samfala we oli kam pilot finis. We oli bin stap long
835 Caledonia afta oli jes go mekem piloting blong olgeta long (.) Aviation long Ostrelia.
836 (2) Mi ting se advantage ia i mas continue blong hem i stap. (2) Mas openem up
837 opportunities long ol.

838 F: M-m.

839 FME: Olgeta styuden/s ia i stap.

840 (5)

841 F: Okei.

842 FME: Tangkiu.

843 F: Bae yumi finis long ples ia.

844 FME: Eni mo samting? No.

845 F: No mi luk se olsem ol kwestin blong mi long saed blong lanwis ating yumi
846 kavremap evriwan finis. Hem i gud nomo blong compare/em wetem ol tingting=

847 FME: =Well hemia ia hem i point of view blong mi. Mi save se i gat samfala (.) wan
848 professor blong yunivesiti i stap talem (.) i mekem wan comparation wetem long
849 Samoa? Se yumi mekem bilingualism. Be long lanwis blong Tonga wetem Inglis.

850 F: M-m.

851 FME: I no case blong Vanuatu. Vanuatu i gat lanwis (.) nasonal lanwis blong hem (.)
852 i gat ol dialects. Taem hem i tokbaot bilingualism?

853 F: Hem i minim wanem. <laughs>

854 FME: So mi ridim ol argument blong hem we hem i mekem lastaem. Mi ansa long
855 hem se yu no save tekem case blong Tonga blong yu apply/em long Vanuatu.

856 F: M-m.

857 FME: Sapos yu tekem case blong Samoa i apply/em long Vanuatu i min se hamas
858 lanwis nao? Fo finis.

859 F: Be yu min se hem i stap argue se yumi sud yusum vernacular i go long?

860 FME: No argument blong hem se bilingualism hem i lanwis blong hemia wetem
861 lanwis blong Tonga. hem i se be i wok long Tonga. Mi se no. Case blong Vanuatu i
862 totally defren. Eh i no Tonga. Samoa. Hem i totally defren.

863 F: M-m. Be olsem mi mi luk se wan tingting blong mi.

864 FME: Wan man Vanuatu we hem i talem se hem i bilingual be hem i no bilingual.
865 Hem i=

866 F: =Yes hem i bilingual taem hem i stap long vilej yet.

867 FME: Quadri wanem?

868 F: Quadrilingual yes.

869 FME: Yes. Yumi tok fo lanwis.

870 F: Yes yu no statem skul yet be yu bilingual finis.

871 FME: Yes. Be bilingualism oli come up wetem nomo se taem very few oli wok long
872 gavman we oli no nidim wan translator. (2) Olsem hem i very few yet oli stap tudei.
873 But wetem ol yangfala we oli graduate tudei? Taem yu tekem wan Francophone i

874 graduate tudei (.) hem i save raet perfectly long Inglis. I gat fulap tu we oli graduate
875 long Law we oli raetem sem mak nomo.

876 F: Be ol bilingual skul/s taem yu talem bilingual skul hem i minim wanem?

877 FME: No. Nogat. Hem i no save. Bilingualism mi tekem for example oli talem se
878 Freswota hem i bilingual skul be mi mi totally disagree. From hem i promotion blong
879 Bislama nao. Oli putum tugeta skul insaed long wan compound.

880 F: So hem i min se i gat Anglophone narasaed Francophone narasaed?

881 FME: Be taem oli kam aot aot saed be Bislama nomo.

882 F: Bislama nomo nao from oli nogat (.) yes. Mi luk long wan long Ambae. Ale
883 Rensarie bakegen. Hem i jes=

884 FME: =Yeah. Nao system ia mi (.) mi totally disagree.

885 F: Mekem se i had wok blong ol tija tu from i mas gat wan we i tijim Agriculture long
886 French ale=

887 FME: =Well narasaed hem i save be easy. Long wei we oli exchange/em tija. Olsem
888 tija blong Inglis hem i wan real tija blong Inglis we i go tij narasaed. Mi mi stap olsem
889 jeaman blong skul long Montmartre mifala i recruit/em wan olsem mifala i karem
890 wan full bil- wanem ia (.) Anglophone. I no tok wanpis French.

891 F: M-m.

892 FME: Hem nao i tijim Inglis.

893 F: Okei.

894 FME: Yeah. So long klas blong hem i no gat wan French. Hem i tok Inglis nomo.

895 F: Mas Inglis nomo nao. So yu yu actually yu disagree se ol bilingual skul i no sud
896 gat from hemia i jes mekem se Bislama=

897 FME: =No. Sapos oli wantem oli gat at least wan method blong exchange/em tija
898 bae i oraet. Be taem we i stap long sem fil nomo hem i promotion blong Bislama
899 nomo.

900 F: From mi mi luk se hem i wan bigfala polisi insaed long VESS. Se bilingual skul/s
901 hem i wan (.) be actually mi neva really klia se=

902 FME: =No mi totally disagree long bilingual skul/s from hem i (.) hem i no promotem
903 nating (.) er real spirit blong bilingualism.

904 F: M-m. Mi luk se i sevem mane nomo long saed blong administration be

905 FME: Hem i no really sevem mane. Yeah i sevem mane long=

906 F: Wan wota pump nomo wan generator be. <laughs>

907 FME: Yeah might yu sevem mane long ples ia be (.) i no quality. I no address/em
 908 quality.

909 F: M-m.

910 (2)

911 FME: Hem i no address/em quality long wanem we gavman i really wis blong.

912 F: M-m. Hem i tru. Hemia mi luk se wan kwestin olsem we mi wantem catch up
 913 wetem sam blong yufala we yu bin (.) central long saed blong ol polisi.

914 FME: M-m.

915 F: From olsem taem mi ridim ol document be VESS hem i=

916 FME: =No hemia mi totally argue wetem ia be oli gohed blong putum insaed. Be mi
 917 talem se be yu no save mekem wan bilingual skul.

918 (2)

919 F: Be [Vanuatu i gat bilingual skul be]

920 FME: [From oli no address/em quality] (2) Hem i save be helpful long wei we issue
 921 blong exchange/em tija. O i wan administration be (.) skul ia even though oli kole
 922 bilingual skul wan i sud (.) i sud strict long (.) se skul i olsem. Narawan i mas olsem.

923 F: So i no gat eni klasrum naoia we oli traem mekem actual (.) evri pikinini insaed oli
 924 bilingual. Olsem tija nao i toktok=

925 FME: =No.

926 F: Smol Inglis smol French?

927 FME: No.

928 F: Bildimap tufala tugeta. No.

929 FME: No. Oli karem wanwan kos/es ia. Hemia mi talem sam Anglophone oli karem
 930 sam tija/s blong French oli go.

931 F: M-m.

932 FME: Long ol Anglophone skul samfala oli karem wan tija we i fultaem (.) tijim
 933 French nomo. Be from wan long ol narafala samting. System blong edyukesen tu se
 934 (.) i no gat assessment blong performance blong olgeta tija/s. Samtaem oli putum
 935 se principal nao bae hem i (.) hem i assess/em olgeta tija. Samtaem i gat conflict.
 936 Sapos wan principal i mekem wan samting i rong? I no save assess/em ol tija i no
 937 save mekem ripot blong olgeta. Taem i ripotem olgeta oli ripotem principal.

938 F: M-m.

939 FME: But hem i mas gat. Bifo long tufala gavman i gat wan tim blong inspectors. We
 940 oli goraon long olgeta skul oli go in (.) oli stap wan wik blong inspect/em tija/s. Tudei

941 wan tija taem we i go tij? Normally probation i should be sikis manis. Be tudei
 942 probation hem i olsem se (.) i (.) hol laef blong hem nomo.

943 F: M-m.

944 (2)

945 FME: I nomo gat wan assessment. So hemia tu wan failure blong (.) uh Ministri
 946 blong Edyukesen mo oli mas lukluk bak long tu long (.) Teaching Service
 947 Commission. Wanem nao rol blong hem. Hem nao hem i employer. Hem nao i sud
 948 assess/em olgeta tija/s.

949 F: M-m.

950 FME: Be tudei. Teaching Service Commission hem i stap be olgeta inspector oli
 951 stap anda long Public Service. So i gat (.) ol legal frame we i no stret bae yumi nid
 952 blong luklukbak long hem. Givimbak paoa long (.) ol raet bodi we hem i employ/em
 953 olgeta tija/s.

954 F: Be in-service training hem i nomo gat uh? Hem i jes pre-service.

955 FME: In-service? Training hem i gat. Oli jes openem long beginning blong yia o long
 956 las yia. Unfortunately hem i sem mak. From bifo yumi openem/ap in-service training
 957 yu mas assess/em ol tija/s fastaem. Wanem nao weakness blong olgeta. Long saed
 958 blong lanwis? Long saed blong understanding? O long saed blong wanem. Um
 959 methodology? O pedagogy o wanem.

960 F: M-m.

961 FME: Olsem taem yu tekem olgeta ale yu faenemaot wan real issue. Be tudei oli
 962 karem taem i bin in-service training be oli go karem hemia we oli bin tija blong
 963 praemeri oli wantem go olsem se tija blong secondary. Hemia oli luk se from salary
 964 hem i more interesting. Hemia i no.

965 F: Be mi luk se tu hemia i fault blong (.) olsem yumi expand/em ol secondary school
 966 be i no gat tija yet. Be olsem hemia nao problem be oli kam stret long USP i go long
 967 klasrum wantaem. Oli no train from teaching be. (1) O junior we oli go antap long
 968 senior from we i no gat tija.

969 FME: Yeah wan narafala samting olsem i gat tumas secondary skul mo taem yu
 970 lukluk gud i gat fulap we oli mekem less hours. Oli no wok. Tekem (.) uh mi
 971 faenemaot se long Lycée samfala oli mekem (.) ten aoa tetin aoa. Long Vanuatu
 972 Teachers Education (.) samfala oli mekem fo aoa long wan manis o. (1) I no gat
 973 consistency long uh (.) timing blong wok. Yu compare long public servant hem i mas
 974 wok teti seven teti faef o foti aoa/s long wan wik. Be tija i no wok. O hemia. Well. Yu
 975 mas givim taem blong hem tu blong hem i prepare/em ol lesen blong hem.

976 F: M-m.

977 FME: But er (.) wan minimum. Se i no blong se yu tij fotin aoa nomo. Long wan wik.

978 F: Be yes yu no save tijim evri (.) olsem taem mi stap long Ambae fastaem mi mi
 979 tijim teti sikis aoa long wan wik from hem i no gat naf tija be hemia. Mi no save
 980 nomo. Mi stap flae flae olbaot.

981 FME: Hemia i no gud. Yu no prepare/em wan gud samting tu. No mi no minim
 982 hemia. Mi mi ting se wan taem oli save kasem. Ol tija oli kasem so at least oli
 983 kasem twante aoa?

984 F: M-m.

985 FME: O maximum twante tu? Hemia mi mekem long Montmartre mifala i mekem so
 986 ol tija oli kasem twante tu aoa/s.

987 F: M-m. Hemia i gud from yu gat eit o ten long wik blong prepare/em ol samting. Be.

988 FME: Yes.

989 (3)

990 F: Yes i tru. I gat sam we taem yumi go long senior secondary yumi specialise
 991 tumas?

992 FME: Yes.

993 F: Mekem se tija blong Economics? Tija blong Agriculture? Tija blong French. Tija
 994 blong IT.

995 FME: Yes.

996 F: Be oli no save kavremap tufala sabjek.

997 FME: Save kavremap tufala sabjek yes.

998 F: So mi ting se yes oli gat smol (.) light timetable nomo.

999 FME: Uh i no gat (.) no gat (.) i no gat gud management yet. And tu i no gat wan
 1000 inventory blong (.) long (.) long Teaching Service Commission mo iven long hol
 1001 Vanuatu i no gat wan proper system in place blong uh (.) wanem ia human risos
 1002 developmen. I no gat wan. I mas gat wan human risos developmen i stap whether i
 1003 stap wetem Skolasip we oli karem rekod blong ol (.) evri graduate hamas man long
 1004 Vanuatu blong (.) yumi lukluk wea ples nao yumi nidim ol (.) o blong trenem olgeta.

1005 F: M-m.

1006 FME: Blong yumi sanem olgeta. Tudei i gat fulap we oli go from lawyer. I gat fulap
 1007 lawyers and samfala oli kam unemployed lawyers. Samfala oli kam doti lawyers tu
 1008 we oli stap mekem sam deal long issue blong graon ia we (.) hem i jes blong
 1009 mekem mane.

1010 F: Yes.

1011 FME: Normally sapos wan client i kam luk yu yu sud advaesem stret se instead
 1012 blong yu mekem yu waste/em mane yu sud talem long hem stret se (.) claim blong

1013 yu hem i raet o hem i rong o yu no nid blong waste/em mane. Be samfala? Oli jes
 1014 mekem blong i tekem mane. Mi ting se hem i no stret.

1015 F: Yes hem i tru mi luk se yumi mas save (.) from samtaem mi luk se long teaching.
 1016 From samtaem long senior? Hem i no mekem wok blong hem o hem i somehow
 1017 hem i mekem problem long skul. Be skul i no save jenisim hem from i no gat
 1018 replacement blong hem. Be actually ating i gat sam ples=

1019 FME: =Wan (.) wan hemia. Be wan hem i neva ripotem. From i no gat wan inspector
 1020 we mi talem be structure blong Teaching Service Commission? Employer blong
 1021 hem. Tudei hem i stap dipen long wanem we oli talem nomo. Teaching Service
 1022 Commission naeia hem i stap olsem wan clamshell nomo we i wet long wave i fidim
 1023 hem. Hem i sud gat ol han blong hem wetem leg blong hem blong hem i wokbaot.
 1024 Olsem hem i ol employee blong hem. I mas mekem sua. I gat fulap oli involve/em
 1025 olgeta long big trabol and oli neva tekem punishment.

1026 F: M-m. Be from principals oli fraet se sapos mi lego tija ia. Olsem sapos Agriculture
 1027 tija i aot? Be hu bae i kam tijim Agriculture.

1028 FME: Yeah.

1029 F: Mi mi no save ripotem nao. Lukaot Teaching Service Commission i karemaot tija
 1030 ia? Afta bae ol pikinini bae oli nomo save tekem PSSC o wanem ia.

1031 FME: Yes. Ating hemia tu eria we i stap. Be i no sud gat hemia sapos i gat wan
 1032 inventory blong olgeta tija/s we oli stap se blong yumi trenem hamas tija nao. Olgeta
 1033 oli gat shortfall blong ol tija/s blong Science mo Maths. So yu sud luk se i gat naf o
 1034 (.) direct/em ol styuden/s se hemia i gat opportunity i stap long ples ia. Yufala i go
 1035 mekem stadi. Be from tudei we i no gat eni inventory i stap? Eni stock take long
 1036 saed blong human risos long kaontri i no gat. (1) Iven tija i sud gat own wan blong
 1037 olgeta. Teaching Service i sud holem wan i stap se yumi gat hamas tija blong
 1038 Science. Hamas hemia blong mekem se yu direct/em skolasip tu se yumi nidim mo
 1039 blong yu trenem olsem. Yu direct/em teaching service edyukesen (.) er Vanuatu
 1040 Teachers Education se yufala i bildimap mo ol (.) tija blong Maths Science be long
 1041 level ia. Tudei long senior secondary skul i shortfall.

1042 F: M-m.

1043 FME: Long ol (.) long tija blong (.) er Maths and Science. Blong both saed.
 1044 Anglophone wetem Francophone so. Wetem most long olgeta we oli tij long level ia
 1045 oli (.) we oli mekem degree nomo. Be sapos yumi wantem i go mo mi ting se yumi
 1046 mas require/em masters? I no blong yu karem wan masters nomo be yu mas kam
 1047 yu go long edyukesen blong. Be yu mas identify/em olgeta. Olsem mi talem hem i
 1048 very impoten blong (.) Teaching Service Commission i gat own stock take blong
 1049 hem blong ol human risos/es we i stap.

1050 F: M-m.

1051 FME: Taem hem i no gat be yu stap sutum ol man olbaot nomo.

1052 F: M-m.

1053 FME: Yu sud save se taem yu mekem posting? Yu save wanem sabjek i stap long
 1054 ples ia? Yu sanem ol tija/s.

1055 F: Yes mi mi neva andastan se hao nao=

1056 FME: =Olgeta oli stap base long wanem ia. Namba blong ol pikinini nomo. Se wan
 1057 tija blong twante faef (.) um pikinini. (2) Yu save taem yu gat hamas sabjek blong yu
 1058 tijim long ples ia (.) yu givim tija long ol sabjek.

1059 F: M-m.

1060 FME: Yu no save givim tija folem namba blong ol pikinini.

1061 F: M-m.

1062 FME: Sapos really yu wantem ranem wan secondary skul? Be yu mas givim tija
 1063 long wan (.) wan (.) wan (.) wanem ia long wan sabjek. Mi mi no agri tumas se oli
 1064 givim tija folem namba blong ol pikinini ia. Tekem for example wan smol secondary
 1065 skul i stap sam ples long (.) Ambae o wea we bae namba blong hem i siksti nomo
 1066 yu givim (.) o fifti yu givim tu tija nomo.

1067 F: M-m.

1068 FME: Hao nao yu expect/em blong tufala i tijim we=

1069 F: =Yes bae oli tijim fo sabjek wanwan.

1070 FME: I require/em long ol secondary skul. Hao nao yu expect/em blong olgeta.

1071 F: Be iven long praemeri. Yumi tokbaot ol bilingual skul finis be i gat wan bilingual
 1072 praemeri skul long Ambae we oli kaontem aot se hamas pikinini? Mekem se naoia i
 1073 gat sikis tija? Blong twelef klas/es. Be from oli kaontem se Klas 1 hem i gat (.)
 1074 twante pikinini. Be actually ten i stap long Anglophone ten i stap long Francophone.
 1075 So naoia i min se Klas 1 tija blong Anglophone? Hem i Klas 1 mo Klas 4 wantaem.

1076 FME: Hem? Risal blong hem bae i siro nomo.

1077 F: M-m. Be i gat naf tija evriwan? Be actually samfala i narasaed. Sam narasaed
 1078 mekem se hemia i tijim Klas 3 4 5 wantaem. Long Francophone. Narasaed Klas 1
 1079 Klas 4 wantaem. Mekem se yu lego ol smolsmol pikinini blong Klas 1 blong yu go
 1080 tijim Klas 4.

1081 FME: Taem oli go long secondary skul hemia bae yu (.) taem yu go long ol risal bae
 1082 i nil nomo. Hem i wan rong expectation bakegen o wan rong hop we yu givim long ol
 1083 peren/s.

1084 F: M-m. Olsem mi save se i had. Blong olsem (.) yes yumi gat fulap aelan. I had
 1085 blong assess/em (.) blong ol inspector i goraon. Be posting? Yu sud somehow=

1086 FME: =No. At least se i sud gat wan inspector.

1087 F: M-m.

1088 FME: Mo tu quality blong ol inspector we oli stap tudei evriwan hem ia ol inspector
 1089 blong praemeri. Hao yu expect/em blong i go inspect/em ol tija/s blong ol secondary
 1090 skul/s.

1091 F: M-m.

1092 FME: Level blong olgeta long praemeri. Taem oli go long secondary be (.) oli save
 1093 finis se (.) oli no save mekem so bae oli neva mekem wan wok.

1094 F: Be mi luk se ol zone curriculum advisors oli gud lelebet. Oli save goraon long ol=
 1095 FME: =Bakegen hem i sem mak. Hem i level blong praemeri.

1096 F: Yes hem i long praemeri i tru. Be mi luk se=
 1097 FME: =So oli mekem wok long praemeri nomo. Ol secondary hem i no.

1098 F: Yes long secondary yes (.) hem i dipen long PEO nomo. (2) Be wan samting tu
 1099 we mi lukum long Penama. From oli gat mi no save seven zone? O eit zone ating
 1100 long Penama?

1101 FME: M-m.

1102 F: Be seven hem i Francophone? Eh sore seven hem i Anglophone. Mekem se hem
 1103 i gat Not Ambae nomo. Hem i gat Maewo nomo. Hem i gat Not Pentecost. Hem i
 1104 olsem i isi blong=

1105 FME: =M-m.

1106 F: Be i gat wan nomo zone eit we hem i Francophone. Mekem se wan man nao i
 1107 mas go long Not Ambae. Saot Ambae. Maewo. Not Central Pentecost.

1108 FME: M-m.

1109 F: Hemia i olsem=
 1110 FME: =Yes.

1111 F: I had blong travel bakegen from hem i. Yumi stap duplicate long ol
 1112 (2)

1113 FME: Yes oli sud er (.) yes oli sud mekem bil- (.) at least oli putum wan man we
 1114 hem i save mekem (.) i save tok tu lanwis tu?

1115 F: M-m.

1116 FME: Be=
 1117 F: =So hem i wan factor bakegen.

1118 FME: M-m.

1119 F: We hem i (.) duplicate? O?

1120 FME: Yes.

1121 F: Waste/em taem. Olsem bae hem i neva kasem Central Pentecost. Not
1122 Pentecost.

1123 FME: Bae hem i no go. Bae hem i no go. Mi save hemia we i stap long Ambae i
1124 neva go long Saot Ambae i neva go. I neva go long (.) iven long Is.

1125 F: Be ol narawan mi luk se oli gud smol olsem oli stap long Is Ambae Anglophone?
1126 Bae oli mas go kasem long Lolopuepue nomo i kambak. Hemia i olsem isi wok
1127 nomo. Be (.) hem bae i mas kasem tri aelan. Yu save Ambae i no isi blong yu
1128 wokbaot kasem long narasaed. <laughs>

1129 FME: Yes.

1130 F: Mas goraon olsem.

1131 FME: Yes.

1132 (5)

1133 F: Hem i complicated smol. (5) Okei.

1134 FME: Yes ating. Mi no save sapos yu gat eni mo kwestin?

1135 F: No mi no gat eni mo kwestin.

1136 FME: Okei tangkiu.

1137 F: Olsem mi talem mi mi willing blong sidaon fuldei blong storian. <both laugh> Be
1138 no yumi finis long ples ia nao.

**Appendix xxi – Interview with the former Minister of Education (FME)
(Translation)**

Date: 16-11-11

Location: Nakamal at the former minister's house

Notes: FME was Minister of Education for much of the time when I did the first period of fieldwork at the start of the year (although in and out with all the changes). However, by the time of the interview, he was no longer in office (and was in the opposition).

The interview was arranged through a family member of my contact. He was happy to meet me and I was told to go to his house to find him. My contact had explained a bit about my research and that I was a former teacher on Ambae. He read through my letter on arrival. We sat at one of the tables at the nakamal. A large church project was being constructed right next to the nakamal, so there was a lot of building noise throughout the interview.

- 1 F: So my first interest is about the two languages that we use as the principal
2 languages. So English and French.
- 3 FME: Yes.
- 4 F: So in your opinion do you think that (.) the standard in schools is enough for
5 education. Or do you think that (.) in terms of these two languages English and
6 French? What is the standard like now.
- 7 FME: It's not enough. (2) It's not enough and in (.) the year before last I think there
8 were two universities Besançon and Oxford University in (.) England. The two
9 undertook a survey to evaluate the teachers in (.) how they used them. Used them?
10 Understanding? With (.) what else in French and English. The results which we (.)
11 which came out were (.) too average.
- 12 F: M-m.
- 13 FME: Only a very few were not (.) average. And the very few who were not average
14 it was because their parents were exp- expatriates or they were previously from
15 different countries but had come to live in Vanuatu.
- 16 F: So that's on the side of the teachers.
- 17 FME: That's on the side of the teachers.
- 18 F: Okay.

19 FME: But you must start here. With the teachers. If these teachers were monitored
 20 well? If they were well trained in the two languages French and English? The
 21 students and the children would be able to understand well too.

22 F: M-m.

23 FME: And they could help. But if the teachers have a problem with the language of
 24 instruction that is a big problem. The teachers are the first ones. It goes back to (2)
 25 the training of the teachers. That's why one of the objectives is to improve the level
 26 of training of the teachers. Especially in language first. Before they go to their own
 27 subjects. The subjects are similar. Very similar. Maths or Science or whatever.
 28 Chemistry whatever. They are all the same. It's just the language that is different.
 29 So language is very important.

30 F: So is there any training in place now following those results from last year?

31 FME: Well last year we wanted to improve the level. When I was still in Education. I
 32 put a condition in place that teachers must be at the level of Year 13 or Year 14
 33 when they are recruited. They must be students who have done foundation already.
 34 That was to help improve the level of the teachers. But they should train for a
 35 diploma. Instead of a certificate of education. The language must be reinforced. If
 36 the language is (.) if the teacher is well trained and he knows the language well? It
 37 will be easy for him to teach the children. That is the main tool for this. Otherwise
 38 the other subjects are the same. But language is the vehicle for transferring
 39 knowledge.

40 F: So do you think there is a problem in terms of the students. Like in terms of their
 41 learning? That comes from a language problem or?

42 FME: Well I think that (.) I still believe that language is the vehicle of knowledge it is
 43 the vehicle of technology so it must (.) er the teachers must master it well because
 44 there are many teachers who <his mobile rings> who continue to speak Bislama
 45 only. They should use French. Whether you are still inside or you are outside the
 46 classroom you should (.) they should (xx) <mobile still ringing, loudly now. He looks
 47 at it while talking but doesn't answer>. They (.) er (.) the students. Most of the time
 48 the teachers (.) in their meetings they use Bislama.

49 F: M-m.

50 FME: That's the teachers meetings and even at the council board they use yusum
 51 Bislama.

52 F: Do you think it's the same on both sides. Anglophone Francophone?

53 FME: Both sides are the same.

54 F: Are there no differences now at school like the language is French or the
 55 language is English but otherwise it's just the same.

56 FME: Yeah most long of the administration they use Bislama so (.) and I think that it
 57 doesn't start now. It started from the very beginning. The way you train the teachers
 58 you should reinforce the language. We must start at the bottom (.) to monitor it well.

59 F: So do you wish that outside the classroom inside the classroom they used
 60 French only or English only?

61 FME: Um.

62 F: Is there no place for vernacular or Bislama.

63 FME: There is place for vernacular or Bislama at times but I think that when you are
 64 in the classroom then you know that the language of instruction is those two. But
 65 most of the time the teachers use Bislama even in some classrooms they use
 66 Bislama. When we go to the technical schools it is worse. They speak Bislama.

67 F: M-m.

68 FME: So how can you assist a student to go to a VIT school to suppose he wants to
 69 go higher to go to university. He must learn the language to go there. He must learn
 70 either French or English. If you want to continue.

71 F: But outside class too? Do you think it is good that (.) as you know some schools
 72 have=

73 FME: =Outside class inside the school boundary?

74 F: M-m.

75 FME: It's a bit. During free time Saturday or whatever? People can use lanwis or
 76 Bislama. During class I think they should use. Well the teachers must lead by
 77 example. Most of time the children the students follow what the teachers do. So if
 78 the teachers smoke or whatever then they will also see that (.) but that too. For an
 79 institution to improve the standard of language er (.) it's in the hands of the
 80 teachers. Because when they go home there are many parents who have never
 81 even been to school. They don't know French and English and they can't read or
 82 write so. And they also don't know about the subjects. Plenty of parents just trust
 83 the teachers that their children will learn when they send them into the classroom.

84 F: But what about=

85 FME: =Sometimes they just blindly trust the teachers.

86 F: Uh-uh.

87 FME: Because they cannot read. They cannot read their marks they (.) trust them.
 88 It's been like this for a long time (.) parents believe in the teachers.

89 F: But in terms of other (.) like. Suppose you are in Francophone? Okay should
 90 English also go inside or do you think it is good that they just focus on French.

91 FME: What we have now the practice they do is tha- when they enter um secondary
 92 school they introduce English. English becomes compulsory. Every Francophone

93 school. And I see an improvement and it might be easier. For Francophones to
 94 learn English. The university tests that they take at USP. Like the tests for English
 95 LLP13 and LLF11? And UU114 the Francophones pass these same tests with (.)
 96 the same as the Anglophones.

97 F: But you think Anglophones do not learn French.

98 FME: I don't know because I'm not a teacher. I have never assessed them. But
 99 there are some who do well. It depends where a child comes from. If the child
 100 comes from one (.) parent who is a Francophone it is normal that he understands
 101 better French when he is at an Anglophone school.

102 F: But when we are in the schools do you think like you said that it is good that the
 103 teachers (.) enforce or they practise the language of instruction all the time. But at
 104 the same time is it good for them to promote both together? Or must they focus on
 105 the one they use inside the classroom.

106 FME: Well I think especially the Francophones it's good for them to use French. In
 107 English schools they use English. To become a (.) perfect bilingual it's not er (.) it is
 108 a talent that not everyone can (.) can do to become a perfect bilingual. Who can
 109 speak write and er (.) in English and French. That is normal that it's not everyone
 110 but as long as you have a better understanding. Sometimes it works too for a
 111 country that says it is a bilingual country. When foreigners come here they.
 112 Sometimes they question that this is supposed to be a bilingual country. But it's not
 113 this. Because when you go to hotels for example tourists for example from New
 114 Caledonia when they go? They must try their best to speak English.

115 F: M-m.

116 FME: English is dominant. Here.

117 F: M-m. But do you think this has changed. Over the years? Since Independence or
 118 not.

119 FME: Well there are many who speak French too but when they are at work? When
 120 they speak English you hear that they are like Anglophones so. But that is a talent
 121 of some people. We cannot force people to speak a language. Like the country
 122 wants to (.) even government. And at the level of political will it wants the country to
 123 continue to be a bilingual country.

124 F: But what is the main reason behind that? Like to continue both sides together.

125 FME: Well I mean it's in the constitution. They decided when the country reached
 126 independence. The constitution adopted three languages. The national languages
 127 are French English and Bislama.

128 F: It means that we just continue because (.) but there's no (.) I don't know purpose
 129 of it or a benefit [of this.]

130 FME: [Well its purpose] too because the (.) country was a condominium
 131 before. And people have continued to live like this too. If you took one out? That

132 would cause a scandal there would be a revolution. If you changed it. If you took
 133 one out and we like continued with one.

134 F: M-m. But that is like in terms of history. Like if we go forward and somehow we
 135 managed to remove either English or French? Would the country still be okay?

136 FME: It. It would be hard. To remove because the countries in the Pacific still
 137 maintain them. Some maintain English and some maintain French. Because er
 138 French and English are the vehicles that the international organisations use or they
 139 are the vehicles of uh knowledge and technological knowledge which this country
 140 doesn't have. Okay our local languages the languages to teach culture? Traditions
 141 of Vanuatu? How to teach people to (.) plant food in the garden or weave mats or
 142 whatever. I think these languages are for this. But it is not (.) lanwis is not a vehicle
 143 for the technology that we have in the world today. Telecommunications engineering
 144 or whatever. This is the technology the knowledge that we must learn from other
 145 countries. And these countries have their own languages.

146 F: But that's it I mean why do we need both together. Like the Solomons just have
 147 English or New Caledonia just has French. As like this vehicle of technology.

148 FME: No New Caledonia doesn't just have French. It has English and French <his
 149 mobile rings again> in New Caledonia. It is the same as Vanuatu. English is
 150 compulsory in secondary schools.

151 F: But the Solomons or PNG?

152 FME: The Solomons or PNG? Because their status they have always been like that.
 153 They were Anglophone in the beginning. But Vanuatu was not (.) it was a
 154 condominium. England and France ran the administration together in recent years.
 155 This was here already.

156 F: M-m. But in terms of like economic development? Or technology? Do you think
 157 that Vanuatu=

158 FME: =For economic development we need to hold tight to both languages because
 159 when you look at the region? In the Pacific region New Caledonia is a territory that
 160 is economically strong. Tahiti (.) is there. (1) I think it is important to maintain them.
 161 Even though economically (.) in terms of trade in terms of exchange it is important
 162 to maintain two languages.

163 F: So you think we have an advantage over say PNG or the Solomons who only
 164 have one language. One international language.

165 FME: I think it's an asset to (.) um you have a citizen or a person who can use both
 166 languages? When you compare with some countries that are like Vanuatu. Like uh
 167 Mauritius or Canada or international organisations. Vanuatu hasn't reached that
 168 level yet that these countries are at but it can aim for that if it keeps this asset. It is
 169 the quality of an individual to be able to use language to control two languages. Two
 170 international languages.

171 F: M-m. So for individuals. Like you've already said that it is a talent. You can't force
 172 everyone to be bilingual. But do you think that if someone learns both together he
 173 will have an advantage over=

174 FME: =Well the government's wish is to try and make it so that at least people
 175 working in public administration for example or working in offices of for example
 176 tourism or whatever. They must be bilingual. There is no need to have a translator
 177 to (.) translate. You use only one man for one job. There is not need to use too
 178 much translation. Because that is a system which is expensive. Like even though
 179 today we find that those who are bilingual are only the Francophones.

180 F: M-m.

181 FME: That we cannot introduce starting in French as the er language of instruction
 182 and then just (.) what? Franc-. When you force people what to do? And
 183 Francophones are the minority. Anglophones are the majority. So when you suggest
 184 this they do not agree. Some agree? Some don't agree.

185 F: So did you support this policy for everyone to go to Francophone first? And then
 186 just go=

187 FME: =No I didn't sup-. I looked at it I examined this when I was minister. I asked an
 188 expatriate to come.

189 F: That was Gervais?

190 FME: Gervais. Yes. He made a proposal. But when Gervais went out to the field?
 191 The reaction from the people was totally different. Some people also wanted to
 192 teach people in their own language? Unfortunately there is no technology that we
 193 can teach in lanwis. Most of the technology that exists comes with its own language.
 194 It is better to use these languages to use the words exact words that they use in the
 195 (.) technology that they use. They do.

196 F: But now? What is the status of this language policy. Are they going to start again.

197 FME: I don't know. I don't have any information any more. It was progressing well.
 198 There were some proposals? Which came forward. That we can start in dialects in
 199 kindergarten. Meaning on the other hand too that we don't promote these two
 200 languages at the disadvantage of (.) the dialects? Which are the real identity of (.)
 201 uh the citizens of Vanuatu. That's why we (.) the proposal was there to start in
 202 people's dialects in kindergarten. Before we introduce uh French? Some people
 203 proposed that English we start introducing English in Class 4? Then slowly it goes
 204 up they can teach the subjects on until when they reach Year 10? The children can
 205 choose? Whether they want to continue (.) a subject that they choose in English or
 206 in French. Yes. So it means that everyone has at least basic uh (.) language at the
 207 beginning. When they come to choose higher up whether they will follow uh French
 208 or whether they will follow English but those lower down will know (.) that they have
 209 some basic uh (.) knowledge already in.

210 F: M-m.

211 FME: One of the two languages.

212 F: So it means that every child would attend the same system. We would no longer
213 have (.) no longer have two.

214 FME: In the proposal that is there it is like (.) everyone should go? But I have
215 questioned this a little. My personal feeling when I was there was that we should do
216 a trial first. Create some pilot schools. Try and introduce English in Year 4 like
217 Anglophones have already introduced French in Year 4. Or even French at Lycée
218 Francais they have introduced English. They will learn English easily. At the level of
219 Francophones but I don't think so for Anglophones? I don't think this language
220 French is quite a complicated language. It is very precise. (2) So the proposal here
221 comes from the government's wish to have bilinguals. Yeah.

222 F: So it seems that bo=

223 FME: =But the system that Francophones have had even today many go to
224 university at Anglophone universities. There are many at USP. Many er very few go
225 to Fiji. (1) They were Francophone but they decided after passing the English the
226 assessments they decided to go and take (.) um their studies in an Anglophone
227 university.

228 F: So why do you think Francophones can be successful in their system and then
229 switch to English.

230 FME: I think it is easier for you to go to French then just learn English. But for you
231 as an Anglophone to just learn French is quite difficult. I tell you the language? The
232 French language is (.) well you already know. It is a language which is quite difficult.
233 It's not difficult but it's complicated. Because they use words that are really precise.

234 F: M-m. But you think English is easier than French?

235 FME: Well English is (.) it's an international language. Whatever even many people
236 who don't go to school they speak English so they learn it in the street they learn it
237 wherever in the village. They learn it in the workplace. They learn it wherever they
238 live. So English is a language that is international.

239 F: So it means that now like in Vanuatu you think that English (.) you said before
240 that English dominates.

241 FME: Yeah English is=

242 F: =So does this mean that it's easy for Francophones to pick up English because
243 they have exposure to it or=

244 FME: =Yes. You consider it in terms of music in terms of whatever? Many things are
245 in English. Francophones can pick it up easily.

246 F: But suppose all children schooled French first? Would it be the same?

247 FME: Proposal.

248 F: Or do you think English would go down.

249 FME: English will never go down. English will still remain. Even in many places
 250 where they don't promote English much it's still alive. Take Vietnam for example. Its
 251 languages it's a place where they speak man- like they used to use French too. But
 252 when you go to Vietnam they speak more English than French. So English will still
 253 be dominant in (.) in every place. In the Pacific region I think it's just Vanuatu that is
 254 an (.) its an independent country that has the double language?

255 F: M-m.

256 FME: At the same time in New Caledonia when you go to hotels even though they
 257 speak French they all speak English.

258 F: M-m. So suppose everyone schooled French here? Actually would they learn
 259 English anyway.

260 FME: It used to be compulsory. It was in the French system before independence. It
 261 was compulsory when you went to secondary school. English was compulsory.
 262 When you reached Form 4? Then you had to decide on one more language. Either
 263 German? Japanese? Or Spanish. That was the system in the condominium. Already
 264 in the past. You had to. You had to choose. So but er you couldn't choose English
 265 because English was already compulsory. In the French system that they have in
 266 New Caledonia? English is compulsory.

267 F: M-m. (2) Okay.

268 FME: I studied in New Caledonia so=

269 F: =Uh okay?

270 FME: It is compulsory. English is compulsory.

271 F: You went to secondary school there? Or?

272 FME: Secondary.

273 F: You attended secondary school over there. Okay.

274 FME: And even in the technical schools? English is still. As a subject.

275 F: Okay.

276 FME: I did accounting so English was still a subject they taught.

277 F: Okay. So yes. You can't comment now on the (.) current policy that is here at the
 278 moment. I've been trying to find out about it but=

279 FME: =I'm not sure exactly what has happened to this policy. But what is there?
 280 You know that I started it when I was there. You know that I think that it was a good
 281 programme. Unfortunately it looks like it's (.) er (.) deteriorated. Now. But there were
 282 important objectives in there. One was access. To education for all children of
 283 Vanuatu? I don't think the government can run away from that because that is a

284 commitment for it too. It has committed itself to it. As er a member of the United
 285 Nations.

286 F: But in terms of equality between the two streams. Do you think there are still
 287 problems of an imbalance between (.) Anglophones and Francophones.

288 (3)

289 FME: We can't talk about an imbalance between them because the choice rests
 290 with the parents. And some don't really have a choice. Because what they want in
 291 some places? Some of the smaller islands only have one school. So really parents?
 292 They don't really have a choice. They must enrol their children in that school. In
 293 whatever school is in proximity to them.

294 F: But when they like (.) once you are in these two systems? Whether it's your
 295 choice or you're there somehow for another reason (.) do you feel that the two
 296 streams have equal opportunities now? Or=

297 FME: =In terms of?

298 F: I don't know. When you finish (.) either to progress in school. Like at the end of
 299 primary to go to secondary? Or at the end of secondary to find [a job or un]iversity?

300 FME: [It's not] (1) It
 301 isn't balanced yet in this. There are Anglophones who have more accessibility. (2)
 302 Francophones don't. But er because of the system that we had. Before (.) the
 303 Anglophones followed a regional programme. PSSC. Which continues to exist
 304 today. That SPBEA runs. Yeah. But Francophones have been let down (.) and have
 305 nothing since the baccalaureate. The French government removed it which was a
 306 French diploma. It removed it in nineteen eight seven.

307 F: Okay.

308 FME: Then uh the government of Vanuatu has had to make its own one and that
 309 simply rests on the shoulders of the teachers. Whether they are qualified or
 310 unqualified. It's just the efforts that they make. To try and build something up. And
 311 that's why (.) Anglophones' (.) Year 13 is foundation. But in reality it's not foundation
 312 either. In some countries it is foundation. Who follow the same programme. Be
 313 here? USP doesn't recognise it.

314 F: You mean Foundation Form 7? Or USP.

315 FME: Yeah.

316 F: Foundation. Form 7.

317 FME: Yeah. USP doesn't recognise what SPBEA does. So they have to go and do
 318 foundation again at USP.

319 F: So there is no direct entry after Form 7?

320 FME: Well when they leave here to go to another country? Like something that I
321 don't understand. For example Samoa? When they finish they go straight to
322 university to study. But er that is the same programme. Same programme. That's
323 why er <mobile rings again> it is important for us to make our own curriculum here?
324 Because some countries like Fiji they have done away with it too. Because the
325 found this difficulty so we must do away with it making it so that when you do Form
326 7? Students can go straight to university. That's why we have come up with a
327 review. These are the objectives we have under the VERM? Access and quality.
328 Which means (.) reviewing the curriculum <mobile rings again> and improving er
329 the training of the teachers these two things must go on. The third thing is to
330 improve the management of education. Starting from the Ministry's management
331 going to all the schools. The (.) er principals and er all the others.

332 F: M-m. But this means that there will be Year 11 12 13 with everyone following a
333 national curriculum. With the statement that has come out.

334 FME: Not yet. Not yet because only the national statement has come out. Now it
335 must go to the details to write it? And to write it? I asked while I was there for (.) er
336 USP or er UNC long Caledonia to come and follow it up? To assess it. They mustn't
337 produce a curriculum that only people in Vanuatu do. If there is no regional no
338 university or country that recognises it because here there isn't one. We must make
339 sure that the universities in the region or even below the region er outside the region
340 recognise the curriculum. This is an issue that is important to consider with the
341 universities. But with the government too. Governments own the uh certification the
342 diplomas belonging to individual countries. It will come to the government too to
343 negotiate.

344 F: But do you think it will be easy to combine the two streams in this way. I've heard
345 a little that some of the Francophone teachers don't agree they want to leave it and
346 stay with what's that (.) DAEU? Like=

347 FME: =(EFM)?

348 F: I don't know I just heard a little that Francophones at senior secondary don't want
349 to go to a national curriculum. They want to follow DAEU?

350 FME: No. DAEU is not a Vanuatu diploma. DAEU is a French diploma. Which (.) I
351 think Vanuatu is the only country doing it. DAEU is a second chance.

352 F: M-m.

353 FME: When someone (.) it's a diploma that works for French.

354 F: Okay.

355 FME: It allows those who have never done their baccalaureate? To go to university.
356 It is a key that gives access to university.

357 F: Okay. So do you think this will work out at senior level. Will the national (.) as
358 long as the universities give their input.

359 FME: It is time for Anglophones and Francophones to sit down together. England
360 and France have both left us here. The country is already in the hands of the people
361 of Vanuatu. And we keep saying one people one nation but there is language there
362 is religion and these things that came from outside? They came and divided the
363 people of Vanuatu meaning that after thirty years it's time to sit down together. And
364 consider what we need. What we need for the country. The two languages are an
365 asset for (.) Vanuatu. They are an important asset to come (.) to have languages
366 like this. I think that ni-Vanuatu must be able to sit down together and come up with
367 a curriculum that can help both sides. Like I said. Language is the only difference.
368 All the other subjects are the same.

369 F: So when we go to like suppose the curriculum goes up to Year 13? We unify
370 everything?

371 FME: Yeah my wish was that Year 13 must be foundation. When I was there.

372 F: Okay.

373 FME: But like I said we can't just decide these things. There must be assessment.
374 All along. To see where we are with our education system. Even what we have
375 today it's good to assess all the children in Year 2? Whether they have achieved
376 yet. What they are supposed to achieve in Year 2. Before you move them on.
377 Because when you move them there are many parents who cannot read the grades
378 well? They cannot read their children's grades to assess whether their children are
379 good or whether they have a problem? They trust the school and they trust the
380 teachers. But most of time they are just shocked that their children have gone as far
381 as Year 5 and can't read or write. Or they go up to Year 10 but just finish there. This
382 was one hope that I held for parents but the parents want their children to be
383 successful in something. So there must be a programme of assessment in Year 4?
384 Year 2 Year 4. Whatever children should reach they must reach.

385 F: M-m.

386 FME: And at the same time there must be assessment to see whether the problem
387 is with the children or the problem is with the teachers. If it's a problem with the
388 teachers then they must go back to school. Like to improve like I said with the
389 curriculum? There is a need to assess every teacher too. Which ones need to go
390 back to training. And what training they should give them. It's no good taking them
391 and putting them all there when their problems are not the same. Maybe some of
392 the teachers' skills or methodology are weak. So even though we go and graduate
393 from university. You have a masters or whatever. It doesn't mean that?

394 (2)

395 F: You can teach.

396 FME: Teaching is a different thing. A different vocation. For you to teach children
397 you must have a talent in it. It's not the same. So you must learn the skill. There are
398 many who come today who come back from university who go straight to the
399 classroom. For me I don't think they have the skills for teaching. They must go and

400 learn methodology. How you approach children. We can't have lots of teachers
401 going along for the job opportunity. So most of the time they will never assist the
402 children. The students. But they finish their courses and the are out. No. Teaching
403 for me? It is teaching twenty four hours. It's teaching thirty one days a month three
404 hundred and sixty five days a year. They must be available at any time for the
405 children to consult them. Or ask for advice. They must be available to assist the
406 students too. They must like the word that they say in French encadrement³⁸? They
407 must have encadrement.

408 F: M-m.

409 FME: They (.) or even at some time parents during the holiday or whatever he can
410 seek advice or for the teachers to teach (.) something (.) help the children with it. So
411 (2) I think that education is all of this.

412 F: So somehow actually all these issues I have in terms of language. You are
413 saying that they are all outside this. Like we should focus on teacher training?
414 Language is no longer important. Whether you teach in English or French? Teacher
415 training. Assessment. Once we have unified the curriculum=

416 FME: =Yes. Both languages will be there. To reinforce language at what's that (.)
417 teachers (.) what's that? (2) Vanuatu Teachers College. V.T.

418 F: VITE.

419 FME: Teachers Education. So we must improve language in Vanuatu. Teachers
420 must be capable too. They must understand. When they learn these languages.

421 F: Does this mean that we should come to a point when the curriculum is there?
422 The assessment structure is there? Teacher training is there? That=

423 FME: =There was a timetable but I don't know any more whether they are following
424 it. Because a lot of money was involved in it. Aid donors have helped us. Because
425 they know that it is something that could be good. VERM I think is one of the best
426 policies. It attracted a lot of donors to (.) and it was a unique project in which the aid
427 donors came together? They made a pool where they put their money. Then the
428 government (.) managed it. (2) They did the same with access to education it was
429 the same they all put their money together.

430 F: M-m.

431 FME: And. There was. An improvement in access to education there were eighty
432 eight. Percent this year who went to school. I think that is important. Again? Quality.
433 It comes back to language. There must be quality. It must ensure quality. And to
434 have quality there are two things? Curriculum. Ni-Vanuatu must create a curriculum
435 for the context of the country. There are many issues. Environmental issues. And
436 traditions. Er the culture that we mustn't neglect because that is the identity of the
437 people of Vanuatu. But we can't forget the intellectual subjects that are maths and
438 science and the same for languages. These must go into (.) the area of literacy. And

³⁸ supervision

439 what is science. Must remain. It is very important. This must be a country that
440 masters science too. We need it. We need it. The country still needs it. Today the
441 country also depends a lot on (.) not only the country. It depends a lot on external
442 advisors too. And sometimes I see that the advice isn't good because they take this
443 advice from contexts of a country that is already more developed than Vanuatu. So
444 it is more developed (.) or an industrialised country. When they come to Vanuatu
445 and give advice to ni-Vanuatu (.) sometimes you feel no that's not right in Vanuatu
446 for what we need. It's because (.) Vanuatu has a different context. It is not an island.
447 It is many islands. It is an archipelago. It is not (.) and the issue of language. Issue
448 of the cultures that are a thousand. The dialects that there are more of. So with that
449 (.) we diversify but it is complicated too.

450 F: M-m. But do you think there are any (.) like we've talked about the positives of
451 holding onto English and French. But are there any negatives. Like with regard to
452 what you say about quality or access or. Are there any negatives of (2) when we
453 hold onto both together does it make it (.) like a compromise on quality?

454 FME: Well there is one (.) it's not like negative but it is an exercise that will be
455 expensive. But er (.) in future it means that both languages are (.) are important.

456 F: You mean expensive to combine the two systems or?

457 FME: No if you combine them it won't be expensive because we will just use the
458 same teachers.

459 F: Uh-uh. But the system we have now.

460 FME: The system we have.

461 F: Is expensive.

462 FME: You must employ double teachers.

463 F: But that (.) in terms of money that's the only problem (.) or challenge or whatever.
464 To quality and access.

465 FME: To combine the two there are challenges too. There are (.) after the survey
466 many didn't agree so. (2) It means they've agreed to go with the expensive system
467 that we have already.

468 F: So do you think that for the time being we will leave the two (.) leave the two
469 alone. It's the only way like we've leave it so we have Anglophone on this side.

470 FME: No we can't leave them. Because when it is a single country I think you must
471 continue to open up debate to find a solution.

472 F: No I mean you leave the two systems that we have.

473 FME: Well yeah we run with this till (.) the government decides. But er the
474 government cannot decide on its own. Consultation must continue. (2) If people say
475 no we need people who are bilingual? You must go to them. Must find a way. (1)
476 But we cannot just impose it on people. It has come to a time that everything must

477 have consultation about it. The VERM we have had a wide consultation on it. It's the
478 same with the curriculum. We carried out a major wide consultation on it in which
479 people expressed themselves. And that expression that came out? Vanuatu can no
480 longer neglect it.

481 F: M-m.

482 FME: To (.) it must work with the different universities for them to come and assess
483 it. To see whether the system we are going through is helpful? Whether it can
484 facilitate the students to have access to universities. And other countries. What. We
485 to have diplomas from other countries here? But there must be agreement. From
486 the government on it too.

487 F: But do Francophones have equal opportunity in=

488 FME: =There is not equal opportunity in terms of (.) like there are only opportunities
489 for them in (.) in Noumea.

490 F: M-m.

491 FME: But it's not since I introduced. Last year I introduced to Angl- to Francophones
492 UU114 which is English almost a degree in English already? So to make it that
493 when they have taken this they can have access to other universities. Because if
494 you talk about a bilingual? Someone who finishes uh (.) who achieves his
495 foundation? He achieves DAEU he achieves the baccalaureate. I think he is already
496 a good Francophone? Whether he wants to go to university I think he has already
497 reached these basics.

498 F: M-m. So suppose we had this system? Like somehow we combined or promoted
499 the other language would Francophones have greater access to university? But I
500 think Anglophones would just be the same. They wouldn't go to New Caledonia to=

501 FME: =It doesn't mean never. I think once in a while they would go. An Anglophone
502 who goes to New Caledonia.

503 F: But they have many opportunities already.

504 FME: Yes.

505 F: They don't really need to add New Caledonia. Only Francophones really need
506 this.

507 FME: Yes. It's not only at this level but at the level of (.) because Francophones.
508 Their failure is also huge. The dropout rate is very high. It was only last year that
509 almost ninety (.) ninety something percent (.) passed the exam. That was the first
510 time in history. But most of time over the years because they do not have enough
511 assistance. That encadrement that I talked about isn't there. Supporting the children
512 up until they take their exams. Last year they had good supervision because some
513 programmes were put in place to support them to make sure they passed. But when
514 you look carefully maybe in the Anglophone schools in Year 13? I think there are
515 two hundred who (.) or three four how many? Five hundred who sit the exams?

516 While in Francophone it's just a few. (1) So that now there is just one school which
 517 (.) which has Year 14. Only one school which is Lycée.

518 F: Just Lycée.

519 FME: Yes.

520 F: At Collège de Santo no. They just have Year 13.

521 FME: Collège de Santo just has Year 13.

522 F: Okay.

523 FME: But I tell you the dropout is high like for example at Tanna yes there is Year
 524 13. But at the time of the exams? In Year 12 there is not one child who passes.
 525 Everyone (.) there are very few who pass (.) to? So they must come here.

526 F: Okay. So that's like=

527 FME: =It's to do with what's that (.) access too? What's that (.) there's no access.
 528 Uh (3) they must achieve (VHAT) now.

529 F: M-m. so this means that in the Francophone system there is actually a
 530 benchmark or whatever that?

531 FME: It rests on a benchmark.

532 F: If you don't achieve this then you are out now.

533 FME: Yeah.

534 F: Because for Anglophones it's just (.) supply and demand. Like if there are enough
 535 places okay you can go.

536 FME: Yeah. I don't know exactly but for Francophones like you (.) when you fail
 537 your exams then you fail now.

538 F: Okay.

539 FME: It doesn't mean that you are expelled? No it means that if parents can afford
 540 to pay for the child to repeat then he can repeat.

541 F: M-m but you must reach a standard before you can go to the next level.

542 FME: Yeah. You must reach this.

543 F: Okay. Because I think that for Anglophone it's like you line up the children. You
 544 take them (.) if there are thirty spaces? Okay the thirty who are at the top? Okay you
 545 go through.

546 FME: Like that in Francophone I don't agree with it. Because they have also done
 547 this in primary. You have so much. We target quantity but we must target quality. So
 548 I would like to go more towards quality.

549 F: Okay.

550 FME: Before you move the children. I would prefer children to repeat a class than
551 for you to just send him along with all the problems that=

552 F: =But this means that in Year 7? So they go back to the system where you have
553 to reach a benchmark.

554 FME: In Year 7 when we first had top-up? I totally disagreed with it because (.) there
555 was never a curriculum and there were no teachers trained for it. They took the
556 teachers from primary to do it. (1) I totally disagreed with this.

557 F: M-m.

558 FME: I totally disagreed. When I was Minister I wanted to close these (.) centre
559 schools. I think that (.) it is a system that has deteriorated a lot.

560 F: M-m. Yes there are many problems for Year 9 too when they come in but=

561 FME: Uh that.

562 F: They have to start again as if they were Year 7.

563 FME: Disaster. It's a disaster.

564 F: But now will it go back to Year 7 going to secondary again.

565 FME: Well there are many. I decided that they would go back to normal secondary
566 schools. For example the centre schools that were in (xx)? I moved them all out.
567 Closed them. It went to (.) I spoke to the authority? They went back up. There are
568 some where it cannot happen because (.) there isn't enough space. In secondary
569 schools. But it doesn't mean that either. Because if you take it nationally? There are
570 many secondary schools that are empty.

571 F: M-m.

572 FME: People are turning round. Because there is a (.) they have made it too political
573 they want too many promises to build classrooms or to close them. In the villages
574 too for (xx) transport to go where. But the government has already invested a lot in
575 building up some of the big schools like Tafea College. Rensarie. Where we are not
576 using their full capacity? Matevulu (.) is not fully using its capacity. So before you go
577 and open new secondary schools I think you must utilise those ones first that are
578 already there. To the maximum. In Port Vila yes. There is not enough space.
579 Malapoa? And Lycée? There is no more space. That's why the second- the
580 primary schools have added centre schools. But if there was an expansion at
581 Malapoa and an expansion at Lycée I think this could absorb the children into them.

582 F: Okay.

583 FME: Because the authorities too like Montmartre and Onesua they are also full. It
584 depends on the places where the population is high. That is here because of the
585 urban drift to come here. So again here there must be more. And they can just go

586 but you know education too. There is a lot of technology in there. So those who
 587 have access to it are more advantaged.

588 F: In the towns.

589 FME: In technology. Power. That's it that's why parents send their children.
 590 Because they think that these are the best schools. No every school is the same.
 591 But it depends a lot on the teachers. The management of the teachers they must
 592 know that. Sometimes when there are transfers or (.) with the posting of teachers.
 593 Sometimes they heap up. One category of teachers at one school. But they are
 594 short of other (.) teachers. Or sometimes I don't really believe a teacher who can (.)
 595 who thinks he is the champion of every subject.

596 F: M-m.

597 FME: I don't believe it. When I was Minister I told them that I didn't believe this. That
 598 someone who teaches Language can teach Maths and can teach Science.

599 F: I've seen at some schools that I've just come from? One teacher is teaching
 600 English French Agriculture Social Science?

601 FME: So that (.) is just a blanket for. When someone goes to Vanuatu Teachers
 602 Education? When you go train there you go to train in one subject. You want to
 603 become a Literacy teacher? You want to become a Science teacher. Someone
 604 trains to do this.

605 F: But Year 7 if they go straight to sec- or=

606 FME: =They will go yes.

607 F: Will they have the Year 6 exam again? They've already cancelled it.

608 FME: Yes.

609 F: But Year 8 too will they still have that?

610 FME: Maybe there will be no exams but I still think that if there are no exams. There
 611 must be an assessment.

612 F: M-m. Because how will they know who will go to Malapoa. Lycée.

613 FME: There must be (.) yeah. You must have internal assessment.

614 F: M-m.

615 FME: You must have an internal assessment. Even though we (.) if you want to
 616 cancel the national exams in Year 6? Um my wish is that we want this access to go
 617 to Year 10. Why Year 10 because uh the Universal Declaration of the Rights of
 618 children to have education says that we must keep children in school until they are
 619 sixteen. So that is around Year 10 at school. And I think that when children finish in
 620 Year 10? If they don't continue they can go to a technical school? It will help to bring
 621 up the level of the technical schools too to a level that children can go and learn

622 trades. Not everyone will go to further studies. But who can learn a job in these
623 places. If the children who come out are sixteen they will have some idea already.

624 F: They are mature enough.

625 FME: They want to do it. Or suppose they go back to the village that's helpful too. It
626 can still be helpful somewhere when they have enough knowledge if they reach
627 Year 10? I think that this is a level that. (1) And er there can be a benchmark in
628 Vanuatu. That every child has at least Year 10. Even Year 6. So that has been my
629 wish. To try and put a benchmark of Year 10.

630 F: M-m.

631 FME: That every child should continue until Year 10. Whether they decide to
632 continue with their studies. To go to a technical school? A (xx)? Or to go back to the
633 village to learn something else? At least he will have a strong basic education. We
634 want to build up the responsible citizens of tomorrow? Then we must do this so that
635 at least we have some people who can be responsible and who understand rights
636 and they can understand what they.

637 (1)

638 F: M-m. (2) Okay? I think we could talk about this all day. But I think in terms of
639 language we've covered everything already. Unless you have any other comments
640 about language but (.) I think that this is=

641 FME: =Like for language (.) there must be (.) we don't know. There must be the
642 political will is one thing. And you must have er (.) er consultation with the wide (.)
643 go to (.) go towards what the people really want.

644 F: M-m. (2) Okay.

645 FME: I think that if we need to follow the proposal we have? We can create a pilot
646 school anywhere. Like if we want to pilot what we have? The best way to pilot it?
647 Pilot it at Francophone schools.

648 F: M-m.

649 FME: Because it won't (.) it won't cause too many problems. (2) Or you just take
650 one (.) move one teacher from Anglophone somewhere where there are both
651 nearby? Just move one teacher and say you go and teach in (.) English over there.
652 So we can see. But even though they start English in Year 7? Like I've said. They
653 pass the same exams at USP in.

654 F: M-m. (1) But are they coming out of every Francophone school in Vanuatu? Or
655 are you just talking about Lycée.

656 FME: All of them.

657 F: Because I've just been at one school on the island? Where I've seen the actual
658 level of language. Like at the two secondary schools I've seen that the level of
659 English and French is just the same. At both schools.

660 FME: Yeah but like I've said. It depends greatly on=

661 F: =I had expected that=

662 FME: =Quality=

663 F: =At the Francophone school they would know English too but actually I saw that
 664 the standard of French wasn't very good. The standard of English was just the
 665 same.

666 FME: Yeah.

667 F: But at the Anglophone school it's true that French was weak.

668 FME: Bu::t this is a problem like I've said with the teachers again. When the
 669 teachers monitor them well? When it comes to (.) like I've talked about the level of
 670 the exams? If I take a school like Montmartre. Every year when (.) a hundred
 671 percent pass LLP a hundred percent of the children do it. In LLF11 it's a hundred
 672 percent. I was the school chairman at Montmartre so (1) I know (.) it was one of the
 673 first schools to adopt this programme. They ran it at Monmartre.

674 F: They take LLF11 when they are at Montmartre?

675 FME: Yeah.

676 F: You don't mean after that. Okay I thought they had left already.

677 FME: No they take it when they are still at Montmartre.

678 F: Okay.

679 FME: Those in Year 12 do uh LLP13? And those in Year 13 do LLF11.

680 F: LLF11 okay. Is that just Montmartre or Lycée too.

681 FME: No Lycée does it too.

682 F: Collège de Santo.

683 FME: Senior secondary schools or- (.) Collège de Santo.

684 F: Every senior secondary in French.

685 FME: Secondary schools yes.

686 F: They take it. Okay. Uh interesting.

687 FME: There is an extra fee to pay but (2) many parents at the beginning they didn't
 688 understand? They complained. I said it's another door. The children if you see the
 689 children who live here? The university we have in Port Vila it's (.) er (.) the
 690 University of the South Pacific which is Anglophone so (.) for you to have access?
 691 You must do English.

692 F: So USP like if you just go to Emalus? They will take you straight from
 693 Montmartre? You take your qualification from Montmartre? And LLF11? Now can
 694 you go straight to one hundred level courses? Or must you take foundation first.

695 FME: There are some who go. Some do that. But I prefer them to do Year 14.
 696 Because in Year 14 I introduced UU114.

697 F: M-m.

698 FME: When you have UU114 it's better (.) much better. There is another
 699 programme too called (xx)? When you do this in Year thir- 14? It is helpful when you
 700 go to university. When you go you can do one hundred level or you do (xx) you can
 701 (.) it's helpful too. (2) That's what is there now. So what I proposed is that it's better
 702 because when you just do LLF11 you go but you will have to go and waste your
 703 time to (.) and it's also expensive at USP. So it's better that you try hard to go to
 704 Year 14? Because the government pays for UU114?

705 F: Okay.

706 FME: When you have UU114 it's already an advantage. Now universities can ask (.)
 707 they can accept you when you do this because it means that your English level? Is
 708 good so they can take you already.

709 F: Okay.

710 FME: At the beginning many didn't (.) agree and they didn't (.) understand. But it is
 711 a double opportunity that is there.

712 F: M-m.

713 FME: Because when you achieve this either you can go to New Caledonia or you
 714 can go to (2) USP? Not just USP but you can apply to another university.

715 F: M-m.

716 FME: Yes Australia is there too. Or New Zealand. And it's not just that but be (.) it
 717 will be helpful if you go to become a teacher at VIT? Or you go to nursing school?
 718 Or you go to Maritime. Then it will be helpful. Those who go to the Philippines?
 719 When they have this they can go (.) no problem because they can just proceed.

720 F: So do you think that Francophones who come out (.) anyone who does Year 13
 721 but they don't take this opportunity of LLF11 will be disadvantaged. By having
 722 qualifications only in French.

723 FME: Yeah because you only have one choice. If that choice isn't open?

724 F: M-m.

725 FME: You have to get the key to it.

726 F: Uh-uh.

727 FME: But if you don't get it it means that you are stuck.

728 F: But the Anglophones? They have no equivalent in French but they are still okay.

729 FME: They are okay because they have many opportunities. Because if they fail
 730 their Year 13 they can have a (.) second chance. At USP. (2) And they can also do
 731 foundation at USP. It's right here.

732 F: So it seems to me that this is the central dilemma for the whole education that (.)
 733 we want to hold onto French. Because it's part of the heritage it is part of history.
 734 Like we cannot let it go. I understand that. But at the same time it seems that
 735 English is the main door that gives access to (.) like Anglophones don't need
 736 French.

737 FME: M-m.

738 F: So it means that somehow?

739 FME: But in the professions? Many need it now. They have just realised it but=

740 F: =They need French?

741 FME: Yeah. For example those who work in trade. How can they trade with New
 742 Caledonia.

743 F: M-m. (3) but only New Caledonia. Like.

744 FME: Yeah? It's only New Caledonia but.

745 F: There is a big world out there=

746 FME: =Yes there is another big world there.

747 F: I just feel that suppose somehow we found a way for all children to school French
 748 first and then go to English. If that could work? The main purpose is simply to hold
 749 onto history? And a small concern for trade with New Caledonia. That is a big policy
 750 for a small country like Vanuatu. Just because of history. Like I know it's not the
 751 fault of=

752 FME: =No no. But even like the regional organisations they have also adopted the
 753 language. Take the MSG. It has adopted as its languages. French and English. (3)
 754 And in the forum. Even though just one is used there must be a translation.

755 F: M-m.

756 FME: Even Vanuatu. Vanuatu depends. When it welcomes a minister who is an
 757 Angl- a Francophone? Then this requires you to speak this language yes. (2) It's not
 758 just here.

759 F: M-m.

760 FME: Well the relationship between Vanuatu and France is the same. So it needs it.
 761 French investment in Vanuatu is big. Like in terms of investment they give a lot to
 762 Vanuatu. It's not just Caledonia but France also invests in us so=

763 F: =Yes it's true.

764 FME: Er there are er in Australia they use many bilinguals (.) Mauritius they use
765 them.

766 F: No it's true.

767 FME: At the level of banks here or public administration you need to know both
768 languages. (3) Because Vanuatu is affiliated with many Francophone organisations.
769 (OUF) And (APF). (5) And it's good for other organisations too if you can use
770 French in them? If you have the opportunity.

771 F: M-m. (4) Okay.

772 FME: Okay in terms of a university like USP? It is affiliated with AUF? And AUF is
773 affiliated with USP. So (.) there is already a link with UNC they already work
774 together. There will be an expansion which China should be funding. Like I said I left
775 the Ministry almost a year ago now so (.) these things were (.) all agreed already I
776 don't know that the Minister is now doing.

777 F: But is the building already going ahead?

778 FME: I don't know.

779 F: You don't know. The money is there but=

780 FME: =But there is that which is Francophone.

781 F: M-m.

782 FME: [Because USP]

783 F: [But does French] Polynesia have one?

784 (3)

785 FME: USP has (.) Vanuatu is a member of the ORSTOM universities. Because Fiji
786 has its own university too. Tonga has its own university. Samoa has its own
787 university. There are just two countries that depend on USP which are Vanuatu and
788 the Solomons. (1) So that's why USP must consider Vanuatu's interests. Vanuatu is
789 a (1) it is unique in the Pacific but it must consider its interests. It cannot just serve
790 Anglophones. No it must serve the people who pay the membership. A hundred
791 million every year? Which it pays in membership fees. On top of that? It pays tuition
792 fees while you compare that with New Caledonia. The government doesn't pay
793 tuition. It pays (2) just the students' boarding fee and their pocket money but it
794 doesn't pay for them. (1) But at USP the government pays a contribution fee? It
795 pays the tuition fee. And then it pays again.

796 F: You mean students who study in Vanuatu.

797 FME: USP.

798 F: Or anywhere if they study in Fiji too?

799 FME: Yes.

800 F: All of them.

801 FME: So if you look carefully it is more expensive than in New Caledonia where (.)
802 the government doesn't pay. (1) So (.) it is cheaper. But it is expensive in terms of
803 (.) er money? Because life in New Caledonia is expensive.

804 F: M-m. But are there any students who study in Tahiti? Or not.

805 FME: In the past there were but now because there is a university that is closer. We
806 have what we can find in Tahiti in New Caledonia.

807 F: Okay.

808 FME: And New Caledonia sha- shares more cultural values and is more similar to
809 Vanuatu so it is better than over there. Think of for example (.) Agriculture that they
810 went to study in Tahiti? I think it is easier to do that in New Caledonia. Many have
811 graduated from Caledonia at Kumak. And now? UNC has a branch at Dumbéa eh
812 what's that Magenta.

813 F: What's that.

814 FME: A university. At Magenta.

815 F: Oh okay.

816 FME: Who do Agriculture too so students can go there.

817 F: Okay.

818 (4)

819 FME: There are many in New Caledonia. Then they can go to Australia so there is
820 no problem. Many (.) some have become pilots. Who had been in Caledonia and
821 then they went and did their piloting at (.) aviation in Australia. (2) I think this
822 advantage must continue. (2) We must open up opportunities for them.

823 F: M-m.

824 FME: For the students here.

825 (5)

826 F: Okay.

827 FME: Thank you.

828 F: Let's finish here then.

829 FME: Anything else? No.

830 F: No I think that we have covered all my questions about language. It's just good to
831 compare ideas=

832 FME: =Well that is just my point of view. I know there are some (.) a professor at the
833 university who says (.) who makes a comparison with Samoa? Where they do
834 bilingualism. But in the Tongan language and English.

835 F: M-m.

836 FME: It's not the case in Vanuatu. Vanuatu has a language (.) its national language
837 (.) it has the dialects. When he talks about bilingualism?

838 F: What does he mean. <laughs>

839 FME: So I've read his arguments which he's made. I've told him that you cannot
840 take the case of Tonga and apply it to Vanuatu.

841 F: M-m.

842 FME: If you take the case of Samoa and apply it to Vanuatu it means so many
843 languages? Four already.

844 F: But you mean he was arguing that we should use the vernacular and then go to?

845 FME: No his argument was that bilingualism was his language and the Tongan
846 language. He said that it worked in Tonga. I say no. The case of Vanuatu is totally
847 different. Eh not Tonga. Samoa. It is totally different.

848 F: M-m. But like I think that my opinion.

849 FME: A ni-Vanuatu who says he is bilingual isn't bilingual. He is=

850 F: =Yes he is bilingual when he is still in the village.

851 FME: Quadri what's that?

852 F: Quadrilingual yes.

853 FME: Yes. We speak four languages.

854 F: Yes before you start school you are bilingual.

855 FME: Yes. But the bilingualism they come up with is so that very few people working
856 in the government need a translator. (2) Like there are very few still who are there
857 today. But with the young people who are graduating today? When you take a
858 Francophone who graduates today (.) he can write perfectly in English. There are
859 many too who graduate from Law who can write like this the same.

860 F: But bilingual schools when you say a bilingual school what does that mean?

861 FME: No. Nothing. They can't. I take bilingualism for example they say that
862 Freswota is a bilingual school but I totally disagree. Because it is just the promotion
863 of Bislama. They put two schools together in one compound.

864 F: So it means that there is Anglophone on one side Francophone on the other?

865 FME: And when they come outside then it's just Bislama.

866 F: Just Bislama because they don't have (.) yes. I've seen one on Ambae. And then
867 Rensarie too. It is just=

868 FME: =Yeah. Now this system (.) I totally disagree with it.

869 F: And it's hard for teachers because there needs to be one who can teach
870 Agriculture in French and then=

871 FME: =Well on the other hand it could be easy. Through exchanging the teachers.
872 So that a teacher of English who is a real teacher of English can go teach on the
873 other side. When I was the school chairman of Montmartre we recruited one like
874 that we brought a full bil- what's that (.) Anglophone. Who didn't speak any French
875 at all.

876 F: M-m.

877 FME: Then she taught English.

878 F: Okay.

879 FME: Yeah. So in her class there was no French. She just spoke English.

880 F: Must use English. So you actually disagree you don't think there should be
881 bilingual school because they just mean that Bislama=

882 FME: =No. If they want them they must have at least a method for exchanging the
883 teachers then it will be alright. But when they are just on the same field then it's just
884 the promotion of Bislama.

885 F: Because I thought that this was one of the big policies in VESS. To have bilingual
886 schools (.) but I was never actually really clear about=

887 FME: =No I totally disagree with bilingual schools because they (.) they don't
888 promote anything (.) er the real spirit of bilingualism.

889 F: M-m. It just looks like it saves money in terms of administration but

890 FME: It doesn't really save money. Yeah it saves money on=

891 F: Only one water pump only one one generator but. <laughs>

892 FME: Yeah you might save money on these things but (.) it's not quality. It doesn't
893 address quality.

894 F: M-m.

895 (2)

896 FME: It doesn't address the quality of what the government really wants to.

897 F: M-m. It's true. I think this is a question like the reason I wanted to catch up with
898 some of you who had been (.) central in this policy.

899 FME: M-m.

900 F: Because when I read these documents and VESS is=

901 FME: =No I totally argued with this one but they went ahead and put it in. But I told
902 them that you cannot make bilingual schools.

903 (2)

904 F: But [Vanuatu has bilingual schools but]

905 FME: [Because they don't address quality] (2) They can be helpful with the issue of
906 exchanging the teachers. Or having a single administration but (.) even though they
907 call these schools bilingual schools they should be (.) they should be strict that (.)
908 this school is like this. The other one is like this.

909 F: So are there any classrooms now where they try to make it so that (.) the children
910 are bilingual. Like the teacher speaks=

911 FME: =No.

912 F: Some English and some French?

913 FME: No.

914 F: Building up both together. No.

915 FME: No. They just have individual courses. Like I said some Anglophone schools
916 take some French teachers and they go.

917 F: M-m.

918 FME: At some Anglophone schools they have one teacher who is full time (.) just
919 teaching French. But another thing. The education system (.) has no assessment of
920 the performance of the teachers. Sometimes they say that the principal he should (.)
921 assess all the teachers. Sometimes there is conflict. If a principal does something
922 wrong? He cannot assess the teachers he cannot write reports on them. When he
923 reports on them then they report the principal.

924 F: M-m.

925 FME: But we must have this. In the past under the two governments there was a
926 team of inspectors. Who went round all the schools they went in (.) they stayed for
927 one week to inspect the teachers. Today when a teacher goes to teach? Normally
928 probation should be six months. But today probation is like (.) it's (.) for his whole
929 life.

930 F: M-m.

931 (2)

932 FME: There's no longer any assessment. So this is also a failure of (.) uh the
933 Ministry of Education and they must look at (.) the Teaching Service Commission.
934 What its role is. That is the employer. It should be assess the teachers.

935 F: M-m.

936 FME: But today. The Teaching Service Commission is there but the inspectors are
 937 under the Public Service. So there are (.) these legal frames that aren't right that we
 938 need to relook at. Give the power back to (.) the right bodies who employ all the
 939 teachers.

940 F: But there's no longer any in-service training uh? It's just pre-service.

941 FME: In-service? There is training. They just opened it at the beginning of the year
 942 or last year. Unfortunately it's the same. Because before we open in-service training
 943 you must assess the teachers first. What are their weaknesses. In terms of
 944 language? In terms of understanding? Or in terms of whatever. Um methodology?
 945 Or pedagogy or whatever.

946 F: M-m.

947 FME: Like when you take them then you find out the real issue. But today when it
 948 comes to in-service training they go and take those who have been primary
 949 teachers who want to go and teach in secondary. They see that the salary is more
 950 interesting. That's not.

951 F: But it also seems to be the fault of (.) like we have expanded the secondary
 952 schools but there aren't enough teachers yet. That's a problem and then they come
 953 straight from USP into the classroom right away. They haven't trained to teach but.
 954 (1) Or junior teachers who go up to senior because there are no teachers.

955 FME: Yeah another thing like there are too many secondary schools and when you
 956 look carefully there are many who are doing less hours. They don't work. Take (.) uh
 957 I discovered that at Lycée some are doing (.) ten hours thirteen hours. In Vanuatu
 958 Teachers Education (.) some are doing four hours in a month or. (1) There is no
 959 consistency in uh (.) the timing of work. You compare a public servant who has to
 960 work thirty seven thirty five or forty hours in a week. But teachers don't work. So
 961 that. Well. You must give them time too to prepare their lessons.

962 F: M-m.

963 FME: But er (.) a minimum. So that you don't teach just fourteen hours. In a week.

964 F: But yes you can't teach every (.) like when I was first on Ambae I was teaching
 965 thirty six hours in a week because there weren't enough teachers but that's. I just
 966 couldn't. I was flying all over the place.

967 FME: That's not right. You can't prepare anything properly. No I don't mean that. I
 968 think that at one time they can. Teachers can make it so at least they have twenty
 969 hours?

970 F: M-m.

971 FME: Or maximum twenty two? That's what I did at Montmartre we made it so that
 972 the teachers had twenty two hours.

973 F: M-m. That's okay so that you have eight or ten in a week to prepare things. But.

974 FME: Yes.

975 (3)

976 F: Yes it's true. There are some that when we go to senior secondary we are very
977 specialised?

978 FME: Yes.

979 F: So there is a teacher for Economics? Teacher for Agriculture? Teacher for
980 French. Teacher for IT.

981 FME: Yes.

982 F: But they can't take two different subjects.

983 FME: Take two subjects yes.

984 F: So I think yes they have quite (.) light timetables.

985 FME: Uh there is no (.) no (.) we don't have good management yet. And also there
986 is no inventory of (.) at (.) at the Teaching Service Commission or even the whole of
987 Vanuatu there is no proper system in place for uh (.) what's that human resources
988 development. There's nothing. We must have human resources development in
989 place whether it is left to the Scholarships Office to keep a record of (.) how many
990 graduates there are in Vanuatu to (.) we must look at where we need them (.) or to
991 train them.

992 F: M-m.

993 FME: For us to send them. Today there are too many who go for law. There are so
994 many lawyers and some become unemployed lawyers. Some become crooked
995 lawyers too just doing deals around land disputes (.) just to make money.

996 F: Yes.

997 FME: Normally if a client comes to see you you should tell them straight that instead
998 of wasting money you should tell them straight that (.) your claim is right or wrong or
999 you shouldn't waste the money. But some? They just do it to take the money. I don't
1000 think that's right.

1001 F: Yes it's true I think we must know (.) because sometimes it seems that in
1002 teaching. Sometimes at senior level? Someone isn't doing their job or somehow he
1003 is causing a problem at a school. But the school cannot replace him there are no
1004 replacements. But actually there are some somewhere=

1005 FME: =One (.) one is that. But they never report them. Because there is no
1006 inspector like I said in the structure of the Teaching Service Commission? Their
1007 employer. Today it just depends on what they say. The Teaching Service
1008 Commission is just like a clamshell that waits for the wave to feed it. It should use its
1009 arms and legs to walk about. Since these are its employees. It must make sure.

1010 There are many who are involved in big problems and they never receive any
 1011 punishment.

1012 F: M-m. But the principals are afraid that if they release this teacher. Like suppose
 1013 they sack the Agriculture teacher? Then who will come and teach Agriculture.

1014 FME: Yeah.

1015 F: I can't report this. What if the Teaching Service Commission removes this
 1016 teacher? And then the children will no longer be able to take PSSC or whatever.

1017 FME: Yes. I think there is this too. But this shouldn't happen if there was an
 1018 inventory of all the teachers we had so that we could train however many teachers.
 1019 They have a shortfall of teachers of Science and Maths. So you should see if they
 1020 have enough or (.) direct the students to say that there is an opportunity here. You
 1021 should go and study. But because there is no inventory? Any stock take of the
 1022 country's human resources. (1) Even teachers should have their own. The Teaching
 1023 Service should have one that says how many Science teachers we have. How
 1024 many of these so that you direct the Scholarships Office too in what we need more
 1025 of for you to train them. You direct the Teaching Service Education (.) er Vanuatu
 1026 Teachers Education to build up more (.) teachers of Maths and Science at these
 1027 levels. Today senior secondary schools have a shortfall.

1028 F: M-m.

1029 FME: In (.) teachers of (.) er Maths and Science. On both sides. Anglophone and
 1030 Francophone so. With most of those who are teaching at that level (.) who just have
 1031 a degree. But if we want to go further I think we should require a masters? Not for
 1032 you to just get a masters but for you to be educated. But you must identify them.
 1033 Like I said it is very important for the (.) Teaching Service Commission to have its
 1034 own stock take of the human resources that exist.

1035 F: M-m.

1036 FME: When you don't have this you're just shooting people all over the place.

1037 F: M-m.

1038 FME: You must know when you make a posting? You know which subjects are
 1039 taught there? You send the teachers.

1040 F: Yes I have never understood how=

1041 FME: =What are they basing it on. Just the number of children. One teacher for
 1042 twenty five (.) um children. (2) You must know how many subjects are being taught
 1043 there (.) you give teachers for each subject.

1044 F: M-m.

1045 FME: You can't just give teachers according to the number of children.

1046 F: M-m.

1047 FME: If you really want to run a secondary school? Then you must have a teacher
 1048 for each (.) each (.) each (.) what's that for each subject. I don't agree with giving
 1049 teachers according to the number of children. Take for example a small secondary
 1050 school somewhere on (.) Ambae or wherever that as sixty children (.) or fifty you just
 1051 given them two teachers.

1052 F: M-m.

1053 FME: How do you expect the two of them to teach what=
 1054 F: =Yes they would each teach four subjects.

1055 FME: Is required at secondary schools. How do you expect this of them.

1056 F: But even at primary. We've spoken about bilingual schools already but there is
 1057 one bilingual primary school on Ambae where they have counted how many
 1058 children there are? So now they have six teachers? For twelve classes. Because
 1059 they counted that Class 1 has (.) twenty children. But actually ten are in Anglophone
 1060 ten are in Francophone. So now it means that the Class 1 Anglophone teacher?
 1061 She teachers Class 1 and Class 4 at the same time.

1062 FME: That? The result will be zero.

1063 F: M-m. But there are enough teachers? But actually some are on one side. Some
 1064 on the other so one is teaching Class 3 4 and 5 at the same time. In Francophone.
 1065 On the other side Class 1 and Class 4 at the same time. So you have to leave the
 1066 little ones in Class 1 on their own while you go and teach Class 4.

1067 FME: When they go to secondary school you will (.) when you see the results they'll
 1068 be nil. That's a wrong expectation again or a wrong hope you are giving to the
 1069 parents.

1070 F: M-m. Like I know it's hard. To like (.) yes there are many islands. It's hard to
 1071 assess them (.) for the inspectors to go round. But posting? You must somehow=
 1072 FME: =No. At least there should be an inspector.

1073 F: M-m.

1074 FME: And the quality of the inspectors that we have today they are all inspectors in
 1075 primary. How do you expect them to go and inspect the teachers at secondary
 1076 schools.

1077 F: M-m.

1078 FME: Their level is primary. When they go to secondary (.) they know already that
 1079 (.) the can't do it so they never do anything.

1080 F: But I've seen that the zone curriculum advisors are quite good. They go round to
 1081 the=
 1082 FME: =That's the same again. That's at the primary level.

1083 F: Yes that's at primary it's true. But it seems that=
 1084 FME: =So they only work in primary. At secondary they don't.
 1085 F: Yes at secondary yes (.) it just depends on the PEO. (2) Be something else that I
 1086 see in Penama. Because there are I don't know seven zones? Or eight zones I think
 1087 in Penama?
 1088 FME: M-m.
 1089 F: But seven are Francophone? Eh sorry seven are Anglophone. So it means that
 1090 he just has North Ambae. He just has Maewo. He has North Pentecost. It's like it's
 1091 easy to=
 1092 FME: =M-m.
 1093 F: But there is just one zone eight which is Francophone. Which means that one
 1094 man has to go to North Ambae. South Ambae. Maewo. North Central Pentecost.
 1095 FME: M-m.
 1096 F: He is like=
 1097 FME: =Yes.
 1098 F: It's hard to travel again because it's. We are duplicating the
 1099 (2)
 1100 FME: Yes they should er (.) yes they should have bil- (.) at least put someone who
 1101 can do (.) who can speak both languages?
 1102 F: M-m.
 1103 FME: But=
 1104 F: =So that is another factor.
 1105 FME: M-m.
 1106 F: That is (.) duplicated? Or?
 1107 FME: Yes.
 1108 F: Wasting time. Like he can never reach Central Pentecost. North Pentecost.
 1109 FME: He won't go. He won't go. I know the one who works on Ambae he never
 1110 goes to South Ambae he never goes. He never goes to (.) even to the east.
 1111 F: But the others seem to be quite good like if they are on East Ambae as the
 1112 Anglophone? They just have to go as far as Lolopuepue and come back. It's easy
 1113 work. But (.) he has to cover three islands. You know Ambae it's not easy to
 1114 walkabout and get to the other side. <laughs>

1115 FME: Yes.

1116 F: Must go round it.

1117 FME: Yes.

1118 (5)

1119 F: It's quite complicated. (5) Okay.

1120 FME: Yes maybe. I don't know if you have any more questions?

1121 F: No I don't have any more questions.

1122 FME: Okay thank you.

1123 F: Like I said I'm willing to sit and story all day. <both laugh> But no let's finish here.

61

Ol problem/s blong transcription: How can the ‘flexibly bilingual’ use of English and an English-lexified pidgin best be captured?

Fiona Willans
King’s College London

fiona.willans@kcl.ac.uk

Introduction

“Transcribers bring their own language ideology to the task. In other words, all transcription is representation, and there is no natural or objective way in which talk can be written” (Roberts, 1997: 167). The question I address here is how my own ideological position is reflected in the way I transcribe English and Bislama, the English-based pidgin spoken in Vanuatu.

Ideologies

I am aware of three aspects of my own ideological position. Firstly, it irritates me to see different spellings of the same word within a newspaper article written in Bislama, thus perpetuating the belief that the language is unsystematic and ‘can’t be written’. Secondly, students are punished for speaking Bislama in school, which I find unacceptable (and illogical, as it is an official language). As a result of these two aspects, I want to represent Bislama as a systematic, rule-governed code in my transcription, on equal terms with English. However, the third element of my ideological position is that my analytic framework follows the move away from bounded ‘languages’ towards thinking in terms of linguistic ‘features’ or ‘resources’ (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2010). This encourages me to reject traditional linguistic boundaries, and aim to represent the fluidity of participants’ language use. Blackledge and Creese achieve this by using a single font type to transcribe the “flexibly bilingual” use of resources, rather than using different types for different ‘languages’.

However, this only addresses half of the problem when dealing with a pidgin and its lexifier. There are many lexical similarities between Bislama and English, often leaving it unclear which ‘language’ is being used, but each has been codified with a different orthography. Choosing which spelling to use thus fixes each element as belonging to one ‘language’ or the other. Moreover, applying consistent rules to determine when one

phrase is written as 'Bislama' and another is written as 'English' appears to resist the essence of "flexible bilingualism".

Options

The following are three representations of the phrase translated in Standard English as 'the government is reorganising the languages that we teach in schools':

1. gavman hem i rijoganaesem lanwisis blong yumi tijim long ol skuls.
2. government hem i reorganisem languages blong yumi teachem long ol schools.
3. gavman hem i reorganise/em lanwis/es blong yumi tijim long ol skul/s.

In traditional code-switching terms, the matrix language appears to be Bislama, as all grammatical items are features of this language. Ambiguity concerns only the five lexical items. I therefore begin with the principle that an item can be considered Bislama or English if it is listed in a dictionary of the respective language. The items 'gavman'/'government', 'lanwis'/'language', 'tij'/'teach', and 'skul'/'school' are listed for both languages, presenting two possible spellings for each. The fifth item 'reorganise' is not listed as a Bislama item, therefore suggesting it to be an 'English' verb.

At the morphological level, -Vm is the Standard Bislama transitive suffix, thus suggesting that a verb suffixed -Vm is Bislama. However, since the verb 'reorganise' does not have a Standard Bislama form, is the first case a Bislama verb deriving from English, or an English verb stem to which a Bislama suffix has been added? Meanwhile, the suffix -s is the Standard English plural suffix (plurals are marked in Standard Bislama with a pre-nominal morpheme 'ol'). Therefore, are the plural nouns English, or Bislama noun stems with English suffixes? This is particularly relevant for the final noun phrase which contains the plural marking associated with both 'languages'.

Phonology-driven rules need to be considered for the spelling of these suffixes. In (1), the suffix -em has been selected for 'rijoganaesem' (rather than -im or -um), due to the phoneme in the preceding syllable, since this

phoneme determines the vowel of a Bislama transitive suffix (cf. *tijim*); for the plural form of *'lanwis'*, however, should the suffix be represented as *–is*, following the same principle, as in (1), or as *–es*, as in (3), according to the English spelling rule, given that it is an element of English morphology?

Representations

In (1), every lexical item is represented as Bislama, with *'rijoganaesem'* and the plural suffixes written according to orthographic principles of Standard Bislama. In (2), every lexical item is represented as English, with the Bislama transitive suffix added to two verbs that are, otherwise, written as English. In (3), all lexical items are represented as Bislama, if they are recognised lexicographically as Bislama, but the non-Bislama *'reorganise'* remains English. Suffixes are written according to the orthographic rules of the 'language' to which they are considered to belong, and a boundary has been created between the stem and the suffix, where these are considered fusions from different 'languages'.

Ideologies again

The options represent different ideological standpoints: (1) suggests that Bislama has a flexible range of vocabulary (cf. the view that Bislama is a restricted language that can only be used in limited situations, and thus cannot be used in formal education). However, (1) also presents what might be considered an Anglicized version of Bislama, due to the plural suffixation and the incorporation of a non-Bislama item *'reorganise'* (cf. a purist ideology). (2) presents what is often referred to as *'Broken English'*, since all vocabulary is recognisable as English, but the grammatical structure is not (despite the systematic nature of the Bislama grammatical structure). (3) avoids the labels of both Anglicised Bislama and Broken English, but artificially separates the two 'languages' in a way that does not capture the fluidity of the speech.

The example discussed here does not show the extent of the difference between the three representations. However, throughout long data transcripts, the different ideological positions become very apparent. I have chosen to follow the approach of (3) throughout, validating both 'languages' in their own right, but thereby falling short in the attempt to erase the boundaries between them.

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